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The editors wish to express thanks to their colleagues for help in preparing the volume, and especially to Professor Mason Hammond.

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HOMER AS ORAL POET

ALBERT B. LORD

HOMERIC criticism at the present time — at least so far as it touches on the orality of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* — seems preoccupied with some four interrelated problems. They are 1) the effect of writing on a traditional singer, 2) the degree of usefulness of the analogy between Ancient Greek oral epic tradition and Yugoslav oral traditional epic song, 3) the value of quantitative formula analysis, and 4) a return to subjective interpretation and appreciation of the Homeric poems. All these questions, and some others, are taken up most recently in the *Yale Classical Studies* volume devoted to Homeric studies.¹

In an article entitled "Have We Homer's *Iliad*?"² Adam Parry presents a telling refutation of Kirk's argument for a "monumental epic" retained verbatim over several centuries. He points out Kirk's inconsistencies and contradictions and convincingly argues that we do, indeed, have Homer's *Iliad*. Toward the end of the article,³ he turns his attention to the question of whether the effect of writing on the oral poet in Greece in Homer's time would be the same as that on a Yugoslav singer in the 1930's. There are really two points that interest him here. First, he doubts the statement that "the [oral] poet's powers are destroyed if he learns to read and write."⁴ Second, he says that writing in Yugoslavia in the thirties brought the literate singer "a whole literary culture, the culture of the cities of his own country and of what we call the civilized world . . . a culture of books and newspapers."⁵ On the other hand, in Homer's time writing could not be associated with an already formed literary tradition. "When a man of that society learned writing, after the introduction of the Phoenician characters, he was thereby initiated into no organized literary culture."⁶ Adam Parry's

¹ *Yale Classical Studies* 20 (*Homeric Studies*, ed. G. S. Kirk and Adam Parry, New Haven 1966).

² *YCS* 20 (1966) 177-216.

³ *Ibid.* 212-216.

⁴ *Ibid.* 181.

⁵ *Ibid.* 213.

⁶ *Ibid.* 214.

purpose in making these two points is to refute what he believes to be my "mistaken notion of the impossibility of a bard who can write."⁷

There seems to be a misunderstanding here that perhaps has arisen from ambiguity. I must plead "not guilty" to the charge of entertaining the "notion of the impossibility of a bard who can write." I know several Yugoslav singers who can write, and some of them at least are still rather good singers. There is a young Moslem priest in the region of Pešter, west of Novi Pazar, who can read and write both Serbo-Croatian and Arabic and who learned to sing epic songs from his father, also a Moslem priest. There is another literate singer in his early thirties from the same region who is capable of singing songs of three or four thousand lines. He learned a number of them from his uncle, who can, with some difficulty, write and sign a brief note. The uncle is still alive and is a good singer; the nephew is probably even better, although some of his repertory has come from the songbooks. Such singers are easier to find in the Moslem community than in the Christian villages, because the *songbooks* have had less influence there than among the Christian population. In fact, it is now practically impossible to discover a Christian singer who has not been infected by the printed versions to a very great degree. During the summer of 1966 I searched for a singer who was still operating in a purely oral tradition of song uninfluenced by the written and published texts. Among those whom I heard and recorded in the Christian villages in Serbia from Kuršumlja on the eastern edge of Mount Kopaonik to Prijepolje near the borders of Bosnia, with one or perhaps two doubtful exceptions, there was not a single singer whose songs were untouched by the songbook tradition. A purely oral tradition of epic song, I can state with some degree of certainty now, has practically disappeared among the non-Moslem singers in the regions I have surveyed in Serbia and in Hercegovina.

What has happened with the Christians has been happening more slowly, but just as inevitably, with the Moslem singers. After the young Moslem priest had read the songbook versions of songs he had heard from his father, he changed his father's versions to agree with those in the songbook. Fortunately a fair number of songs that his father sang are not in the songbooks. Moreover, the young man learned the art of singing before he read the books. He does not yet need to memorize. But the seeds of disruption have been sown. To him the songbook texts are true; he believes that they were reviewed by a committee before they

⁷ *Ibid.* 216.

were published. That is why he changed his father's versions. The truth is that the collection of Kosta Hörmann from the end of the nineteenth century⁸ — the songbook that our singer knows and reads — was not selected by a committee, but is a bona fide collection from truly oral singers. They are no truer than his father's versions. But the printed collection has won, and the poet will begin to memorize, if he has not already started to do so. Field experience over more than thirty years has taught that "a bard who can write" is not an "impossibility." It has also taught that literacy among oral poets tends to the eventual destruction of an "oral technique of epic verse-making."

Adam Parry credits me with having articulated two "principles" "concerning composition and transmission of poetry in the improvising style."⁹ The first of these states that "an orally composed poem cannot be handed on by the tradition of oral song without fundamental change." With this Adam Parry is in agreement. The second is that "the [oral] poet's powers are destroyed if he learns to read and write." As Adam Parry indicates in a note,¹⁰ "the formulation is Dow's, from a mimeographed sheet accompanying his recent Sather Lectures." The note continues:

Actually, Lord is rather more cautious: there are oral poets who can read and write (*Singer*, p. 129). He insists only that they cannot *use* their knowledge of writing to help them compose a song. The song itself is either a product of the unlettered tradition (though conceivably the singer might be able on another occasion to write something), or it is a literary poem, which, whatever its merits, will have lost the qualities of heroic song.

Sterling Dow's formulation has the advantage of brevity, which is, I suspect, needed on a mimeographed sheet; it compresses a complex and often lengthy process into a few words. But it has the disadvantage of all capsule generalizations: it may lead to misunderstanding unless elaborated. On the other hand, Adam Parry's summary of my views is not accurate. To the best of my knowledge, I have nowhere insisted that literate singers *cannot* use their knowledge of writing to help them compose a song. But the gap between "cannot" and "do not" is great. I

⁸ *Narodne pjesme muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini*, sabrao Kosta Hörmann 1888-1889, 2nd edition Sarajevo 1933, two volumes. A third volume with the same title, Sarajevo 1966, has just appeared. It contains hitherto unpublished songs from Hörmann's manuscripts, edited by Đenana Buturović.

⁹ *YCS* 20 (1966) 216.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 181.

know of no instances in which a singer has actually done so, that is, has composed an oral poem in writing.

Before pursuing further the subject of the literate oral poet who composes an oral poem in writing, I should like to set the record straight as to what I actually said in *The Singer of Tales*:

We might ask whether those oral poets who write their own texts (for there are such) can under any circumstances produce an oral poem. The answer is affirmative. Yet an oral singer who has learned just enough writing to put down laboriously a song that he would ordinarily sing would do this only at the request of a collector. Such a text might be called "autograph oral," because the singer would follow his usual oral style, having great difficulty, however, in doing so in a new medium and under strange circumstances . . .

In other words, a literate oral poet can write down a poem he would ordinarily sing, and the result would be as much an oral poem as when he sang it. He would normally do this only if asked to do so by someone — such as a collector. In such a case, the singer is not using writing to help him compose a song, he is using it to help the collector preserve it. What is at stake here, what is still not properly understood, is the process of composition of oral narrative poetry. I shall return to the question of whether literate oral poets ever do write poems, but let me first continue with clarification of what was said in *The Singer of Tales*. Speaking of the singer who could read and write, I went on:

Such a singer will probably learn some songs from the book, but he will still retain a residue of songs that he learned from oral transmission, and hence his repertory will be mixed in origin. When he thinks of the written songs as fixed and tries to learn them word for word, the power of the fixed text and of the technique of memorizing will stunt his ability to compose orally. But this process is not a transition from an oral to a literary technique of composition. It is a transition from oral composition to simple performance of a fixed text, from composition to reproduction. This is one of the most common ways in which an oral tradition may die; not when writing is introduced, but when published song texts are spread among singers.¹¹

Literacy in itself does not destroy the oral poet's power to compose oral poetry. When, however, through literacy, the oral poet turns to the

¹¹ *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge 1960) 129–130.

concept of a fixed text and to memorization, then eventually he may lose his power to compose orally.

Yet even these statements need some further modifications in order to relate the theoretical more closely to reality. First, if the singer is well established in the oral technique, he is not likely to be much attracted by reading and writing. A singer in his fifties or sixties, who is an accomplished poet, is not drawn to reading and writing. Literacy campaigns, quite realistically, are addressed to the young. Second, the singer in the 25- to 50-year age group, who is well steeped in the traditional oral technique before he acquires the idea of the fixed text, may be able for a time to continue to compose in the oral manner. As I have already said, his repertory will be of mixed origin. He will both compose orally and also recite from the songbook. If he persists in performing, however, I believe that memorization will prevail. Third, the singer who is not secure in the oral technique, no matter what his age, when the newer ideas come to him, will succumb quite easily to the concept of the fixed text, and he will rapidly lose whatever ability he had in oral composition. It seems clear, then, that it is not literacy *per se* but the idea of fixity that will eventually destroy the oral poet's power to compose oral poetry.

With this principle in mind let us ponder T. B. L. Webster's statement as quoted in Adam Parry's article:¹² "Unlike the Greek poems, the Yugoslav poems were not continually brought up to date, perhaps because the social status of the audience (unlike the Greek) continually declined; literacy killed the Yugoslav poets because it brought them into touch with a higher culture; there is no reason why it should have had the same effect on Greek oral poets, and the transition may have been much more gradual."¹³ According to Webster, then, a higher culture kills oral poetry; literacy is only a means of becoming acquainted with that higher culture. But he does not specify what in the higher culture kills oral poetry. I could agree with him, of course, if he meant that in a higher culture there are literate people who write down the songs of oral poets and publish them, thereby establishing fixed texts. I fear that this is not Webster's meaning; at any rate, he does not elaborate.

¹² YCS 20 (1966) 213.

¹³ JHS 83 (1963) 157. This is from Webster's review of Kirk's *The Songs of Homer* (Cambridge 1962). The quotation encompasses two additional "hazards in the analogy" with the Yugoslav material that Kirk had not mentioned. Webster's statements, like Kirk's, are undocumented. I am constantly amazed at the ease with which scholars, meticulous in their own field, make *ex cathedra* statements about poetries of whose language they know nothing.

While we have the quotation from Webster before us, I should like to question his statement that the Yugoslav poems were not continually brought up to date, whereas the Greek poems were. Like his assertion about "higher culture," I find this one very unclear. From Webster's own book, *From Mycenae to Homer*,¹⁴ I suspect that he means here that the Homeric poems were "brought up to date" by making references to "the modern world of Ionia" in a traditional story. Thus, "the new shields with decorated bronze faces must have given Homer the idea for the shield of Achilles, the description of which shows a high proportion of late linguistic forms."¹⁵ In other words, the Homeric poems exhibit anachronisms. I wonder what has led Webster to say that the Yugoslav poems were not continually brought up to date. It would be helpful to know on just what he has based such a conclusion. Actually there are numerous anachronisms in the Yugoslav oral epic songs as there are in all traditional epics with which I am acquainted. It is part of their nature. In a song of the days of Sulejman the Magnificent (1494-1566) we find such modern borrowings in Serbo-Croatian as "kolega" (colleague), "riskirati" (to risk), "niform" (uniform), and "soldat" (soldier).¹⁶ Telegrams replace messengers in older songs, and impressive houses and palaces of many stories appear in places and times when even the best of dwellings had no more than three stories. One begins to suspect that Webster's knowledge of the Yugoslav poetry is somewhat limited.

Webster suggests further that perhaps the reason that the Yugoslav poetry was not continually brought up to date was that "the social status of the audience (unlike the Greek) continually declined." Once again I wonder exactly what he means. What audience is he referring to? During the period when much of Yugoslavia was under Ottoman rule the Christian population was a subject one and was low on the social scale. Gradually as parts of the empire were lost, the Christian population improved its social status under Austrian rule or under its own autonomous leadership. The social status of that population advanced rather than declined as time went on. It is true that the social status of the Moslem audience declined after 1912, when Turkey lost the Sandžak of Novi Pazar, and earlier than that in other parts of what is now Yugoslavia. But until that time the Moslem audience consisted of pashas and viziers, as well as local beys and aghas, in addition to the ordinary

¹⁴ *From Mycenae to Homer*, 2nd edition New York 1964.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 213.

¹⁶ Examples are taken from *The Singer of Tales*, p. 44.

Moslem, who was always aware that he belonged to the ruling class. The Balkan picture is complex. The Christian "rayah" both politically and socially were improving their position up until the final overthrow of the Turks. The Moslems in those parts of the country where Moslem epic singing was strongest began to lose their social position as their empire lost its political power, the final blow coming in 1912. Yet the neologisms of which I spoke were from Moslem epic in the declining period. It would seem that Webster's concept of the history of the social status of the Southern Slavs is far too simplified.

What Webster has in mind is that in the course of time the people in the cities lost interest in the oral epic and finally only the peasants ever listened to the traditional songs. Adam Parry has expressed a similar idea: "An external difference in the traditions of ancient Greek and Yugoslav poetry has been oddly overlooked. It is that unlettered culture in Yugoslavia has been a rural, one might almost say, backwoods phenomenon, existing alongside a literary urban culture. This means, first, that much of the best poetic talent would be lost to it; and, second, that there was an entirely different relation between literacy and the power of unlettered song from any that could have existed in Ancient Greece at the end of the eighth century."¹⁷ And so we reach our second point in the discussion of Adam Parry's article, the problem of the validity of the analogy between the circumstances of ancient Greek and modern Yugoslav oral traditional epic song as well as between the songs themselves. We are back also to Webster's assertion that "literacy killed the Yugoslav poets because it brought them into touch with a higher culture."

It is true that a literary tradition has existed in Serbo-Croatian side by side with an oral tradition since the invention of the Slavic alphabets in the early Middle Ages. These alphabets were originally associated with the church and with ecclesiastical literature, its models coming either from Byzantium or from Italy. On the whole the church was hostile to the oral traditional songs and we have no texts recorded during the Middle Ages. The two traditions, the oral and the literary, remained independent of one another. In Serbia the Middle Ages lasted until the eighteenth century, because the Ottoman Empire cut the eastern part of the South Slavic regions off from effects of the Renaissance in Italy. During that period in Serbia the literary tradition was weak, but the oral tradition flourished, especially among the Moslems. The singing tradition was Slavic, and the Moslems were converted Slavs.

¹⁷ YCS 20 (1966) 212-213.

With Mohammedanism came a new culture, a combination of Byzantine splendor with what the Turks had brought to Byzantium from Persia and Arabia. A profound change came over the singing tradition at this time, similar perhaps to the change that must have come over it not really too long before this when it changed from a pagan to a Christian tradition. Now it became Moslem and absorbed the culture of Istanbul together with many loan words from Turkish, and through Turkish from Persian and Arabic. The Moslem was a rich culture, although in it writing was in the hands of scribes and priests; but, with some exceptions on both sides, peasant and noble alike were unlettered. The Moslems who learned to write and read learned a non-Slavic tongue and became scribes or priests. There was scarcely any Arabic or Turkish literature available to them here in the provinces. The Moslem culture was rich, but it did not need literacy as a passport to it. Oral traditional song became one of the most developed cultural phenomena of the Moslem Slavs. Although important collections of the oral epics of the Moslems in Bosnia were made during the last century,¹⁸ literacy created no problems for their tradition until the second quarter of the present century.

For this Moslem tradition of oral epic Webster's term "higher culture" and Adam Parry's dichotomy between the city with its literary culture and the "backwoods phenomenon" of "unlettered culture" have no meaning. The Ottoman Empire inherited the scribal practices of the Near Eastern peoples whose cultures they had in other respects also absorbed. Although it may be a shock to Christian European sensibilities, one might say that one could be a cultured member of an advanced civilization among the Moslem Slavs for several centuries in the Balkans and be ignorant of writing. I wonder if we do not have here the closest analogy to the "relation between literacy and the power of unlettered song" "in Ancient Greece at the end of the eighth century"?¹⁹ "The best poetic talent," indeed, all the poetic talent, of the Moslem Slav culture was occupied with the oral tradition. What its poets did to the formulaic language of their Slavic inheritance, the

¹⁸ In addition to the Hörmann collection cited in n. 8 above one should mention the material collected by Luka Marjanović and published in volumes 3 and 4 of *Hrvatske narodne pjesme* (Matica hrvatska, Zagreb 1898-1899). A microfilm of the unpublished epic texts of the Matica hrvatska collection is available in the Harvard College Library, thanks to the generosity of the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences and the United States Department of State.

¹⁹ YCS 20 (1966) 212-213, 214.

adapting of Turkish and other borrowings, both lexical and syntactic, to the Slavic line spread from the Moslem to the Christian oral epic. The significance and the extent of the contribution of Moslem singers to South Slavic oral traditional song have never been adequately studied.²⁰

To what degree do Webster's and Adam Parry's terms have relevance for the Christian singers of oral traditional epic in what is Yugoslavia today? From the end of the fifteenth century on in some of the cities on the Dalmatian coast, Dubrovnik, Split, and Zadar in particular, and on some of the islands, especially Hvar, there grew up a rich literature that was an extension of the Italian Renaissance. That is to say, the models were Italian, but the language was Croatian. This literature, which lasted up to the end of the seventeenth century, was entirely independent of the oral tradition that surrounded it outside the cities. It was occasionally aware of the oral tradition. From time to time texts from oral tradition were inserted into literary works.²¹ But — and here is the significant point — the literary poets of the Renaissance were not "converted," or "corrupted," or otherwise "saved," "improved," or "bettered," oral poets. They were not oral poets who had learned to write, whose oral poetry had been killed by a higher culture. They were not oral poets whose literacy had opened up to them the urban literary culture of the civilized world. They belonged from the beginning to their half of the dichotomy, and when they brought oral traditional material into their literary works it was with a realization that it belonged to another tradition than their own. The dichotomy was real, but the literary tradition was not devouring or otherwise killing off the poets of the oral tradition.

With the eighteenth century a few manuscript collections of oral epic, including one made by a foreigner, came into being, but they were not published until the end of the nineteenth or the early twentieth century;

²⁰ Alois Schmaus's *Studije o krajinskoj epici* (Zagreb 1953) broke the path, but none has followed in it. *The Singer of Tales* was based largely on evidence from Moslem epic, but not exclusively.

²¹ For example, the *bugarštica* (long-line epic songs, or ballads) inserted in Petar Hektorović's *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje* (recent edition Zagreb 1951) lines 523-591, 595-685. Hektorović's poem was first published in Venice in 1568. It is in the conventional form of an epistle to a friend, and recounts a three-day fishing expedition made by the aristocratic poet of the island of Hvar off the Dalmatian coast. He is accompanied by local fishermen, who contend with one another in song to entertain the poet. One of the songs sung is a ballad of Marko Kraljević and his brother Andrija, the oldest song of Marko that we have.

even then, they appeared in learned editions.²² Of much greater importance were the imitations of traditional oral epic that begin with the Franciscan Andrija Kačić-Miošić's history of the South Slavs in prose and verse,²³ which was first published in Venice in 1756. Its style is partly that of the oral epic, which its author knew very well. With apologies to the reader he even included two poems in the form in which the people sing them.²⁴ The apologies were he felt necessary because he could not vouch for their historicity. In part he deviated from the oral epic style in that he introduced rhymed couplets. This innovation (actually copying his predecessor Grabovac)²⁵ was to remain influential even to the present day in its effect on the "oral tradition." Last summer I recorded from a singer on Mount Kopaonik a portion of a song about the battle of Kosovo in 1389 that was published in Montenegro in this century;²⁶ it is an imitation of Kačić in that it too is in rhymed couplets. It is a literary poem, of course, and required memorization on the part of the literate singer. He sang a portion of it, because that was all he remembered. I have recorded portions of this poem from several singers over the past few years, but have not found anyone who knew the whole of it; it contains several thousand lines. Two singers I know had manuscript copies of it that they had made from the printed book. Kačić's influence is still alive in an indirect but vastly significant way for our

²² Valtazar Bogišić, *Narodne pjesme iz starijih najviše primorskih zapisa II odeljenje Glasnika srpskog učenog društva*, Knjiga 10 (Belgrade 1878) gathered together much of what was known. Gerhard Gesemann, *Erlangenski rukopis starih srpskohrvatskih narodnih pesama*, Srpska kraljevska akademija, *Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i književnost srpskog naroda*, prvo odeljenje, *Spomenici na srpskom jeziku*, Knjiga 12 (Sr. Karlovci 1925).

²³ *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga*. The second edition in 1759 had many new poems in it. The best edition is that of the Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti in the series *Stari pisci hrvatski*, Knjiga 27, *Djela Andrije Kačića Miošića*, Knjiga 1, edited by T. Matić (Zagreb 1942).

²⁴ *Ibid.* 332-335. They are introduced as follows: "There follow songs of Vojvoda Janko, which are commonly sung by Dalmatians, Bosnians, men of the Lika, and other people of Slavic tongue. They are pleasant to listen to, even if it is not possible that they are entirely true." (Slide pisme vojvode Janka, koje općenito pivaju Dalmatini, Bošnjaci, Ličani i ostali od slovinskoga jezika narodi. Lipe su slušati, ako i nije moguće, da su posve istinite.)

²⁵ Filip Grabovac, *Cvit razgovora naroda i jezika iliričkoga aliti rvackoga*, edited by Tomo Matić (Zagreb 1951) in the series *Stari pisci hrvatski*, Knjiga 30, of the Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti. The first edition was published in Venice in 1747.

²⁶ Radovan Bećirović-Trebješki, *Kosovska bitka 1389*, 4th edition Nikšić 1958.

problem even now, over two hundred years after the appearance of his history.

I cannot outline in this article all the steps in the history of the "relation between literacy and the power of unlettered song" in Yugoslavia over those two hundred years. The history of South Slavic, indeed of Balkan, oral epic tradition has yet to be written,²⁷ but the role of various kinds of imitations during that period in the ultimate weakening and destruction of the pure oral tradition will be impressive. Kačić was writing the history of the past, but in the nineteenth century it became fashionable to write the history of the present as well in oral epic form. It is notable that these imitations are not written by literate oral poets. During this period (the second half of the eighteenth and the whole of the nineteenth centuries) both the literary tradition proper and the special branch of it concerned with imitation of oral epic is fostered by literary people.²⁸ The dichotomy is still strong. Literate oral poets have not yet begun to "write." The writers belong to the educated, non-oral-poet, literary tradition. They have often perhaps heard singers and may have dabbled a bit with a *gusle*,²⁹ because in the nationalist fervor in Serbia and Montenegro in the nineteenth century it was popular to do so, but they were not real singers.

From this nationalist period stems the literary tradition's concern for the oral tradition as something of which to be proud, as "our national treasure" (*naše narodno blago*). The "treasure" was collected and imitated, and the names of the collectors and imitators often became well known.³⁰ But the names of the real singers who gave the collectors

²⁷ Over the last few years I have been gathering material for such a book, both in the field and in Yugoslav archives.

²⁸ One of the earliest and most illustrious of the "imitators" in the nineteenth century was Petar Petrović-Njegoš II (1813-1851), who was Prince-Bishop of Montenegro from 1830 to his death. When a boy he learned to play the *gusle* and to sing, but already before 1830 he had composed five new songs, that is to say before he was seventeen years old! These were later published by Sima Milutinović-Sarajlija in his *Pjevanija crnogorska i hercegovačka*, 2nd edition Budim 1837.

²⁹ The single-stringed bowed instrument used to accompany epic singing in Yugoslavia.

³⁰ The earliest and greatest of the collectors was Vuk S. Karadžić, whose first small collection appeared in 1814 (*Mala prcstonarodna slavensko-serbska pesnarica*). The second, still small, collection was published the following year (*Narodna srbska pjesmarica*). In 1823 he published three volumes and a fourth in 1833, which together form the so-called Leipzig edition of his *Narodne srpske pjesme*, although the fourth volume appeared in Vienna. The last edition to come out during Vuk's lifetime appeared in Vienna, vol. 1, 1841; vol. 2, 1845; vol. 3, 1846; and vol. 4, 1862.

their songs were forgotten, although they were sometimes recorded. During the twentieth century one of Vuk Karadžić's singers, Filip Višnjić, has become famous; a book was written about him in 1956.³¹ Actually in the fanfare about collecting and imitating the "treasure," its possessors, the oral poets themselves, were neglected. Contrary to what some might think, the oral poets were not rushing to learn to read and write so that they might join the literary class. They were not being killed by literacy, which was supposedly bringing them "into touch with a higher culture." In fact, there is some evidence that certain songs in the oral tradition among the Christian population had been slowly dying out during the eighteenth century.³² The nationalism of the nineteenth revived them, and local patriotism gave impulse to the creation of local historical songs. These abound in the collections of the nineteenth century in both Serbia and Montenegro.³³ It is a nice question to what extent they are really traditional oral songs, to what extent they were called forth by some collector and are therefore nonce compositions, and to what extent they may even be written in the style of the oral epic by some collector. Here is a tangle for the scholar to attempt to solve. What seems clear, I believe, is that the literary tradition with its imitations by those who had never been oral poets was very slowly beginning to *replace* the oral tradition, which was itself very slowly dying out in the country places. The local historical songs, which were only of fleeting interest, were pushing into the background the basic core of "mythic" stories represented, for example, in the songs about Marko Kraljević. Whatever the details may be, the general picture that emerges in the nineteenth century is not what either Webster or Adam Parry has supposed. The "higher culture" did not kill the Yugoslav oral poet by bringing him through literacy into touch with itself; it threatened to kill him, and eventually did, by replacing him.

The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, the Balkan Wars, the First World War, and the Second World War have all had their chroniclers, writing in the style of the oral traditional epic, yet in no other way traditional, because the authors of the poems were not traditional

³¹ M. Panić-Surep, *Filip Višnjić, pesnik bune* (Belgrade 1956).

³² I have always been struck by the fact that Vuk Karadžić was able to find so few songs about Kosovo during the first half of the nineteenth century. He did not publish a single one about the killing of the sultan by Miloš Obilić, the central episode of the "cycle."

³³ See especially volumes 4, 8, and 9 of Vuk Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme*, first state edition Belgrade 1896, 1900, and 1902 respectively; and Petar Petrović-Njegoš, *Ogledalo srpsko* (Belgrade 1951, first published 1846).

singers. These poems were not produced by literate oral poets imitating either the "newspaper, or possibly the school book," but by literary people imitating the earlier imitations of the oral traditional epic. I have recently been perusing the poems about the wars just mentioned, poems that I had once thought were written by oral poets who had become literate. Until *The Singer of Tales* was completed I had concentrated on the best purely oral songs that I could find. Since then I have turned my attention as well to the problems of the imitations and of the decline or disappearance of an oral tradition. I know that there are oral poets who can write, that is to say, who are literate. I know also that they can, when asked, *write down* the poems that they know. But in the course of this study I have come to question the existence of such a category as that of the literate oral poet who "writes." Literate oral poets exist. Literary poets who imitate oral poetry exist. I have not found as yet a literate oral poet, that is to say a good oral poet who has learned to write, who has in fact written either imitations of oral poetry or oral poetry.³⁴

There is then a tradition of imitations, going back at least as far as Kačić, which becomes stronger and stronger in the course of the centuries, down to the very present. They are written by people very familiar with the oral tradition, but not part of it. Many of the imitations, especially those in this century, were intended for singers to learn, or were intended to be learned and sung. These gave rise to a group of

³⁴ Two of Milman Parry's singers wrote songs in honor of Parry himself. Milovan Vojičić's song was published in *The Singer of Tales*, pp. 272-275. At the end of a notebook in which Rade Danilović of Morača in Montenegro, the son of Mirko Danilović, wrote down several songs that he knew, he added a song for Milman Parry (text no. 12,552). It is in rhymed couplets, like Milovan's, but more successfully carried out. It contains 74 lines, and is divided into three unequal parts. It begins as follows:

Na kraj ove male teke
Nek ostanu reči neke!
Nek su sjajne, i po duže
Nek širokim svjetom kruže!
Pod žarkijem suncem neba
Ja ne tražim koru hleba.
Samo tražim da me znate
Priatelja da imate
U Morači divnom kraju,
Našem lepom zavičaju.

At the end of this little book
Let a few words remain!
May they be bright, and for a longer time
Let them circle the wide world!
Beneath the warm sun of heaven
I do not seek a crust of bread.
I seek only that you know in me
That you have a friend
In Morača, that lovely place,
Our beautiful home.

This is a better poem than Milovan's. Both singers had been much influenced by the songbooks and by the imitations. They had been corrupted by them early, and there is a real question in my mind if they were ever good oral singers. Their single nonce poems were certainly not part of oral tradition.

singers who learned the technique of the *gusle* and the melody of the voice and sang the written words. Imitation penetrated not only the text but the performance, and most of the singers one can hear today in the Christian regions are of this sort. They are not oral traditional singers. They are like many of those we call "folk singers" in our country today. They are not literate oral poets but literary imitators. In Yugoslavia the literary imitators have taken the place of the oral poets. The Moslem singers form, and have formed for more than a century, a notable exception.

Webster's statement that "literacy killed the Yugoslav poets because it brought them into touch with a higher culture" is pure theory and takes no heed of the actual facts. Adam Parry's grand picture of the Yugoslav poet learning to write and having the culture of the civilized world now accessible to him, of his becoming thus "part of a different world, a world with new values and new habits of thought" is quite out of touch with reality. It is purely theoretical. From the extensive material of imitation over two centuries I have had great difficulty in finding any bona fide oral poet who became literate and "wrote." It certainly has not happened often enough to justify saying that this is the process by which oral poetry was killed in Yugoslavia.

When an oral poet became literate he read the collections and the imitations. They belonged to the world of books that was mysterious because it was not his world. He learned the fixed texts, and thus he became a reproducer rather than an oral poet. Kirk's reproductive period is a real thing, but it depends, I believe, on writing. In Christian Yugoslav tradition the reproductive has replaced the creative period with the last thirty years. Among the Moslem singers the process of replacement is just beginning. Years ago Milman Parry saw that the secret of that change, as it is the secret of the distinction between oral and written tradition, is the fixed text.³⁵

* * *

³⁵ In his unpublished field notes dated December 3, 1934, Milman Parry wrote about the influence of the songbooks on singers. Among other things he wrote: "The principle whereby the use of printed texts can be detected in the songs is the converse of the principle whereby no two singers ever sing the same song alike. All my observations of the poetry so far have, without exception, pointed to the conclusion that a singer who learns a song from another singer makes his own version more or less from the same themes (of the theme much must be said further on and a suitable classification of them devised) but almost altogether out of his own verses." After listing cases where identical lines might be found, and discussing the effect of previous proficiency in singing before the singer encounters the songbook, he continued: "I have not yet, however, met

In several of the papers in the recent Homer volume of the *Yale Classical Studies* problems of formulas and formulaic analysis are discussed. Joseph A. Russo's article, "The Structural Formula in Homeric Verse" (pages 219-240), continues the concern with the structural patterns within the formulas that he first exhibited in an earlier paper.³⁶ It is probably a mistake to go so far as he does in calling any phrase a formula, or even formulaic, simply because it fits a well-known formula pattern, although no repetition of words is involved. One should proceed cautiously here. The patterns are highly significant in themselves and worthy of attention. In *The Singer of Tales* I classified several types in the Yugoslav poetry, a classification which is applicable to other poetries as well.³⁷ But to designate a phrase as formula only on the basis of the pattern is to invite disaster. The criticism of Russo's earlier article by W. W. Minton³⁸ is most apt. The "structural formula," as Russo calls it, stretches the denotation of the word "formula" so far that it ceases to have meaning. It is only when the pattern is filled with specific words that it is usable by a singer, and it is the singer's art with which we are concerned. Without the exact words one has still only *patterns*.

Russo differentiates between "formulas" and "formulaic pattern or structure."³⁹ His classification is like mine, but he applies it to Homeric poetry. In so doing he misrepresents the previous work of Parry on formulas in that he puts both the exact repetition and the partial repetition (what I have called a "formulaic expression") into a single category. The distinction between the two is an important one, useful and necessary, I believe, in practical analysis. By studying the relationship of formulas to formulaic expressions in a text we can distinguish between a purely oral style, a conventional style, and a purely written

any case of a singer who came to the printed texts without first having a sufficient equipment of verses of his own, and it may be that, at the present, there exists in the Southslavic region no such singer, so that this factor of the previous proficiency may be discounted. It is, however, an important one from the point of view of the distinction between written and oral poetry, and it will become important for the Southslavic poetry if the time arises when the natural oral tradition is lost and the songs merely sung in the ancient manner. Such may or may not have been the case with the Homeric rhapsodes." Thirty years later that time had arisen in Yugoslavia.

³⁶ *TAPA* 94 (1963) 235-247.

³⁷ *The Singer of Tales*, pp. 32ff, especially p. 37.

³⁸ William W. Minton, "The Fallacy of the Structural Formula," *TAPA* 96 (1965) 241-253.

³⁹ *YCS* 20 (1966) 226-227.

style, as I shall try to demonstrate. Because these two categories are useful they should be kept apart. Russo is certainly correct that we need more actual formula analysis of the Homeric poems and of other Greek epic texts, oral and non-oral. But we need to be stricter rather than more flexible in distinguishing the kinds of repetitions. The structural patterns are helpful in understanding formulas and especially in discerning formulaic expressions, but they should not be confused with the flesh and blood reality of the words in the patterns.

Kirk's article, "Formular Language and Oral Quality" (pages 155-174), raises in essence the nice point whether we can differentiate by quantitative analysis of formulas between a purely oral text and one written "in the style of" the oral poetry. Imitation or adaptation must have occurred in ancient Greek literature at some time after the appearance of the first recorded texts. When people began to compose in writing, it is reasonable to assume that the kind of poetry they wrote was the same as that which they had heard from the traditional poets. The South Slavic analogy, as I have intimated above, confirms this conclusion. One does not usually need formula analysis to tell the difference between the authentic oral poetry and the "imitation." One knows about the author, or one can detect non-traditional subject matter or devices. But suppose one did not know enough about the tradition itself to be able to sort out the authentic from the non-traditional. Could formula analysis be of help? Kirk feels that it could not. A poet could imitate the authentic style so well that it would be impossible to distinguish between the two, he believes. He is, of course, perfectly aware that the kind of pastiche of formulas that he indicates one might compose is not likely ever to have existed.⁴⁰ The case is so hypothetical that it can be only a red herring in our search for truth. Moreover, even in such a case I expect that the contriver of the pastiche would betray himself and that a real singer would realize the impostor. We need not worry about such extremes. The usual imitator or user of the style is not a trickster, but a writer intent on telling a story in a well-known and popular style. There are ways of determining whether a style is oral or not, and I believe that quantitative formula analysis is one of them, perhaps the most reliable.

Before proceeding to document the reasons for this belief, I think we must do a little conjuring with the adjective "quantitative." Let me begin with a quotation from Adam Parry's article discussed above.⁴¹

The Homeric line is evidently more formulaary than the Yugoslav. The style as such was more developed, and the Homeric poet dealt more in

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 158.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 202.

blocks of words, so that there is in Homer less play of individual words. It does seem true, as Kirk well sums up the matter, "that the traditional language of the Greek oral poets was much more highly organized, as it was much richer, than that of any modern oral poet of whom we know." In other words, Yugoslav heroic poetry, though it is far more formulaic than any literary poetry could well be, still cannot be analyzed into the same systems of formulae as M. Parry was able to analyze in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. All this is true . . . A rich and complex tradition imposes restrictions and at the same time provides greater possibilities of expression.

This quotation is a strange mixture of truth and misconception.

If I am not mistaken, the view that the Homeric poems are more formulaic than the Yugoslav, or of any other poetry, goes back to C. M. Bowra's discussion in *Heroic Poetry*.⁴² He defines formulas, comments on their usefulness, gives examples, in English, without the original, from the poetries of the Russians, Yugoslavs, Kara-Kirghiz, Kalmucks, and Yakuts, and concludes that "though this poetry abounds in formulae, it is hardly ever entirely formulaic" (page 230). A little later he continues: "It seems clear that in oral poetry, even when formulae are common owing to the requirements of improvisation, there remains a large element of non-formulaic language which the skilful poet so harmonises with the traditional mannerisms that we hardly notice it" (page 233). And of Homer Bowra writes (page 233):

At the start it is clear that the formula plays a more important part in ancient Greek heroic poetry than in any oral poetry which we have examined. There seems to be hardly any department into which it does not penetrate. It is present equally in the machinery of narrative and in the highest flights of poetry, though here it is managed with uncommon tact and seldom makes itself noticeable.

Finally, speaking of Homer's language, Bowra says: "But it has certainly been organised for poetry to a degree which is not to be found elsewhere." He ascribes this in part to the heroic hexameter, because it "is a much stricter and more exacting metre than those of the Russians, Yugoslavs, or Asiatic Tatars." He emphasizes "how difficult it is to fit the Greek language into this demanding and exacting form." He continues (page 236):

Now a poet who improvises in a difficult metre is faced with a much sterner task than, say, a Russian poet whose line is determined neither by

⁴² C. M. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry* (London 1952), beginning p. 220.

the quantity of syllables nor by their number but by accents which he himself puts on in chanting. It follows that, in order to make improvisation in the Greek hexameter possible, a technique had to be invented which provided minstrels with a great array of phrases and indeed prepared them for almost any emergency. *That is why Homer has far more formulae than even the most formulaic poets from other countries.* [Italics mine] For them relatively easy metres allowed a degree of free composition; for the Greeks free composition was almost out of the question, and the formula must always be ready to help.

Kirk echoed this judgment of Bowra's in the passage quoted above by Adam Parry from Kirk's article "Homer and Modern Oral Poetry: Some Confusions."⁴³ In *The Songs of Homer* he writes:

... neither the Yugoslav poetry nor any other oral poetry of which we know has anything like the strict formular system, with its high degree of economy and scope, that is exemplified throughout the Iliad and Odyssey. The Yugoslav singer has much standardized thematic material available, some of which is expressed in more or less fixed formular language. There are many fixed epithets and repeated lines and half-lines, and A. B. Lord has shown that the formular quality may be more pervasive than one at first thinks. [There is a reference here to *The Singer of Tales*, chapter 3.] Even so there is nothing approaching the rigidity of the formular structure of the Greek *aidos*, by far the greater part of whose phraseology, judging from the Iliad and Odyssey, was traditional.⁴⁴

We have thus several statements by Bowra, Kirk, and Adam Parry that Homer has more formulas than any other oral poetry, or that Homer's line is more "formular" and that the Yugoslav poetry could not be analyzed into the same systems of formulas as Milman Parry found for Homer, or that no oral poetry has the strict formular systems that are to be found in the Homeric poems. What are the several bases for these judgments? On the Homeric side the evidence of Milman Parry⁴⁵ for the noun-epithet formulas is detailed, accurate, and inclusive. His work was limited almost entirely to the noun-epithet formulas, but goes somewhat further, and its implications go very far indeed. Neither Bowra nor Kirk nor Adam Parry has added to Homeric formula analysis by detailed statistical investigation. They depend on Milman Parry's work and on inference from the hexameter. Fortunately this is dependable, but as Russo has pointed out we need more formula analysis. I

⁴³ G. S. Kirk, "Homer and Modern Oral Poetry: Some Confusions," *CQ* n. s. 10 (1960) 271-281, especially p. 278.

⁴⁴ G. S. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer* (Cambridge 1962) 88-89.

⁴⁵ Milman Parry, *L'Épithète traditionnelle dans Homère*, Paris 1928.

might add that there is some further analysis in *The Singer of Tales*, but it is of the same lines analyzed by Milman Parry, albeit with a somewhat different system.⁴⁶

On the other hand, the evidence for oral poetry derives from either Bowra or myself. Now Bowra's investigation, except for the Russian poetry, which was known to him in the original, was through translations, and it was not statistical. It was to a large extent impressionistic, although he was to varying degrees acquainted enough with the material to have some reasonable impression. To date, the only statistical formula analysis of oral poetry has been my study of the South Slavic, and this has unfortunately been rather limited. Such as it is, however, it seems to indicate that the Serbo-Croatian epic sample is 100 per cent formula or formulaic, whereas Homer is around 90 per cent.⁴⁷ This is in terms of number of formulas, the same terms in which Bowra spoke. In the face of those statistics, I do not see how one can persist in the statement that Homer is more formulaic than any oral poetry.

I wonder on what authority Adam Parry states that "Yugoslav heroic poetry . . . still cannot be analyzed into the same systems of formulae as M. Parry was able to analyze in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*." Some movement was made in this direction in chapter 3 of *The Singer of Tales*, especially pages 34-36 and 47 and following. I did not make as complete an analysis as Milman Parry, of course, but merely indicated that it could be done and showed how to do it. There is not the slightest reason why the Yugoslav poetry cannot be analyzed into the same systems of formulas, that is systems that allow the Yugoslav poet to express the common ideas of his poetry in all necessary parts of the verse. I take it that Adam Parry is not being sophistic and expecting Greek systems in Serbo-Croatian. What is clearly needed most desperately is a moratorium on baseless speculation about formula quantity and in its stead active research in formula incidence and density, both in Homer and in oral poetry.

The medievalists have been making formula analyses of narrative poetry that they have thought might be oral and their findings are worthy of our attention. The latest number of *Speculum* carries two articles in which the problems of oral theory are discussed,⁴⁸ and *PMLA* presented us recently with Larry D. Benson's paper about

⁴⁶ *The Singer of Tales*, pp. 142-144.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 47 and 144.

⁴⁸ Albert C. Baugh, "The Middle English Romance," *Speculum* 42 (January 1967) 1-31, and Michael Curschmann, "Oral Poetry in Medieval English, French, and German Literature: Some Notes on Recent Research," *ibid.* 36-52.

quantitative formula analysis in Anglo-Saxon research.⁴⁹ There has probably been more actual formulaic analysis done for Anglo-Saxon poetry than for any other tradition. The Romance field, however, is beginning to catch up. J. J. Duggan has reported on the formula content of the entire Old French "Couronnement de Louis" and of samplings from other Old French epics and romances.⁵⁰ He has demonstrated a quantitative distinction between the *chansons de geste* and the romances. His analyses have been done by computer, but are not as complete as might be expected, because the computer was able to handle only exact half-line repetitions; a finer analysis awaits improved techniques. Even so, the "Couronnement de Louis," by this method, contains 37 per cent straight formulas, whereas a sampling of 2695 verses of the *Enéas* yielded only 16 per cent and 807 verses of the *Alexandre* 17 per cent.⁵¹ The indication would be that the *chansons de geste* have twice as many straight formulas as the romances. In these two medieval fields much valuable work is being done that cannot be ignored by Homerists.

Over the past few years in a seminar in medieval epic and romance I have attempted to guide students in quantitative formula analysis of samples of some of the medieval monuments, each student analyzing a passage from a poem in the language of which he or she was proficient. The results have been sometimes puzzling, sometimes (we like to think) significant. Keeping the distinction as carefully as we could between formula and formulaic (with much discussion of the rules) we have noted a fair variety of mixtures of percentages. Two samplings of the Middle English *Havelok the Dane* gave us 88 per cent formula and formulaic with 18 per cent straight formula, and 95 per cent formula and formulaic with 30 per cent straight formula.⁵² The Anglo-Saxon *Daniel*, on the basis of the 4019 lines in the Junius manuscript, produced 51 per cent formula and formulaic in a sample of 22 lines, 19 per cent of which were straight formula.⁵³ Eighteen lines of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* did not surprise us when it showed that only 50 per cent of its lines and half-lines were formula or formulaic, and nicely confirmed our theory by containing only one formula, "upon Krystmasse" in the second half of the line, which occurs twice in the poem at lines 37 and

⁴⁹ Larry D. Benson, "The Literary Character of Anglo-Saxon Formulaic Poetry," *PMLA* 81 (October 1966) 334-341.

⁵⁰ J. J. Duggan, "Formulas in the *Couronnement de Louis*," *Romania* 87 (1966) 315-344.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 343-344.

⁵² From the seminar paper of Miss Carol Hedstrom in 1962.

⁵³ From the seminar paper of Miss Susan Strong in 1964.

471.⁵⁴ The clearly literary text stands out with its low percentage of real formulas.

In short, in the seminar we have been gradually building up a body of sample analyses of all kinds of medieval narrative poetry, and, just as valuable, we have gained considerable experience with the rules of formulaic study in several language traditions. At least three clear types of text seem to have emerged so far from our work. Within certain limits we can categorize some texts. As basis for the analysis, we always use only the poem itself in which the passage occurs. One of the difficulties of evaluating the Anglo-Saxon research of which I spoke earlier is that sometimes statistics are taken on the basis of a single poem, such as *Beowulf*, and sometimes on the basis of the whole Anglo-Saxon corpus.⁵⁵ We have a formulaic analysis of all *Beowulf*, but the work was done with a different method from most other analyses, and hence is not useful for comparative purposes.⁵⁶ If we are sure of authorship, or suspect a possibility of authorship, of several poems by the same person (for example, the Cynewulf poems, or the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*), we may extend the base to include more than one poem.

It is necessary, of course, to have a reasonable amount of material from a single poet in order to carry on the analysis. I should hesitate to say from only a small fragment whether it was oral or not, unless there were other evidence than formula analysis. So far we have analyzed only samples, but the ideal is to analyze entire poems. With computer help and improved computer techniques this may be a comparatively easy possibility in the very near future with even greater exactness than Duggan has employed for the "Couronnement de Louis." In the medieval field valuable work is afoot in formula analysis that will surely be of help to Homerists.

In the meantime, some analysis is also under way in Serbo-Croatian epic studies. I have been trying to make soundings in the various kinds of written epics that make use of the same decasyllabic line, in order to determine what pattern of formula and formulaic mixtures prevails. The

⁵⁴ From the seminar report of Mr. Robert Stepsis in 1962.

⁵⁵ Larry D. Benson (see n. 49 above) has sorted the evidence carefully from this point of view in his n. 19, p. 339. F. P. Magoun, on the basis of the corpus, found *Beowulf* around 75 per cent formulaic, while R. P. Creed, on the basis of the poem itself, found it about 66 per cent formulaic.

⁵⁶ Robert P. Creed's unpublished Harvard thesis "Studies in the Techniques of Composition of the *Béowulf* poetry in British Museum Ms. Cotton Vitellius A XV," 1956, is not a density study of samples of *Beowulf*, but an investigation of the repetitions by metrical patterns, covering the entire poem. His percentages are probably more exact than those obtained from density sampling.

findings in Serbo-Croatian may then be compared with those from medieval epic and romance. We know the circumstances and authors of the Serbo-Croatian poems, and we know their relationship to the traditional material. The comparison with the medieval material exhibiting the same patterns may help us eventually to say whether the medieval material may be written "in the style of" or simply in a more distant derived style, thus verifying what we have deduced from the medieval material itself.

In 1759 the Franciscan monk Andrija Kačić-Miošić published the enlarged version of his history of the South Slavs.⁵⁷ It is in prose and verse and contains 175 poems varying in length from around 50 lines to over 200. Kačić used the oral epic decasyllable. He had traveled much in Hercegovina and was well versed in the technique of oral epic. He was writing in its style, except that in some of his poems he used rhymed couplets. The rhyme was brought in under the influence of the coastal literary schools, with which Kačić was also very familiar. An analysis of the first 30 lines of the first poem in the second part (1759) has yielded, on the basis of 3208 lines in part two, 58 per cent formula and formulaic (35 out of 60 half-lines), with 27 per cent straight formula.⁵⁸

Pisma Radovana i Mjelovana⁵⁹

Knjigu piše od Kotara kneže
po imenu starac Radovane,
ter je šalje pobratimu svomu
Mjelovanu od gorice crne.

⁵⁷ Andrija Kačić-Miošić, *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga*, Venice 1759. The best modern edition is in the series *Stari pisci hrvatski*, XXVII, vol. 1, Zagreb 1942, edited by T. Matić.

⁵⁸ The analysis was made by Mr. John Lindow, a Harvard Junior concentrating in German and Scandinavian, who had studied Serbo-Croatian.

⁵⁹ "The Song of Radovan and Milovan." Supporting evidence for the underlinings is as follows: Line 1a: 28.32; 29.1. Line 1b: 18.74 od Olova kneza; 18.100 od Zažabja kneza. Line 2a: 22 times. Line 2b: 1.29, 34 starac Mjelovane; 1.38 starče Mjelovane; 5.112 starče Radoslave, etc. Line 3a: 7 times. Line 4a: 1.7 (but different case). Line 4b: 23.118 do zemljice crne. Line 5a: 25.5 u knjizi je (njega pozdravljao). Line 5b: 15.21 (pozdravljale). Line 6a: 25.1 i ovako. Line 6b: 5.108 (besideći). Line 7a: 1.4 (dative). Line 9b: 1.45 (proša). Line 11a: 25 cases of ter plus 3-syllable verb. Line 11b: 15.43 (junak). Line 14a: 1.16 (Romanija). Line 14b: 18.2. Line 15a: 18.2. Line 15b: 1.15 (i sva Bulgarija); 7.67, 84 (i sve Hercegovce). Line 16a: 1.14 (Slavonija). Line 16b: see line 15b. Line 17b: 15.101, 19.9, 37 (moji vitezovi); 19.58, 76, 83, 94 (tvoje vitezove). Line 18a: 22.42, 75. Line 18b: 27.8; 7.14, 13.50, 15.102, 19.10, 38 (bani i knezovi). Line 21b: 13.53 (babo). Line 22a: 28.27 (kukajući). Line 22b: 12.16. Line 23a: 1.25

- 5 U knjizi ga lipo pozdravljaše
ter ovako starac besidaše:
"Mjelovane, sva je vjeka na te:
probudi se, biće bolje za te.

- Kadno lani prođe niz Kotare
 10 i pronese gusle javorove
ter zapjeva pjesmu od junaka,
jedne slaviš, druge ne spominješ.

- Viječe na te Lijeka i Krbava,
Slavonija, vjetežka država,
 15 slavna Bosna i sva Dalmacija,
Romanija i sva Bulgarija,

- jer ostavi mnoge vjetezove,
mejdanġije, bane i knezove.
Pazi, da ti ne ogule bradu,
 20 jer junaci za šalu ne znadu.

Ta eto si brežan ostario
vojujući i bojak bijući,
a junake nijesi zapantio,
već ji srdiš tako pjevajući.

- 25 Il junake pjevaj sve kolike,
neka nije prama tebi vjeke,
ol se prođi gusal' i pjevanja,
niz Kotare ravne putovanja."

- Odpisuje starac Mjelovane:
 30 "Ne budali, pobro Radovane! . . ."

Lindow has also reported his investigations of 8 lines of a Slavonian poet of the eighteenth century, Matija Antun Reljković, whose satirical

(il), 36 (ni). Line 24b: 9.81 (besideći). Line 25a: see line 23a. Line 26a: 10.29 (pusti), 19.9 (znate), 22.13 (gleda), 25.84 (mogu). Line 27a: 21.13 (ol ufati). Line 28a: 1.38 (od Kotara). Line 29b: see line 2b. Line 30a: 10.46. Line 30b: see line 2b. •

poem, *Satir*, intended for educational use, was published in 1762.⁶⁰ It is in rhymed couplets throughout, and the lines are decasyllabic. The lines studied (29–37 of poem 5) on the basis of 2203 lines (the whole of part one) yielded not quite 50 per cent formula and formulaic, with no real formulas. These are by this count clearly literary lines, and in this case the subject of the poem is not heroic but didactic. From our experience with the medieval poetry we would have predicted the results given above for both Kačić and Reljković. We are continuing the analyses. Perhaps larger samplings will increase the percentage of formulaic verses. We shall be interested in noting in that case whether the reported formulas are weak or well established in the poets' usage.

So far, I believe, we can conclude that a pattern of 50 to 60 per cent formula or formulaic, with 10 to perhaps 25 per cent straight formula, indicates clearly literary or written composition. I am still convinced that it is possible to determine orality by quantitative formulaic analysis, by the study of formula density.

Another technique of formulaic analysis that has yielded valuable corroborative results involves the listing of all verb forms of two syllables in the third and fourth positions in the Serbo-Croatian decasyllable, regardless of what precedes. This method combines a metrical and a syntactic pattern. Professor David E. Bynum at Harvard some years ago applied this technique to 1834 lines of an oral song from Ahmet Mušović in Bijelo Polje.⁶¹ He found 31 initial formulas in the song. He then analyzed the same number of lines of Petar Petrović Njegoš's

⁶⁰ Matija Antun Reljković, *Satir, iliti divji čovik*, Dresden 1762.

- Prva skula uvečer počima
 30 Pak već slidit do po noći ima;
 U nju idu momci i divojke
 I donesu posle svakojake
 Koja prelo, koja svile plave,
 Pak ond' vezu nidra i rukave.
 35 Hoćeš znati, što se još teruče?
 Ja ću kazat sve, kako se muče . . .

Supporting evidence: Line 30a: 5.30 pak već slidit; 5.91 pak kad bude; 7.257 pak još misliš. Line 31b: 6.5 mlade i divojke. Line 32a: 7.422 ja donesoh. Line 32b: 6.6 pisme svakojake. Line 33: 5.115 Koja Katu, koja svetu Baru. Line 34a: see line 30a above.

⁶¹ Mušović's song was "Ženidba Čejvanović Meha" (The Wedding of Čejvanović Meho) Parry text no. 6827. Professor Bynum plans to publish the details of his experiment.

drama *Šćepan Mali* and found only 11 initial formulas.⁶² The literary work, written in the same meter, was easily distinguishable from the oral epic singer's poem, which had almost three times as many formulas in the sample. I have now applied this method to the same Kačić material analyzed above. It is decasyllabic (except for two songs in eight-syllable lines) and is in the style of the oral epic, except for rhymed couplets which presumably do not affect the initial formulas. In the same number of lines, 1834, I found 24 formulas. As might have been predicted, the imitative style does not have the same high number of formulas as the oral style, nor does it have as few as the literary. If this method is sound, and it should be tried more extensively, we have verification of our findings from density studies.

It seems to me that an objective criterion is logically more reliable than a subjective one, almost, indeed, by definition. Although quantitative analysis of some sort, where it is possible, may not be absolutely decisive (I still tend to believe that it is so when properly carried out), it continues to be the most reliable approach we have to determine orality. In order to use this analysis one must have a fair amount of material for study, and it must be the right kind of material; that is, it must be at least presumably all from one person. Within such limitations our information is reasonably clear, and the results are reasonably dependable. We are working to sharpen our methods and to assemble a body of analyses that will be useful as control material as we move from one tradition to another.

For the analysis of the three passages below I have used the following principles:⁶³

In addition to exact repetitions of words in a group in the same order in the same position in the line, I have also considered the following as formulas with solid underlining:

- 1) Declension or conjugation of one or more elements in the phrase, providing the metrical length of the phrase remains unchanged.
- 2) Metathesis, or inversion, or, in general, any change in the order of the words in the phrase as long as the metrical length is preserved and the meaning remains unchanged.
- 3) Repetition of a formula, even if it be in another part of the line from that of the verse being analyzed.

⁶² Petar Petrović Njegoš II, *Lažni Car Šćepan Mali*, Trst 1851. Best recent edition, Belgrade 1952.

⁶³ These principles were included in a paper I read at the meetings of the American Philological Association in Providence, Rhode Island in December 1965.

4) In dividing the hexameter into parts one should consider that there may be lines that should be treated as a whole, that cannot readily be broken into parts. Otherwise there may be normally two or three parts to the verse.

5) When a single word is repeated in the same position in a line, it is conclusive evidence in itself for a formula *only if* the single word occupies the entire part of the line, as happens sometimes with a run-on word or at the end of a line. Otherwise the repetition of a single word in the same position in the line is permissible as evidence only if it is part of a system which would include the phrase being tested.

It is important to work from line break to line break rather than with simple repetition of words and phrases by themselves, because it is in terms of parts of a line, I believe, rather than words in themselves, that the singer thinks. A formula extends from one break to another. If there be modulation, as there sometimes is, it is because there is sometimes a possibility of breaking a line in more than one pattern, e.g. into either two or three parts. Both may to some degree be operative, and hence the formulas modulate from one into another. I think that the repeated words or groups of words are significant only when they stretch from break to break.

On page 163 of his article Kirk presents a passage from the *Batrachomyomachia* and states that were it to be marked with solid and broken underlinings "we should end up with just as impressive-looking a network as anything he [Notopoulos] produces." I have put Kirk's words here to the test, not, however, using Notopoulos' method but my own. The reliability of the "impressionistic" evaluation of the traditional and formulaic in Homer and elsewhere, to which we shall shortly come, is here at stake.

I have analyzed the five lines of the *Batrachomyomachia* that Kirk felt among those closest to the style of the *Iliad*. Here are the five lines with pertinent underlinings (evidence to support the underlinings will be found in the notes):⁶⁴

⁶⁴ The supporting evidence is: Line 197a: 65, 177, 277, 285. Line 197b: the reading of the Oxford text, used by Kirk, is non-formulaic. Line 199a: *Il.* 5.600 (*ὥς τότε Τυδείδης . . .*). Line 199b: *Od.* 10.283 (*. . . πυκινὸς κενθμῶνας ἔχοντες*). Line 200a: *Batrach.* 101 (*δεινὸν δ' ἐξολόλυξε*); *Il.* 21.388 (*ἀμφὶ δὲ σάλπιγγεν*), 20.56 (*δεινὸν δὲ βρόντησε*). Line 201a: *Il.* 11.289 (*Ζεὺς Κρονίδης*); *Od.* 12.415, 14.305 (*Ζεὺς δ' ἄμυδις βρόντησε*); cf. *Il.* 20.56; in the strictest sense this half-line is not formulaic, because there is no case of *Ζεὺς Κρονίδης* followed by a verb, or of *βρόντησε* preceded by noun-subject plus patronymic or other adjectival element. The adverb in the *Odyssey* lines spoils the syntactic pattern. Line 201b: this half-line is non-formulaic, but its case is instructive. There are two pertinent

Ὡς ἄρ' ἔφη || καὶ τῇ γε θεοὶ ἐπεπείθοντ' ἄλλοι,
πάντες δ' αὐτ' εἰσῆλθον || ἀολλέες εἰς ἓνα χῶρον.
καὶ τότε κώνωπες || μεγάλας σάλπιγγας ἔχοντες
δεῖνόν ἐσάλπιγγαν || πολέμου κτύπον· οὐρανόθεν δὲ
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης βρόντησε, || τέρας πολέμοιο κακοῖο.

The significant characteristic of the underlining of these five lines is the low number of actual formulas. There is, indeed, only *one*, ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη.

If we compare this passage from the *Batrachomyomachia* with the first five lines of the *Iliad*, we can easily note that there is a recognizable distinction between the written work at its most imitative of Homer (according to Kirk's own judgment) and Homer in one of his less typical passages; for the very beginning of an oral poem (contrary to what is generally thought) is less formulaic than subsequent passages of typical narrative are likely to be. This is especially true if there are only two poems to judge by, and, therefore, only two beginnings.⁶⁵

Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, || Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος
οὐλομένην, || ἣ μυρὶ Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκε,
πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς || Ἀἶδι προΐαψεν
ἡρώων, αὐτοὺς δὲ || ἐλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν
οἰωνοῖσι τε πᾶσι, || Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή . . .

In both passages there is one hemistich which is unformulaic. But in the Homeric passage every line has one formula, whereas in the *Batrachomyomachia* passage there is only one formula in all five lines, even

lines in the *Iliad*, 1.284 ἔρκος Ἀχαιοῖσιν πέλεται πολέμοιο κακοῖο and 11.4 ἀργαλέην πολέμοιο τέρας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσιν. The first presents us with πολέμοιο κακοῖο, but not preceded by its noun. The second gives us the noun and its modifying genitive, but in reverse order and in a different part of the line. In spite of order and position I would consider that we had grounds for formulaic designation, if the two words were accompanied immediately by a three-syllable adjective.

⁶⁵ The underlinings in this passage vary from those given in *The Singer of Tales* (p. 143) in only line 5, and the supporting evidence (pp. 291ff) remains the same for all lines. In line 1a I now feel that strictly speaking μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, is not formulaic because the verbal phrase is not found elsewhere with the vocative in any part of the line. Other instances of ἄειδεν plus a two-syllable direct object are at the end of the line; θεά occurs frequently in the same position as in *Iliad* 1.1, but the context is different. I have removed the broken underlining from line 5a, because, although the syntactic and metrical patterns are frequent, I have not been able to find any cases of them using either of the words in line 5a. The basis for my underlining was purely a "structural formula."

though almost all other hemistichs are formulaic. This is exactly what our research in other poetries would have led us to expect. The conventional patterning of oral composition is kept, but not the exact repetition of formulas; "real" formulas are less frequent than in an authentic oral style. The formulaic expressions, the "structural formulas," if you wish to use Russo's term for the patterns, give the *impression* of authenticity, but the impression is false.

Analysis of another Homeric passage, this one chosen from the extended similes, seems to bear out the results just given for the first five lines of the *Iliad*. Here are the first five lines (164-168) of the lion simile in *Iliad* 20.164-174, analyzed by the same method used for the passages above.⁶⁶

Πηλεΐδης δ' ἐτέρωθεν || ἐναντίον ὦρτο λέων ὥς,
σίντης, || ὃν τε καὶ ἄνδρες || ἀποκτάμεναι μεμῶσιν
ἀγρόμενοι πᾶς δῆμος. || { ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀτίζων
ὁ δὲ κρειῶν ἐρατίζων
ἔρχεται, || ἀλλ' ὅτε κέν τις || ἀρηϊθῶν αἰζήων
δοῦρι βάλῃ, || ἔαλῃ τε χανῶν, || περί τ' ἀφρὸς ὀδόντας . . .

In spite of the fact that the results of the foregoing experiment were gratifying, I myself have some reservations about them for two reasons. First, to repeat, the material used as a basis for the analysis of the *Batrachomyomachia* was not only the poem itself but also the two Homeric poems. From the point of view of the purist, only the material from a single singer should be used in the analysis of oral poetry. Unfortunately the *Batrachomyomachia* is not long enough to afford sufficient material, and I have had to use the Homeric poems as a basis for analysis. The same shortcoming applies to the Anglo-Saxon material when the poem chosen for analysis is short and the basis must be the

⁶⁶ The supporting evidence is: Line 164a: *Il.* 1.247 (*Ἀτρείδης*), 3.230 (*Ἰδομενεὺς*), 5.668 (*Τληπόλεμον*), and many others. Line 164b: *Il.* 11.129. Line 165a: *Il.* 11.481 (*σίντην*), 16.353 (*σίνται*). Line 165b: evidence very weak, although *ἄνδρες* appears seven times in the *Iliad* and five times in the *Odyssey* in this position; e.g. *Il.* 1.594 (*ἐνθα με Σίντιες ἄνδρες*), 9.197 (*χαίρετον ἢ φίλοι ἄνδρες*), 9.204 (*οἱ γὰρ φίλτατοι ἄνδρες*), 17.110 (*ὃν ῥα κύνες τε καὶ ἄνδρες*); *Od.* 19.62 (*καὶ δέπα, ἐνθεν ἄρ' ἄνδρες*). Line 165c: *Od.* 5.18 (*ἀποκτείνει*). Line 166a: *Il.* 7.134 (*ἀγρόμενοι Πύλιοι*); *Od.* 16.114 (*οὔτε τί μοι πᾶς δῆμος*); *H. Cer.* 271 (*τευχόντων πᾶς δῆμος*). Line 166b: for the first reading there is little formulaic evidence; for the second, *Il.* 11.551, 17.660. Line 167a: *Il.* 24.82; *Od.* 13.94, 22.166, 24.56. Line 167b: *Il.* 9.525 (*ἡρώων, ὅτε κέν τιν'*), 10.130 (*Ἀργείων, ὅτε κέν τιν'*), 13.145 (*κτείνων ἀλλ' ὅτε*). Line 167c: *Il.* 8.298, 15.315. Line 168a: *Il.* 11.144, 321, 20.437 (*βαλῶν*), 12.183 (*βάλῃ*).

Anglo-Saxon corpus. It is unsatisfactory, but the best that can be done. Second, it is possible that there may be passages of five lines in the Homeric poems that would not show any greater number of formulas than the *Batrachomyomachia* passage. A five-line passage is too small a sampling to be truly significant. As we have said, and as Kirk has also indicated,⁶⁷ one should really analyze an entire poem in order to have as true a picture as possible. Yet, there must surely be some practicable size of sampling that would be indicative, something more than five lines but less than the whole poem (unless it be short); 25- to 100-line samplings would be most helpful, preferably more than one, chosen from different parts of a long poem. Yet, with these reservations, I feel that the above experiment with the *Batrachomyomachia* passage cited by Kirk illustrates successfully a method that will bring substantial results. Quantitative formula analysis by this method can differentiate between oral and written style. The imitator, it would seem from our experiment, usually shuns the exact repetition of true formulas, because that element in the style he does not need. To the oral poet there is a residue of exact repetitions, no matter how original he be, which he must have for composition. The imitator uses common phrases, as Parry long ago pointed out, but not formulas. He still works with the conventional frames or patterns, which Russo, I believe mistakenly, calls "structural formulas." He does not, if we are correct, compose with any great number of actual formulas. This is, indeed, the opposite of what Kirk has said (page 164): "Literate imitations will be unlikely to achieve this natural quality, which is a more subtle, less tangible, and less easily imitable aspect of oral style." Paradoxically, the imitator does not imitate the "easily imitable aspect of oral style," the true formula, because it is not as imitable as it is thought to be. The formula is, as a matter of fact, *still* not well enough understood.

* * *

I have tried to distinguish two levels of formula. One is that of the individual singer. Here, it seems to me, the formula is at its purest. It serves a need for a particular singer, and we are able to see that need being fulfilled in our analyses. A phrase which that singer uses may be a formula for him, but not for another singer, who may not use it at all, even though he may be aware of it. Since he does not use it, our statement that he may be aware of it is purely an assumption that he must

⁶⁷ YCS 20 (1966) 163.

have heard it from other singers, especially if we find it in the songs of singers from his region. The second level is that of the regional formula. It is one that is used by a majority of singers in a region.

For the regional formula to have meaning it must be demonstrably a formula in the usage of the individual singers in the region. By the isolation of the regional formulas we can make a description of the formula habits of a region, perhaps even an approximate listing of the formulas common to the majority of the singers in that region, and thus compare it with similar descriptions or listings from other regions. Here our purpose is not to show orality, but rather to attempt to distinguish regional characteristics, and also to bring out individual characteristics, in an oral tradition.

In this framework, Kirk's statement⁶⁸ that since Homer does not use *εὐκαμπέα* for a bow, but a different group of adjectives, would seem to me to point out that the *Homeric Hymn to Artemis* (no. 27) that he is investigating is probably not by Homer. This does not mean that the *Hymn* is necessarily not oral or traditional, nor that the phrase is "redundant or plethoric," "forced," or "artificial."⁶⁹ Its use of that word is not Homeric; that is all. *Εὐκαμπέα* might be a formula for the poet of the *Hymn to Artemis*, but we do not have enough material demonstrably from him to determine that point. I do not see how we can go much further, except to challenge Kirk's statement that it is curious that *εὐκαμπέα* was not used by Homer.

Kirk has pointed out that *εὐκαμπέα* might be useful to fill the space from the hephthemimeral word-break to the end of the verse, but that it is not so used. On the other hand, no other adjective is used with *τόξον* or *τόξα* in final position to fill that space. In short, *εὐκαμπέα* breaks no laws of thrift of Homeric epithets, because it is not used in Homer and nothing else is used in its place. This element in line 12 of the *Hymn* is surely the weakest of the three that Kirk discusses. There is nothing unusual about it, except that it is not found in Homer.

Kirk was worried, or found it curious, that *εὐκαμπέα* was not used for a bow in Homer. Yet the fact that the verb *χαλάω* in the same line in *Hymn* 27 is not found in Homer does not worry him at all. He is puzzled by what he feels is the meaning of the verb in this line, namely, to "discharge, release, shoot," because post-Homeric use of the verb in connection with a bow indicates that it means to "unstring," "to loosen."⁷⁰ It should be noted, for what it is worth, that other scholars

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 165.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 164.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 165.

have also taken χαλάσας' to have the meaning "loosen" in this passage.⁷¹ One might, therefore, quarrel with Kirk's interpretation and editing of this line. As his note indicates, the line construes with some slight awkwardness if χαλάσας' is taken to modify ἔρχεται (as most editors do),⁷² an awkwardness that would easily be solved, however, by a καί or other conjunction understood. Awkward construction is not foreign to oral style; indeed, it may be a mark of it. Kirk does not insist on this point as decisive in determining orality. He is chiefly concerned that the verb is uneconomical. He glossed over the problem of economy in his treatment of εὐκαμπέα. This argument is pertinent only if one were to agree that the meaning needed is "to release." If Kirk's interpretation of the passage is wrong, then what follows in his paragraph is irrelevant.

Kirk maintains that there is an "obvious and fully traditional phrase which would have avoided some of the strains of the verse with which we are presented,"⁷³ namely, τιταίνουσ' ἀγκύλα τόξα. This "obvious and traditional phrase" is not used in Homer.

What Kirk means is that in Homer the verb τιταίνω is used with τόξα in the meaning to "shoot," "stretch" a bow. If the singer, or author, of *Hymn* 27 were following Homer, he would not use χαλάω but τιταίνω, and if he used τιταίνω, he would not have had to use εὐκαμπέα, because ἀγκύλα would fit the metrical space. The poet of the *Hymn* is, however, aware of the traditional phrase with τιταίνω, which he had used seven lines earlier in the poem: ἄγρη τερπομένη παγχρύσεια τόξα τιταίνει. In this line τιταίνει means "stretches." Had the poet wanted that meaning in line 12, he had a ready-made, traditional phrase to express it. Either he did not want that meaning or he did not want to use the traditional phrase, or, more specifically, the Homeric phrase. Kirk is arguing that τιταίνουσ' ἀγκύλα τόξα and χαλάσας' εὐκαμπέα τόξα are equivalents, and that the poet's use of χαλάσας' εὐκαμπέα τόξα is, therefore, not thrifty. If the verbs have different meanings, as a number of editors have thought, then the phrases are not equivalent, and the question of thrift does not enter at all. Syntactically the two phrases are equivalent, but *metrically* they are not, and I cannot agree with Kirk that the metrical difference "presents no real problem."⁷⁴ It is impossible to place the

⁷¹ E.g. August Baumeister, *Hymni Homerici* (Leipzig 1860), p. 81, Albert Gemoll, *Die homerischen Hymnen* (Leipzig 1886), p. 91, and T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns* (London 1904), p. 286.

⁷² T. W. Allen, *Homeri Opera*, vol. 5 (Oxford 1952) p. 87, and T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns* (Oxford 1963) p. 87, punctuate the line with a comma at its close.

⁷³ YCS 20 (1966) 166.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

phrase *τιταίνουσ' ἀγκύλα τόξα* into line 12 directly instead of *χαλάσας εὐκαμπέα τόξα*. The line would have to be remade in some way in order to receive the "traditional" phrase. That does not sound to me like "thrift." If one is cavalier about metrical requirements, then one takes away the sense of thrift. If the verbs mean different things (and they may), then the argument of thrift is invalid here anyway. If the verbs mean the same, but have different metrical patterns (which is true), then the argument of thrift is again invalid. In short, Kirk's discussion of the second part of line 12 comes down to the statement that *χαλάω* is not used in Homer and that *εὐκαμπέα* is not used in Homer for a bow. The clause is unhomeric. This does not prove it to be non-oral, any more than it proves it to be oral, as Kirk would surely agree. His method of investigating uneconomical practice, however, is applied somewhat loosely here, loosely enough, indeed, to invalidate his argument.

In discussing the first clause in line 12 of *Hymn 27* *εὐφρήνη δὲ νόον*, Kirk writes: "phrases like *εὐφρήνη δὲ νόον* are reserved in Homer for the idea of pleasing another person,"⁷⁵ and he quotes *Od.* 20.82. Besides this instance there are two other cases of the verb in the *Odyssey*, and those cases take a direct object of the other person.⁷⁶ In short, once again this usage in line 12 of *Hymn 27* seems to be unhomeric. We found this to be true of the verb *χαλάσας* and of the adjective *εὐκαμπέα* used with a bow. The whole line is unhomeric.

To Kirk "unhomeric" and "untraditional" are synonymous. On the whole, I believe, he feels that if a word, phrase, or usage is "unhomeric" but looks at first blush to be "traditional," it must be the work of an imitator. This is a dangerous assumption. Not that there were not imitators. I think we have a method of detecting them, as I have tried to show above, although it needs further testing and improving. Kirk's statement is dangerous, however, not so much for its implications about the imitator as for its implications about Greek oral traditional style; namely, that it is pretty much all set down in the canon of the Homeric poems, which we can take as "the" traditional.

A tradition is made up of all the singers in it, not of only one man. Nor is a tradition usually so limited in area that it would belong to only one region. There are bound to be both regional and individual differences in the formulas, although there would be a very large stock that would be common to the entire singing area. Kirk has indicated his awareness of this problem on page 159. He feels that he can tell the difference between what he calls "formular extension" that is oral and that which is non-

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 164.

⁷⁶ *Od.* 2.311 and 13.44.

oral. Admittedly the means is subjective and involves such qualities as "clarity, ease and simplicity of the old use of the formulas . . . it is associated with the ease of handling, consonance with the general lines of the previous tradition, preservation at least of oral economy" (page 160). The only element there that one can pin down in any real way is "oral economy."

And that brings us back to Milman Parry and C. M. Bowra and the quotations from Adam Parry and G. S. Kirk with which I began this section of my paper. In his unpublished field notes Milman Parry, in connection with the problem of similarity of wording of texts in oral tradition, remarks on the similarity of formulas not only in the Homeric poems themselves, but also in certain of the Homeric Hymns. On the basis of the Southslavic analogy he concludes that they must all be by the same singer, or else that "for some reason, that does not exist for the Southslavic poetry, there existed for the Greek heroic songs a fixity of phrasing which is utterly unknown in the Southslavic."⁷⁷ He speculates along two directions for an answer. First, there might have been some "closed professional organisation" that required the apprentice to follow the traditional phrasing. Second, "the far greater rigour of the hexameter as a verse form might have imposed a highly rigorous conservatism of phraseology whereby the poets one and all were obliged to have recourse to the traditional phrases, which only with the greatest difficulty could they alter or replace." He goes on to say that for the study of closed corporations one would have to seek an analogy in some other poetry than the Southslavic because in the Southslavic only the Moslem singers seem to have had some degree of professionalism. The field notes in question are dated December 3, 1934, less than two weeks after the trip to Novi Pazar that gave us most of the songs in volume 1 of the published material. A deeper concern with the Moslem tradition was just about to begin. Later that month and early in January of 1935 we were in Gacko and obtained, largely by dictation, many Moslem songs. In fact, after this Milman Parry concentrated on the Moslem singers. He was interested not merely in professionalism but also in the length of the Moslem songs.

His second speculation, that about the rigor of the hexameter, has

⁷⁷ Milman Parry's unpublished field notes were dictated to a dictaphone (wax cylinders) from December 1, 1934 to February 2, 1935 in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia. I typed them from the cylinders. They are now in the archives of the Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature in the Harvard College Library, Widener Library Room C. The quotations below are from pages 1.21 through 1.26.

become almost dogma now because of the writings of Bowra and Kirk, followed by Adam Parry. But I believe a word of caution may not be out of place. The caution is really Milman Parry's own. He introduced his notes on this subject with: "Of course, before anything can be done in applying the conclusions of the Southslavic poetry to Homer there must be a thorough investigation of this problem of identity of style. None of the comparisons yet made by anyone are really worth much since none of them proceeded on the basis of the technique of oral composition." This is still true. Milman Parry was aware of the fallibility of impressionism in scholarship, and his whole work was intended to eliminate mere speculation insofar as it was possible. His field notes were just that, not conclusions. I suggest that we would do well to continue to investigate and to document with exactness the comparative rigidity of formulas in Greek and Southslavic oral epic.

* * *

The "subjective" criticism mentioned by Kirk in connection with formulas and the formulaic style is exemplified in Anne Amory's article in the Yale volume, "The Gates of Horn and Ivory."⁷⁸ In the latter half of her paper she ventures into questions of the poetics of oral narrative song, when she tries to prove that "in the *Odyssey* horn is associated with plainly recognizable truth and with Odysseus, while ivory is associated with deceptive truth and with Penelope."⁷⁹

Let us take the case of horn first. In the *Odyssey* the evidence is scarcely abundant. In two out of four cases (50 per cent would perhaps mislead) the references to horn have something to do with Odysseus; one is that of the bow,⁸⁰ the other the strange passage about Odysseus' eyes.⁸¹ The reference to the horn of the bow occurs two books after the dream passage, 827 lines later; the passage about Odysseus' eyes, 352 lines before the dream passage and in the same book. The listener, or reader, has gone through eighteen whole books of the *Odyssey* and 211 lines of the nineteenth, and not once has he had an association of horn with Odysseus. It would hardly be accurate under those circumstances, I believe, to say that there was a general association at this point, that any regular association of Odysseus and horn had been set up in the listener's mind. (For the present I am ignoring the fact that in traditional

⁷⁸ Anne Amory, "The Gates of Horn and Ivory," *YCS* 20 (1966) 3-57.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 50-51.

⁸⁰ *Od.* 21.395.

⁸¹ *Od.* 19.211.

poetry, by its very nature, associations are traditional and not *ad hoc* phenomena.) The association must begin, then, at Book 19, line 211, and stretch to Book 21, line 395 (1179 lines) and consist of three passages.

While it is not uncommon for an oral singer to have a run on a certain word, the passages in question, it seems to me, are both too far apart and too few to be such a run. I submit that the evidence is scarcely sufficient to establish a significant association of horn and Odysseus. It certainly does not justify the general statement Amory has made. If horn were vitally associated with Odysseus in Homer's mind, it seems to me that the singer would have used the association more frequently, not merely in the *Odyssey* as a whole, but also within the poem's more restricted areas which Amory studies.

Moreover, it seems to me transparent that in the case of the bow, at least, it is the bow itself, not the horn on it, that is associated with Odysseus. Horn is a part of Pandarus' bow in the *Iliad* as well. As a matter of fact, horn is one of the materials of which a specific kind of bow, the composite, was made. Lorimer says:

The composite bow . . . consist[ed] of three main materials — a wooden stave along the inner face of which [the belly] strips of horn, i.e. of the highly flexible sheath of true horn or keratin which encloses the osseous core of the 'horn' of ordinary parlance, are let into a groove, while along the back dry sinew is moulded and 'protected from damp and concealed from sight, generally in the regions concerned with some kind of bark, and finally the whole is securely lashed together. The innermost ingredient, the horn, more flexible than wood, takes the severest share of the crushing which the whole structure undergoes when the bow is bent and which can be much greater than a self or even a reinforced bow could withstand.⁸²

One is reminded of a passage in the Ugaritic "Tale of Aqhat":

But Aqhat the Youth answers:
 "I vow yew trees of Lebanon,
 I vow sinews from wild oxen;
 I vow horns from mountain goats,
 Tendons from the hocks of a bull;
 I vow from a cane-forest reeds:
 Give these to Kothar wa-Khasis.
 He'll make a bow for thee,
 Darts for Yabamat-Liimmin."⁸³

⁸² H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (London 1950) 276-277.

⁸³ J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton 1950) 151 (translated by H. L. Ginsberg).

Lorimer says later:

There can be no doubt that the bow of Odysseus is composite. The crucial passage is ϕ 393-5, where he tests the horn which it contains, aware that it is the part most likely to have been attacked by worm; further, the bow is called $\pi\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\nu$ (ϕ 11) and $\kappa\alpha\mu\pi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha$ (ϕ 359 and 362). Moreover, the business of stringing could hardly have been so formidable in the case of a 'self' bow of that date.⁸⁴

How closely horn is associated with a bow can be seen in the passage referred to by Lorimer above, the same passage of which Amory speaks, 21.395 $\mu\eta\ \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\ \acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\iota\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\iota\chi\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\omicron\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ where $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ is actually used for the bow itself as well as for its ingredient. (Cf. $\tau\acute{\omicron}\xi\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ in 21.56.) Yet, in the last analysis, as I have said above, it seems to me that the passage in question is too far removed from the dream passage for any reference back to it to be effective. In oral poetry obscurity is not at all a virtue. True singers are not so inept in conveying an idea, in making their poetry as powerful and as effective as their story.

There remains, then, one passage besides the dream sequence itself on which to base an association between Odysseus and horn. The passage about Odysseus' eyes is *perhaps* near enough for the dream passage to echo back to it, although I have my doubts. Horn in this passage is one of two elements in a metaphor. It is linked with iron. In a note Amory points out that the link between horn and iron is also strong in the *Odyssey*, but that it has nothing to do with the dream passage. It is, of course, true that there is no reference to iron in the dream passage. But if, as I hope to indicate, the reference to horn in the passage about Odysseus' eyes is brought in because of the association of horn and iron with other metals and with bows, then the relationship between horn and iron as well as the context in which not only horn but also iron is found becomes of great significance. We should examine more closely not only the word "horn" itself, but also the formula in which it appears and the other words in that formula. As Adam Parry has said, "the Homeric poet dealt more in blocks of words, so that there is in Homer less play of individual words."⁸⁵ Amory fails to take into account the formula technique of composition and the importance of formula association and acoustic association for the oral poet.

The word for iron ($\sigma\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\pi\omicron\varsigma$) is more frequent in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad*. In the nominative it is found six times in the *Odyssey* and four in the *Iliad*.⁸⁶ Four of these ten occurrences are the line $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon$

⁸⁴ Lorimer, 298.

⁸⁵ YCS 20 (1966) 202.

⁸⁶ *Od.* 16.294; 19.13, 211, 494; 21.10, 61. *Il.* 4.510; 6.48; 10.379; 11.133.

χρυσός τε πολύκητος τε σίδηρος, a whole-line formula joining iron with bronze and gold and exhibiting strong "k" or "ch" alliteration and at least one instance of "chr." This line is found three times in the *Iliad* and twice in the *Odyssey*, once in the nominative and once in the accusative.⁸⁷ In the *Odyssey* it occurs in 21.10, in other words, in one of the books under consideration by Amory. In both poems, in whatever case, σίδηρος is found, with one exception, in final position in the line. The exception is *Od.* 9.393: φαρμάσσω· τὸ γὰρ αὖτε σιδήρου γε κράτος ἐστίν. Final position for σίδηρος is, therefore, well attested and habitual.

Besides πολύκητος the following epithets are used for σίδηρος in the same line with it: αἶθων in *Od.* 1.184, ἐς Τεμέσσην μετὰ χαλκόν, ἄγω δ' αἶθωνα σίδηρον, and three times in the *Iliad* in the dative;⁸⁸ πολίος three times in the *Odyssey* in the line τόξον μνηστήρεσσι θέμεν πολιόν τε σίδηρον⁸⁹ and twice in the *Iliad* in the line ἡδὲ γυναικάς ἐϋζώνους πολιόν τε σίδηρον.⁹⁰ In the *Iliad* we also find the epithet ἰόεις (dark blue, purple) once in the line Αὐτὰρ ὁ τοξευτήσσι τίθει ἰόντα σίδηρον.⁹¹ There is, then, a clear pattern for σίδηρος in final position preceded by four different epithets useful in four different metrical or syntactic situations.

In addition to being associated with bronze and gold in well-attested formulas (and with horn in the passage in question) in the same line, σίδηρος is also associated with λίθος in both the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*. In *Od.* 19.494 (283 lines after our passage) we find: ἔξω δ' ὡς ὅτε τις στερεὴ λίθος ἢ σίδηρος. The underlined phrase is the same metrical length as κέρα ἔστασαν ἢ σίδηρος and has the same metrical content of longs and shorts. Λίθος occurs once in the *Iliad* in 4.510, Ἀργεῖοις, ἐπεὶ οὐ σφί λίθος χρὸς οὐδὲ σίδηρος, in a different metrical situation from that in the *Odyssey*. We might note that λίθοι ἔστασαν ἢ σίδηρος would have been as acceptable metrically in our line as κέρα ἔστασαν ἢ σίδηρος. Acoustically it goes well after ὀφθαλμοί with "l" and "th" alliteration. Perhaps it was not the hardness alone, but also the dark color of κέρα, that played a role in the choice.

Now, σίδηρος is also associated with the bow and string, with τόξον, βίος, and νευρή in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and the bow, as we have shown, is made of horn. In the twenty-first book iron occurs eight

⁸⁷ *Od.* 21.10; 14.324 (accusative). *Il.* 6.48; 10.379; 11.133.

⁸⁸ *Il.* 4.485; 7.473; 20.372.

⁸⁹ *Od.* 21.3, 81; 24.168.

⁹⁰ *Il.* 9.366; 23.261.

⁹¹ *Il.* 23.850.

times (out of eighteen times for the whole *Odyssey*).⁹² In all those instances it is associated with the bow. It occurs also twice in Book 24, referring both times to a bow, and in both cases the lines are the same as those found in Book 21. In Book 19 iron was mentioned first in line 13, in general association with arms and weapons (Odysseus is ordering Telemachus to remove the arms from the hall), and in immediate association in the same line with courtship, *μνηστύν*. This passage is, of course, a repetition of instructions planned back in Book 16 (around line 294, where this same line occurs: *καὶ μνηστύν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος*; the whole passage of some seven lines is repeated). Compare with this the association of iron with the suitors as well as with the bow in 21.3, 81 and 24.168: *τόξον μνηστήρεσσι θέμεν πολὺν τε σίδηρον*. In Book 19 iron is next mentioned in our passage (line 211) and then again in line 494 and this time in association with *λίθος* and in a construction not unlike that of our passage, and perhaps echoing it. The final instance of iron in Book 19 associates it with the bow, i.e. with the string: *νευρήν τ' ἐντανύσαι διοῖσ τεύσαι τε σιδήρου*,⁹³ essentially the same line as in 21.97, 127 (without the *τ'*), and 114 (*εἰ δέ κεν ἐντανύσω διοῖσ τεύσω τε σιδήρου*). In 21.10, where the immediate line associations are with bronze and gold, the following line (11) adds the bow: *ἔνθα δὲ τόξον κείτο παλίντονον ἥδ' ἐφαρέτρῃ*; 21.61 is surrounded by the bow:

- 55 *ἔξομένη δὲ κατ' αὖθι, φίλοις ἐπὶ γούνασι θεῖσα,
κλαῖε μάλα λιγέως, ἐκ δ' ἦρεε τόξον ἄνακτος.
ἥ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν τάρφθη πολυδακρύτοιο γόοιο,
βῆ ῥ' ἵμεναι μέγαρόνδε μετὰ μνηστήρας ἀγανούς
τόξον ἔχουσ' ἐν χειρὶ παλίντονον ἥδ' ἐφαρέτρῃ*
- 60 *ἰοδόκον· πολλοὶ δ' ἔνεσαν στονόεντες οὔστοι.
τῇ δ' ἄρ' ἄμ' ἀμφίπολοι φέρον ὄγκιον, ἔνθα σίδηρος
κεῖτο πολὺς καὶ χαλκός, ἀέθλια τοῖο ἄνακτος.*

Finally, in 21.328 and 24.177 the connection of iron and bow is clear: *ῥηϊδίως ἐτάνυσσε βῖον, διὰ δ' ἦκε σιδήρου*. Horn and iron are, then, associated with the bow because the bow is made of them.

The word *σίδηρος* itself in the *Odyssey* in the formulaic technique of composition would be enough to call forth the associations with the bow and the material of which the bow was made, horn, particularly if color as well as hardness were of importance, as it would be, I believe, in a passage concerned with eyes. When stone, bronze, or gold cannot fit

⁹² *σίδηρον*: *Od.* 1.84; 14.324; 21.3, 81; 24.168; *σίδηρος*: 16.294; 19.13, 211, 494; 21.10, 61; *σιδήρου*: 9.393; 19.587; 21.97, 127, 114, 328; 24.177.

⁹³ *Od.* 19.587.

the meter or acoustical patterns in "key word acoustics," then horn may come easily to mind in the formula if one seeks a substance associated with iron. It is, therefore, I submit, even in this passage which is linked so physically to the hero (his eyes) the association with *iron*, not with Odysseus, that brings in the word κέρα, the substance horn. The alliterative pattern is also helpful in understanding this connection. We have seen above that λίθοι might have fitted metrically and acoustically, and — with some indulgence, perhaps — semantically as well. Κέρα fits perfectly, however, because the passage as a whole is filled with "k" and "r" alliteration, with "a" assonance; its key word is δάκρυα, found in 19.204, 208 (δάκρυ), and 212 (our line is 211). In fact, the association that Amory rejected as irrelevant is actually the operative association in both the passage about Odysseus' eyes and in that of the bow. *Horn and iron* go together with the *bow*, because it is from these that the bow is made. Amory's associations here seem to be too subjective and to go too far afield from the associative technique of oral poets.

Horn is found from Books 19 through 21 because it is in those books that iron and bows and weapons are mentioned, not because Odysseus is there. Odysseus is found elsewhere also in the poem, but horn and iron and bows do not follow him. If they did, then there might be some case for the significant association of horn with the man rather than with the bow and iron.

So much for horn. I suggest that the dream passage stands alone so far as its association with other passages containing horn is concerned. The gate of horn must be sought elsewhere. How about the gate of ivory?

Let us take the ivory passages in turn. First in 18.196 Penelope is made "whiter than carved ivory." In the strictest sense, perhaps, this may be "a comparison unique in Homer,"⁹⁴ because the comparative of λευκός, according to the concordances, is used only here in the *Odyssey* and once in the *Iliad* (10.437) where the horses of Rhesus are described as "whiter than snow and swifter than the winds," λευκότεροι χιόνος, θέλειν δ' ἀνέμοισιν ὁμοῖοι. The same "uniqueness" holds also for the comparison of the whiteness of the horses with that of snow. Yet ivory is associated with white, as Amory has pointed out (p. 46) in the *Iliad* (5.583) where the reins of Mydon, white with ivory, fell to the ground in the dust. Surely the association is conventional enough in the Penelope passage in 18.196. The simile in *Iliad* 4.141 in which the

⁹⁴ YCS 20 (1966) 52.

woman stains ivory with crimson, comparing this with the staining of Menelaus' skin by blood from his wound surely implies the whiteness of skin, as in the Penelope passage. Menelaus' skin is also white as ivory, if you will. Are we going to say, then, that ivory is associated with Menelaus and with "deceptive truth"? In that case the context of the breaking of the truce by Pandarus is illuminating. Pandarus' bow is of horn, and ivory is associated with Menelaus in this famous scene. Can we say that horn represents the "plainly recognizable truth" of Pandarus (!), and ivory the "deceptive truth" of Menelaus (!)? It is clear that this alleged symbolic system is valid only for the *Odyssey*, and only in a certain part of the *Odyssey*, if at all.

The formulaic character of *πριστοῦ ἐλέφαντος* in final position in the line is made clear by 8.404 where a description is found of the sword given by Euryalus to Odysseus. As Amory presents the passage (p. 44) we can see that the sword itself is bronze, the handle silver, and the sheath made of or rimmed around with newly carved ivory (*νεοπρίστου ἐλέφαντος*). This passage associates Odysseus with ivory!

The passage about Euryalus' sword (8.404) has relevance also to the passage in which Penelope's key is described (21.7). The key is of bronze (like Euryalus' sword) and has an ivory handle (like the decoration on the handle of Euryalus' sword). These are the only two places in Homer in which *κώπη* (handle) is described, and ivory seems to be common to both the sword and the key, but one is associated with Odysseus (sword) and the other with Penelope (key). If we tried to balance the "deceptive truth" of Euryalus' sword and the "deceptive truth" of the key (both ivory, you see), it would be fascinating to see whether we might arrive at "plainly recognizable truth." But by this point plainly recognizable truth and deceptive truth and the distinction between them have completely disappeared under the weight of contradictory evidence. Amory has avoided this difficulty by simply stating that the passage about the sword of Euryalus is "irrelevant."

Except for the passage in which Penelope's skin is spoken of as whiter than ivory (18.196), ivory is one of several materials mentioned in the description of some object. Only in the dream passage is ivory mentioned together with horn in the *Odyssey*. In the *Iliad* it is not mentioned with any metal or other precious substance. Here are the statistics for its occurrence with other materials in the *Odyssey*:

| | |
|-----------|--|
| 4.72-73 | bronze, gold, amber, silver, and ivory |
| 8.403-405 | bronze, silver, ivory |
| 18.196 | ivory |

| | |
|--------|---|
| 19.56 | ivory, silver (in line 54 we find golden Aphrodite) |
| 21.7 | bronze, ivory |
| 23.200 | gold, silver, ivory. |

As can be seen above, ivory occurs most frequently with silver (four times), next with bronze (three times), then with gold (twice, possibly three times). The above passages are concerned with:

- 1) Menelaus' *palace*
- 2) a *sword* given to Odysseus by Euryalus
- 3) Penelope
- 4) Penelope's *chair*
- 5) Penelope's *key*
- 6) Odysseus' *bed*.

Note the order that is generally followed; first bronze, then gold, then silver, and finally ivory (amber is an exception in this list, but in the two other instances of amber in the *Odyssey* it is associated with gold [15.460 and 18.296] — it is not used in the *Iliad*). Only in 19.56, the description of Penelope's chair, is the order of ivory and silver reversed. This order can be explained, or better, understood, by reference to the phrasing or formula structure of two of the other lines listed above, 4.73 and 23.200. The full formulaic line listing four substances is 4.73: χρυσοῦ τ' ἡλέκτρον τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἥδ' ἐλέφαντος. The addition of a verb at the beginning of the line in 23.200 eliminates one of the substances in the first half of the line, but the second half-line formula, τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἥδ' ἐλέφαντι, remains untouched. In 19.56 the disruption is in the second half of the line, since a new sentence beginning with the fifth foot necessitates a modification of the formulaic order to fit the meter of the different position. Perhaps the alliteration of ἐλέφαντι with ἐφίζει at the end of the preceding line helped in suggesting the reordering. Actually, χρυσῷ τε would have done as well as ἐλέφαντι for the meter, but the alliteration and the usual formula of ἀργύρῳ ἥδ' ἐλέφαντι carried the day. Indeed, the alliterations and assonances of the whole passage here beginning with line 53 are striking:

Ἡ δ' ἔεν ἐκ θ(α)λ(α)μοιο περίφρων Πηνελόπεια,
 (Ἀ)ρτέμιδι ἰκέλη ἥδ' χρυσέη (Ἀ)φροδίτῃ.
 τῇ π(α)ρ(α) μὲν κλισίην πυρὶ κ(α)τθεσ(α)ν, ἐνθ' (ᾠρ) ἐφίζει,
 δινωτὴν ἐλέφ(α)ντι καὶ (ᾠρ)γύρῳ· ἣν ποτε τέκτων . . .

“Ph” and “k” are found in every line.

There is, then, nothing mysterious about the ivory in the chair passage, nor about the ivory in 23.200, the passage describing Odysseus' bed, the last of the passages to be considered in this review of the evidence. Its relationship to 4.73, the description of the palace of Menelaus, is clear from the list of metals given above. Here too (that is in 23.200) the alliterative pattern of the preceding and following lines is probably significant:

ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀρχόμενος λέχος ἔξεον, ὅφρ' ἐτέλεσσα,
 δαυδάλλον χρυσῶ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἦδ' ἐλέφαντι·
 ἐν δ' ἐτάνυσσ' ἱμάντα βοῶς φοίνικι φαιινόν.
 οὕτω τοι τόδε σῆμα πιφαύσκομαι· οὐδέ τι οἶδα . . .

The underlinings are clear. Ivory is mentioned in these passages as part of the ornamentation of important objects.

What does the evidence show in regard to the statement by Amory that horn is associated with Odysseus and ivory with Penelope? One strange passage in which horn is used in a metaphor connected with Odysseus' eyes; one ordinary comparison (no matter how technically unique in Homer) of Penelope's skin with carved ivory. The other passages in which horn or ivory is used are actually concerned with a bow, a palace, a sword, a key (more properly the handle of the sword and the key), a chair, a bed, and, to add the references from the *Iliad*, reins, and skin (Menelaus'). Horn is associated with Pandarus' bow in the *Iliad* as well as with Odysseus' bow; in short, it is associated with bows, not with Odysseus himself. Ivory, together with other substances, chiefly bronze, gold, and silver, is part of a description of a number of important and significant elements in the story of the *Odyssey*, a sword, a key, a chair, and a bed. The sword and the bed are associated with Odysseus; the first was given to him, the second was made by him, and it is the fact that it is his handiwork that makes it significant here, not that Penelope had slept in it. The chair and the key are used by Penelope. The palace belongs to Menelaus. Outside of the passage in which Penelope herself is described (and its evidence is very weak, because of the whiteness of Menelaus' skin also) ivory is equally associated with Odysseus and with Penelope. In sum, Amory's statement is simply wrong.

Amory says (p. 49) that the eight passages involved are "intimately and intricately connected with one or both of two major themes in the *Odyssey*, the reunion of Odysseus and Penelope, and the revenge of Odysseus on the suitors." One might indeed say that there are few passages from Book 18 on that are not connected with return, reunion,

and revenge. From that point in the *Odyssey* everything, not merely the eight passages she has selected, is connected with those themes.

But the crux of Amory's article is the dream passage; it is that which drives her to force the evidence about horn and ivory into a tortuously tortured pattern. How should we interpret the six passages that she has pointed out as being closely knit with the dream passage? What role does horn or ivory play in those passages? Let us review the scenes in order, as the singer presented them, and try to see them through the eyes of an oral tradition. If there is any truth in Amory's thesis, it should emerge and become clear as we listen to, or read, the text consecutively. We begin in Book 18.

1) Penelope is prepared by the goddess for her entrance into the hall where Odysseus is and where he will see her for the first time in twenty years. She is made "whiter than carved ivory" (18.196). One misses the beauty of this scene, and, I believe, its real import, if one tries to force it into some imaginary pattern of various subtly — indeed, too subtly — differentiated kinds of "truth." Ivory is but a part of the whole passage in which the beautifying of Penelope for her epiphany takes place. Such a passage should be related, and is related, not to the gates of horn and ivory, but to other passages in which heroes and heroines and gods and goddesses are made glorious and given superhuman or special form to indicate their emergence from a previous evil state. One thinks here most readily of Odysseus transformed for recognition with Tele-machus,⁹⁵ or in the *Iliad* of the epiphany of Achilles at the ditch.⁹⁶ Homer's artistry lies in knowing how to describe with fullness such important and mythically significant moments. Ivory is one of the substances mentioned, one of the details which go to make meaningful elaboration of a great moment. It may be that the shine and brightness of ivory help enhance the divine glow of Penelope for her epiphany. To try to link this marvelous event with the dream passage misses the point, dilutes and distorts the traditional sense that it carries.

2) The same, indeed, can be said for the next occurrence of ivory, in 19.56, when later in the evening Penelope comes down to meet Odysseus himself for the first time and to speak with him. A chair is brought for her, and part of its ornamentation is ivory. The bringing of a chair at any other time would be simple ceremony. It is now ritualistic in its place in the setting for the momentous conversation. Everything about the scene demands fullness, and thus the chair that is brought is especially richly described. For this is the second epiphany of Penelope. The description

⁹⁵ *Od.* 16.172ff.

⁹⁶ *Il.* 18.203ff.

of the queen herself is short this time, because the memory of the first epiphany is still strong, but she is likened to Artemis or golden Aphrodite as she descends. The ornamenting of the chair is in keeping with the whole splendid scene for the resplendent queen. To focus the camera on the ivory and try to wring from it some twisted concept of "truth" in order to force it into line with the gates of horn and ivory is to do Homer's sense of artistry a great injustice. He knew what he was doing, emphasizing the traditionally meaningful by traditional means.

3) The key to the third passage (19.211), that in which Odysseus' eyes are compared to horn or iron, is found in the alliteration that called forth the word κέρα. The key word of that passage was δάκρυα, and we should compare it for fuller understanding to other scenes of weeping in the course of the poem. The first use of the root of δάκρυ is found in Book 1,⁹⁷ when Penelope weeps hearing Phemius sing of the homecoming of the Achaeans. This is her first appearance in the *Odyssey*. The first we hear of Odysseus' weeping is at Ogygia (Proteus tells us about it in Menelaus' account to Telemachus).⁹⁸ Odysseus weeps too at various tellings of the war or of the return, especially in Phaeacia, where, however, he hides his weeping until he is challenged.⁹⁹ After he has landed in Ithaca, Odysseus is told by Athena about Penelope's weeping,¹⁰⁰ and Eumaeus relates to him how Penelope weeps at the accounts strangers tell of the war.¹⁰¹ A major instance of the traditional theme of weeping is found in the scene of the recognition of Odysseus by Telemachus.¹⁰² Here recognition and epiphany are combined; for Odysseus has been glorified by Athena. He weeps at the sight of Telemachus (16.191), Telemachus weeps at the sight of his father (16.214), and they weep together (16.219). Here is a full-fledged recognition and epiphany scene with complete orchestration of tears. Later Odysseus weeps at the sight of Argos, who, of course, recognizes his master, but Odysseus hides his tears from Eumaeus.¹⁰³ Just before the narrative turns to the preparation and entrance of Penelope to the hall where Odysseus is, for their first confrontation in twenty years, we are told that Telemachus does *not* weep when he sees the blows given his father, though his heart is sore (17.490). Odysseus will not weep again until the final recognition.¹⁰⁴ But I see in all this no sensible or clear relationship to the gates of horn or ivory. There is, however, a

⁹⁷ *Od.* 1.336.

⁹⁸ *Od.* 4.556.

⁹⁹ *Od.* 8.521-535.

¹⁰⁰ *Od.* 13.338.

¹⁰¹ *Od.* 14.129.

¹⁰² *Od.* 16.172ff.

¹⁰³ *Od.* 17.304-305.

coherent structure of scenes of recognition and epiphany as well as of war, into which this passage of non-weeping fits naturally.

4) As for the key in 21.7, truth lies not in its ivory, else would truth also abide in Euryalus' sword; but ivory is part of the handle of both the sword and the key. The question remains only why they are both honored with rich description. And the answer is, as frequently, twofold. It is the manner of epic to be rich, and the Homeric line needs description to fill its exacting requirements. The key in this passage is an important one; for it leads to Odysseus' bow, and that is an important artifact, as we shall see in the next section. So, too, the sword given by Euryalus in Phaeacia to Odysseus in amends for his insult to the hero is given prominence for its ritualistic function, making it fit and gleaming for the wronged Odysseus. Often in tradition, description indicates ceremony or ritual. The moment of fetching the bow for the returned Odysseus is such a moment with ritualistic overtones.

5) Horn-bow-truth we have countered already with Pandarus' horn-bow-treachery pattern. I should like to suggest that the bow is associated with Odysseus, as are all special weapons associated with their heroes throughout oral narrative tradition. It is his attribute, at times almost another self. The bow is certainly used in the oral artistry of Homer to express Odysseus and his qualities and perhaps function in tradition. It is described because it is important in tradition, not as an ornament but as a symbol. Oral tradition — as many scholars fail to realize — is very careful in its use of description; the "purely" ornamental is rare indeed. In early written tradition when the meanings of oral tradition have been lost, description may be kept and elaborated for its own sake. Oral tradition, however, uses description where it wants to indicate something important. The special weapon of the hero is a survival from mythic times, from the special weapons of the gods, their attributes. The bow has importance in oral tradition for Odysseus. "Truth" has nothing to do with it. The dream passage is irrelevant for Odysseus' bow, which is a mighty symbol in its own right, fraught with the past.

6) Finally, it seems almost unnecessary to explain the elaboration of the bed made by Odysseus himself and serving as the last and most telling recognition token. Its significant function is clear; its importance needs no justification. Here, if anywhere, full description is ritually and traditionally *de rigueur*. To single out only ivory for attention is to fail to see the whole for the part, the forest for the trees. There is no mere empty ornamentation here, but once again, description of the traditionally meaningful.

¹⁰⁴ *Od.* 23.207 (Penelope weeps), 232 (Odysseus weeps, but the verb is *κλαίει*).

It was most natural and methodologically not unsound to seek an answer to the problems of the gates of horn and ivory in the usages of the words for horn and ivory in the *Odyssey* or in both the Homeric poems. But Amory has proved, I believe, that the solution to the meaning of the passage does not lie in that direction. It may, indeed, be found only outside the Homeric tradition.

* * *

Surely one of the vital questions now facing Homeric scholarship is how to understand oral poetics, how to read oral traditional poetry. Its poetics is different from that of written literature because its technique of composition is different. It cannot be treated as a flat surface. All the elements in traditional poetry have depth, and our task is to plumb their sometimes hidden recesses; for there will meaning be found. We must be willing to use the new tools for investigation of multiforms of themes and patterns, and we must be willing to learn from the experience of other oral traditional poetries. Otherwise "oral" is only an empty label and "traditional" is devoid of sense. Together they form merely a façade behind which scholarship can continue to apply the poetics of written literature.

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THE NEW HERACLES POEM OF PINDAR

CARLO PAVESE

I. INTRODUCTION

AMONG the remains of several Pindaric rolls, published by E. Lobel in Part XXVI (1961) of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, no. 2450 is likely to be the most valuable find. The large *Frag.* 1 contains, in addition to the right-hand margin of a column entirely lost (called by Lobel col. I), the upper part of two columns, the former preserving 34 lines of text, the latter 23 lines, of which only 12 yield any meaning.

The new text, entirely narrative, tells a story of Heracles at a length that now equals, and perhaps once exceeded, that of *N.* 1. While giving new information on points of myth and style, it is remarkable in that it is fashioned after the factual "epic" manner. The first lines of the papyrus coincide with the end of the famous quotation *Nóμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεύς* (Bergk's *Frag.* 169), the interpretation of which has been much debated in ancient and modern times. Unusual as the new Pindar is, it is not what one would have expected from the dispute that the quotation has aroused.

This article was completed before May 1965 at the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington, D.C. It was designed as a lecture to be delivered there, and for this reason was written in English. I wish to thank Professor Knox for kindly revising the first typescript. I had the advantage of discussing many points in it with my friends Mr. William Slater and Mr. Peter Westervelt in Washington and with Dott. Fritz Bornmann in Florence. Particular thanks must go to Miss Edith Messing for her valuable advice on points of English.

In a session of the XI Congresso di Papirologia, held in Milan in September 1965, Professor Gigante read a paper on this subject that I had the pleasure of hearing and discussing. I have just read, thanks to Professor Bartoletti, an offprint of W. Theiler, *Nóμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεύς*, *Mus. Helv.* 22 (1965) 69ff. I am glad to see that some of their readings and supplements coincide with mine (M. Gigante: *διὰ λευκῶν* at v. 24, *στελεῶ* at v. 29. W. Theiler: *ἐξα[ριθμῶν]* at v. 42, *<τ>οι* at v. 51). M. Ostwald, *HSCP* 69 (1965), which was referred to me by Professor Lloyd-Jones, is not yet available in Florence [March 1, 1966].

Addendum. Gigante's article has meanwhile appeared in *Atti dell' XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (1966) 286-311. I regret that at this stage I cannot take into account the valuable discussions contained in these papers [Florence, October 1967].

In an article of 1917, O. Schroeder describes previous scholarship on these lines as a "Krankheitsgeschichte der Interpretation." The problem still waits a solution. Two fundamental approaches have been followed so far, one conceiving *nomos* as an abstract principle, the other taking it as a recognized norm of custom. They both seem unsatisfactory, for the former finds little support in early usage of the word and the latter sounds irrelevant to the context. Strangely enough, while ample historical and cultural comment has been assembled, a check of the lexical evidence, which one would think preliminary to any further attempt, has not been carefully undertaken thus far.

In the following, I shall avoid relying too much upon external assumptions. First, the words transmitted by the quotation will be rendered according to suggestion of language and style. I shall then turn to the new papyrus text to see whether my rendering is further supported by tone and content of the poem, as it can be now recovered.

II. TEXT

[I reproduce in my apparatus the lection signs of the papyrus only inasmuch as they help to articulate or to supplement a doubtful text. For a diplomatic transcription the first edition must be consulted. This work could not have been done without Lobel's exhaustive description of difficult traces and his excellent facsimiles, printed at pl. XV A and B of his edition.]

- A' *Νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεύς*
 θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων
 3 *ἄγει δικαίων τὸ βιαιότατον*
 ὑπερτάτῃ χειρί. τεκμαίρομαι
 5 *ἔργοισιν Ἡρακλῆος.*
 6 *ἐπεὶ Γαρυόνα, βόας*
 Κυκλιωπέων ἐπὶ προθύρων Εὐρυσθέος
 ἀναίρει τε καὶ ἀπ' ῥιάσας ἔλασεν.

1-5 Plat. Gorg. 484b, Ael. Arist. 45.52 (vol. II 68 Dind.) 1-4 schol. N. 9.35a 1-8 schol. Ael. Arist. 45.52 (vol. III 408 Dind.) 6-39 P. Ox. 2450, frag. 1 col. II + frag. 2 40-53 id. col. III Initium multi respiciunt, quorum locos invenies apud Turyn, Pind. Carm. frag. 187

8. *ἔλεν puncto praeposito (variā lectionem voluisse videtur) P^m *Βίστον[ε]ς*
Θρακῶν ἔθνος καὶ Βιστονίς λίμνη{ι} ἐν Θράκη (φαικη P) P^{m2}

3 *βιαίων* (ex quo *βιαιῶν* fecit Wilamowitz) τὸ δικαίον Plat. codd. fere omnes, lectionem respicit Lib. Decl. 1.37 6 *γηρυόνου* codd. *Γηρυόνα* Boeckh *Γαρύνα* Schroeder 7 *κυκλωπέων* ἐ. *προθύρων* codd.]ον επ[ε]ι προθυρο[P *εὐρυσθέως* codd. -εος P, iam Boeckh 8 *ἀναρεῖται* codd. *ἀναίρει τε* Pavese *ἀνατεῖ τε* coni. Mette, Page, coll. Ael. Arist. 45.52 οὔτε αἰτήσας οὔτε πριάμενος

- 9] Διομήδεος ἵππους
 10μ]όναρχον Κικόνων
 παρὰ] Βιστοῦνιδι λίμναι
 12 χαλκοθώρ]ακος Ἐνναλίου
] ἔκπαγ'λον υἱόν,
].ρᾶντα μέγαν,
 15 οὐ σὺν κό]ρῳ ἄλλ' ἀρετᾷ.
 3γ]ᾶρ ἀρπαζομένων τεθνάμεν
]μάτων ἢ κακὸν ἔμμεναι.
] ἐσελθὼν μέγα
 6ν]υκτὶ βίας ὁδόν
 20]ρεν, λαβὼν δ' ἔν[α] φ[ῶτ]α πεδάρσι[ον
 φά[τ]ιναις ἐν λιθίναις βάλλ[ε] — υ υ —
 9 ἵππ[.]έγαν φρέ[ν υ —
 καὶ ν[ιν].ζον. ταχέως
 δ' ἀράβη[σε] διὰ [λ]ευκῶν
 25 12 ὅστ[ε] [ων] δοῦπος ἐ[ρ] <ε>ικομένων.
 ὁ δ' ἄφ[αρ π]λεκτόν τε χαλκόν
 ὑπερη[. .].ε τραπεζᾶν
 προβά[ι]τω,ν ἀλυσιατόν

16 sq. respicit Ael. Arist. 45.53 (vol. II 70 Dind.) οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς φησιν ἀρπαζομένων τῶν ὄντων καθῆσθαι παρ' ἐστίᾳ καὶ κακὸν εἶναι 27 sq. Eustath. II. 877.55 et Od. 1649.2 (=Aristoph. Byz. frag. 42 Nauck=Pind. frag. 316) Πίνδαρος... τὰς Διομήδους ἵππους πρόβατα καλεῖ, τὴν φάτνην αὐτῶν λέγων προβάτων τραπέζαν

15 οὐκ [ἐ]πὶ ὕβρ[αι ἄλλ'] ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα. τὸ γὰρ [ἐ]αυτοῦ μὴ προ]ίεσθαι ἀνδρείου (ἐστίν) ἄλλ' οὐχ ὕβρις[τοῦ]. Ἡρακ[λ]ῆς δ' ἡδ[ί]κει [ἀ]φελ[ό]μενος P^m 18 δ' Ἡρακ[λ]ῆς τοῦ Διομήδο[υς] P^{m2} omnia suppl. Lobel 27 ἀν[τι] τῆς φάτνης[P^{m2} 28 τῶν ἵππων P^m

9 καὶ μάργας e.g. Pavese κείνος καὶ Page καὶ κλυτάς Snell 10 sqq. suppl. Lobel 10 ἔξευξεν temptavit Pavese ἔκλειπε Page τὸν γὰρ Snell 13 δαμάσας Page δαμάσαις e.g. Pavese ἐκράτησ' Snell 14 ρ'ν.α P, ρ potius quam ι, accentus dubius νόον ἀείραντα Snell χόλον ἀείραντα temptavit Pavese Διὸς ὑποστάντα Page ἀνδριάντα Lobel, quod ipse contra metrum fatetur esse 15 οὐ κόρῳ suppl. Lobel σὺν suppl. Pavese παῖδ' οὐ κόρῳ Page 16 suppl. Lobel εἰκὸς Pavese κρέσσον Page χρεῶν Treu 17 χρημάτων Lobel τῶν κτημάτων Treu, gen. abs. ex Ael. Arist. recepto ἑῶν κτ. Pavese πρὸ χρημάτων Page 18 sqq. κρύβδαν ἐ. μ. (σ)τέγος νυκτιβίας ὁδόν ὕβρις εὔρε Page στέγος δ' ἐ. μ. κρυφῆ νυκτὶ βίας ὁδόν... εὔρε Snell στέγος δ' ἐ. μ. θοδὸς νυκτὶ βίας ὁδόν ἦρωες εὔρεν Pavese 20]ρεν P, ν paragogicum fort. delevit ἐν[.]φ[.]α P suppl. Lobel πεδάσα[ις] legit Snell, parum probabile 21 [ἐ]βάλλ[suppl. Lobel λαβρωτατᾶν e.g. Pavese ὠμοτάτας Page 22]ἔθαν vel]ἔβαν P μαινομέναν φρένα Lobel ἵππων εὐεγρέταν φρένα λάθειν temptavit Pavese ἵππων μαινομέναν (lege -αν) φρένας ἄσαι Page 23 μ[P λαιθάριζον temptavit Pavese κερᾶίζον Page (ἐ)λάκιζον Snell διέσχιζον Lobel, sed contra metrum 24 δια[.]ευκῶν P διὰ λευκῶν Pavese διαλεύκων Lobel 25 sq. suppl. Lobel 27 ὑπερήγνε Page ὑπερήλασε Van Groningen

- 3 δι' ἐρκ[έ]ων, τεῖρε δὲ στελεῶ
 30 ἄλλαν [μ]έν σκέλος, ἄλλαν δὲ πᾶ[χυν,
 τὰν δὲ πρυμνὸν κεφαλᾶς
 6 ὁδ[ᾶ]ξ α[ὕ]χένα φέροισαν.
 .ρ.μ[ι]. . . ὅμως ἐ[οῖ]σ' ὑπα. .[.].θυ. [
 πικρο[τά]τᾱν κλάγεν ἄγγε[λία]ν
 35 9 ζαμενε[. . .] τυρανν[.]
 . . .]κί. . [. . .]κ λεχέω[ν ἀπέ]δ[ε]ι[λ]
]ν καθε. . [. . .]ς ῥα. [
 12]ιον κακ[.]
]ον εἴ[.]

 40 .νατ[.]ν. [

- B' ἔμολε [κ]αὶ παῖδα[.]
 'Ηρακ'ι[έ]ος ἐξαρ.θ[.].[. . .]
 3 τεταγμένον· τοῦτ' ἄρ[α] δωδ[έ]κατο[ν]
 "Ηρας ἐφετ'μαῖς Σθενέλοιό μιν
 45 υἱὸς κέ[λ]ευσε<ν> μόνον
 6 ἄνευ συ[μ]μαχίας ἔμεν.
 καὶ Ἰόλαο[ς] ἐ[ν] ἑπταπύλοισι μένω[ν τε
 Θήβαις Ἀ[μ]φιτρώνι τε σᾶμα χέω[ν
 9]μιᾶ δ' ἐπὶ θήκα

33-39 ex. frag. 2 huc revocavit haud sine dubio Lobel 39 quot versus in epodo desint non constat

42 scholium P^m nondum extat 43 ἐπι supra τεταγμένον (prout interpretamentum) P^{si} 48 Ἀμφιτρώων[/ θήκη κεκε[P^{m2} κεκη[P^{po} Ἀμφιτρώωνος θήκη κεκηδώς suppl. Snell

29 δι' ἐρκ[.]ων P δι' ἐρκέων Snell διερκέων Lobel στε.ωι (superest littera, forma non constat, fort. λ vel ρ) P στελεῶ Pavese στερεῶ<ς> Snell στερεῶ Lobel 30 suppl. Lobel 32 ὁδ' ξ P 32-34 suppl. Lobel 33 .ρ'μ[ι] P, accentus dubius, legit Pavese ἐρημία Treu, parum probabile ὑπάκουε Pavese 34 τᾶ P 35 ζαμενέα τε τύραννον ὥρσε Pavese ζαμενέως Lobel ζαμενεῖ τε τυράννω vel ζαμενέ' εἰς τύραννον Snell 36 ποικίλων. . . ἀπέδιλος suppl. Lobel, post ἰ fort. λ 37 κατέλε Pavese 40 ἔνατ[temptavit Lobel 41 suppl. Snell 42 suppl. Lobel ἐξα[.] ἐξάριθμον temptavit Pavese 43 post τεταγμένον interpunctio aliqua posita videtur τοῦτ' P, apostropham legit Pavese suppl. Lobel 44 post ἐφετμαῖς punctum cum apostropha exhibit P 45 κε[.]ευε P ε- et -σ- (voluit ἐκέλευσε) P^{si} suppl. Lobel -<ν> metri causa Snell 46 suppl. Lobel 47 suppl. Lobel τε suppl. Snell, qui hoc loco versum finivit, cum ad v. 20 πεδάσαις legeret. nisi forte duae syllabae perierunt, θ' ἐκάς e.g. Pavese τε Θή/βαισιν Snell, sed contra metrum 48 suppl. Lobel

- 50]ν καλλιθέρας
]άδης· οὔς <τ>οι
 12]οῦ στρατὸς οὐκ ἄέκ[ων
 ...].αθ[.....]ον[.]κ.[.].ᾗ

50 ·ρως puncto praeposito (i.e. varia lectio) P^m

50 βόας βάλεν Snell 51]αδης· punctum exhibit P χαμάδης vel sim. Lobel
 <τ>οι Pavese 52 ἄέκ[P suppl. Lobel

METER

The meter is the so-called aeolic. It can be determined in the strophe everywhere, except at vv. 9–10, where the corresponding places of the antistrophe are also lost. At the end of v. 7 the prosody is ambiguous. In the epode, for which no corresponding lines are preserved, the meter can be fully determined only at vv. 2, 3, 4, and 6; elsewhere it is more or less incomplete.¹

For convenience I give here the metrical scheme of the strophe. Vv. 9–10 show the meter according to the supplements that I have proposed.

| | |
|----|---|
| | υ υ υ — — υ υ — |
| | — — υ υ — υ υ — |
| 3 | υ — υ — — υ υ — υ υ — |
| 44 | υ — υ — — υ υ — υ — |
| | — — υ υ — υ — |
| 6 | υ — — υ υ — υ — |
| | — ⁴⁷ υ υ — — υ υ — υ υ — ⁷ υ υ — υ — (?) |
| | ⁸ υ — — υ υ — υ υ — υ υ — |
| 9 | — [— —] υ υ — υ υ — |
| | — [— —] υ — — υ υ — |
| | υ υ — υ υ — — |
| 12 | — υ — — υ υ — υ υ — |
| | υ υ — — — υ — — |

¹ See the metrical scheme of the epode in B. Snell, *Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis* ³ II (1964) *Frag.* 169.

The colometry of the papyrus need not be changed anywhere. A correction *metri causa* has been introduced only at v. 45: κέλευσε<ν>.

Word-end within the line is to be noticed at all three corresponding places of the strophe only at v. 6, after ἐπεί and Γαρύόνα, and at v. 7 after Κυκλωπείων. Period-end can be occasionally identified in the strophe and only once in the epode (v. 29 στελεῶ ἄλλαν), although not even here is it strictly sure. Periods do not seem to be particularly long; 3 through 5 are rather of the short type. The strophe is written in 13 cola, forming presumably 11 or 12 periods. The epode, consisting of 15 cola at least, is among the longest stanzas to be found in Pindar.

The length of a Pindaric stanza seldom exceeds ten periods in the epinicians (only in *O.* 1 str., *O.* 14 monostr., *P.* 5 str. and *I.* 8 monostr.), but seems to have been commonly longer in other genres: *Pae.* 2 ep. is written in 14 lines (presumably 9 periods), *Pae.* 4 ep. in 11 lines (9 periods), *Pae.* 6 str. in 21 lines (12 periods), ep. in 19 lines (13 periods), *Dith.* 2 str. in 18 lines (15 periods), *Frag.* 140a str. in 20 lines, 140b str. in 17 lines. The new poem conforms to this technique.

If I may venture a word of comment on the meter, I should notice that the basic units, which we suppose to be — υ — and — υ υ —,² variously repeated or prolonged, undergo here all the known variations, namely acephalia, resolution, and cholosis.³

Prosody. Perhaps the lengthening of *ς* should be admitted in Ἰόλαος at v. 47 (see below *ad v.* 7). The ι of πεδάρσιον at v. 20 is perhaps semi-consonantal (see below *ad loc.*). In καὶ Ἰόλαος at v. 47 the digamma is effective, as often in this and similar words (see B. Snell, *Bacchylidis Carmina*⁴ [1961] 21*).

III. COMMENTARY

1. *Νόμος*. Most critics have agreed in attributing to *nomos* an abstract and universal nature, although they differ in its definition, depending upon whether they see it as a natural or ethical law, or as a divine or fatal principle.⁴ The way leading to this abstraction was

² A. M. Dale, "The Metrical Units of Greek Lyric Verse. I," *CQ* 44 (1950) 142f.

³ See Dale (as in preceding note) II, *CQ* n. s. 1 (1951) 21.

⁴ Here a selected bibliography is given. M. l'Abbé Fraguier, *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, vol. 5 (1729) 111f: *nomos* "est pris dans cet endroit pour cette loi de la nature, qui dominant sur la férocité des animaux, les livre mutuellement à leur avidité." And further on: "L'usage que Platon, dans le *Gorgias*, fait faire à Calliclès du passage de Pindare

opened by Plato: at *Gorg.* 484b the young aristocrat Callicles applies the Pindaric *nomos* to illustrate his idea of a natural law asserting the right of the stronger. *Nomos* comes to cover for him the idea usually embodied in its opposite, *physis*. Such a concept of *nomos*, however, sounds alien to early Greek usage and cannot be maintained for Pindar.

Other scholars have preferred to take the word in the well-established

est juste." P. Wesseling, *Herodoti Halicarnassei Historiarum libri IX* (1763) 215, ad 3.38: "aeterna lege immortales mortalesque costringi, cedereque adeo debiliores robustioribus, superioribus inferiores oportere." A. Boeckh, *Pindari Opera quae supersunt* II 2 (1821) 642 (*Frag.* 151): "Fatalis lex, inquit, etiam vim maximam affert eamque iustum efficit, quum humana ratione sit iniusta: quia quod summa lex imperavit, etsi iniustum nobis esse videatur, iustum sit necesse est." O. Schroeder, *Νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεύς*, *Philologus* 74 (1917) 202: "männliche Schicksalsgottheit," substitute for *Μοῖρα*, *Αἴσα*, *Ἀνάγκη*. H. E. Stier, *NOMOS ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ*, *Philologus* 83 (1928) 227ff and 238, is on Schroeder's line. W. Nestle, *Philologus* 70 (1911) 281, and F. Heinimann, *Nomos and Physis*² (1965) 67ff, assume Orphic influence (coll. *Heracl.* B53 and *Hes. Th.* 901; but the argument is weak, for *Hymn. Orph.* 64, *Orph. Frag.* 105b and 160 K., which have to bear the weight of the proof, are too late to be reliable for Pindar). K. Kerényi, *La religione antica nelle sue linee fondamentali*² (1955) 72, and A. Lesky, "Zum Gesetzesbegriff der Stoa," *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für öffentliches Recht* 2 (1949) 588f, connect *nomos*, rightly in my opinion, with the authority of Zeus. E. Thummer, *Die Religiosität Pindars* (1957) 117ff, considers it an ethical principle. M. Treu, "NOMOS ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ: alte und neue Probleme," *Rh. Mus.* 106 (1963) 212 (an article already dealing with the new papyrus): "Pindar opposes the demands of two rights and leaves the dilemma unsolved; he raises the problem of the divine violence, which is exemplified in Aeschylean expressions like *Su.* 1067 *εὐμενῇ βίαν* and *Ag.* 182 *δαιμόνων δέ που χάρις βίαιος*. He is equally distant from the absolutely just god of Plato and from the aporeticism of Hesiod, for whom powers such as *Zelos*, *Nike*, *Kratos*, and *Bia* obviously follow the lead of the highest god." But in the *Supplices* the adjective is predicative and in the *Agamemnon* the expression is ironical; see H. Lloyd-Jones, "Zeus in Aeschylus," *JHS* 76 (1956) 63.

M. Gigante, in his *NOMOS ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ* (1956), gives an ample discussion of the matter; at p. 92 "Nomos è il principio assoluto della divinità." His argument is based essentially upon *Sol.* 24.15f D³. and *Heracl.* B114 (see pp. 28ff and 50ff). But the reading *κράτει* / *νόμου* in *Solon*, given by the London papyrus of Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia*, must cede its place to *δμοῦ* found in the Berlin papyrus and the indirect tradition; the adverbial strengthening of the preposition contained in the verb *συναρμόσας* is idiomatic, see Heinimann, n. 41 (coll. *μ* 424 *συνέεργον δμοῦ τρόπιν ἥδὲ καὶ ἰστών*), W. Jaeger, "Adverbiale Verstärkung des praepositionalen Elements," *Rh. Mus.* 101 (1957) 378ff (from his examples I quote *Eur. Bacch.* 1210 *χωρὶς τε θηρὸς ἄρθρα διεφορήσαμεν*), and A. Masaracchia, *Solone* (1958) 348f. The *θεῖος νόμος* of Heraclitus, on the other hand, is particular to his argument: "a sensible man must rely on what is common to all, as a city on its law; for all human laws are nourished by one divine law."

sense of "custom," as defined by tradition and convention, thus moving in the steps of Herodotus 3.38.4.⁵ The historian relates how Greek and Indian were equally shocked at King Darius' question, when he asked them if they would like to exchange their respective funeral rites. Thereupon Herodotus comments οὕτω μὲν νυν ταῦτα νενόμισται, καὶ ὀρθῶς μοι δοκεῖ Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι νόμον πάντων βασιλέα φήσας εἶναι. The deeds of Heracles, however, can scarcely be adduced as an apt paradigm of the customary.⁶

Nomos is known, from Hesiod on, as meaning "traditional custom," either a religious rite⁷ or a fundamental rule in the life of men.⁸ It later becomes the written law of the city, a sense familiar from Attic writers, and so enters into the sphere of positive right.⁹

The usage of Pindar conforms to the same range of meanings. Here is the evidence. "Rite" at *O.* 8.78, *N.* 10.28; "custom" at *P.* 2.43, *I.* 2.38; "law" at *P.* 1.62; at *P.* 2.86 and 10.70 the "tradition," inspiring the actual institutions, rather than the institutions themselves.¹⁰ In two other passages it is doubtful whether the word occurs at all. At *N.* 3.55

⁵ U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Euripides, Her.*² (1895) I n. 179, *Plato* (1919) II 96, *Pindaros* (1922) 462, *Hesiodos Erga* (1928) ad v. 97, 276 and 388. V. Ehrenberg, *Die Rechtsidee im frühen Griechentum* (1921) 119f. G. Perrotta, *Saffo e Pindaro* (1935) 109f. G. Norwood, *Pindar* (1945) 90. K. Latte, *Der Rechtsgedanke im archaischen Griechentum*, Ant. u. Abendl. 2 (1946) 73. M. Pohlenz, *NOMOS*, *Philologus* 97 (1948) 139 = *Kleine Schriften* (1965) II 337. H. Fränkel, *Dicht. u. Phil.*² (1960) 545f. Sir Maurice Bowra, *Pindar* (1964) 75. W. Theiler, *Νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεύς*, *Mus. Helv.* 22 (1965) 75.

⁶ As E. R. Dodds, *Plato, Gorgias* (1959) 270, puts it.

⁷ (The evidence on νόμος is listed and treated by E. Laroche, *Histoire de la racine NEM- en Grec ancien* [1947] 171ff.) Hes. *Th.* 417 and *Frag.* 221. Ehrenberg (116; above, n. 5) infers from this that nomos had its original application in the religious sphere. The etymological connection with νέμειν "to allot" suggests to Pohlenz (142; above, n. 5) that νομός "the allotted part of land," to be found in Homer, is the earlier word; from it the meaning "the regionally delimited way of life of the inhabitants" was developed, which by analogy with other formations took the barytone.

⁸ Hes. *Op.* 276 τόνδε γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι νόμον διέταξε Κρονίων, "as for the brutes, to eat each other, since there is no justice with them, but to men he gave justice, which is far better." At 388 the rule of the fields, γυμνὸν σπείρειν, γυμνὸν δὲ βρωτεῖν, / γυμνὸν δ' ἀμάειν, is called nomos.

⁹ Theogn. 54 οἱ πρόσθ' οὔτε δίκας ᾗδεσαν οὔτε νόμους and 290 (οἱ κακοὶ) ἡγέονται δ' ἐκτραπέλοισι νόμοισι, although this usage is not yet terminologically precise.

¹⁰ *P.* 10.70 ὑψοῦ φέροντι νόμον Θεσσαλῶν αὔξοντες "honoring (cf. Eur. *Bauch.* 886) the tradition of the Thessalians." See the rendering of Boeckh *ad loc.*, which, so far as I know, has not received much attention, "rempublicam Thessalorum, quatenus ad certam quandam formam et legem constituta est." For the singular νόμος cannot easily be used for the whole constitution.

νομόν should perhaps be read: τὸν φαρμάκων δίδαξε μαλακόχειρα νομόν "(Asclepius) taught the gentle-handed application of remedies."¹¹ The reading σεμνὸν αἰνῆσειν νόμον at *N.* 1.72 is only attested by the scholia, and its competitor δόμον, which is in the text, may have better claim, although it has been abandoned by editors since Mommsen.

The notion inherent in the word has an obligatory force to start with. Nomos is not simply "custom," but the custom accepted by the community and determining individual behavior. Even the Pindaric *Frag.* 215 ἄλλα δ' ἄλλοισιν νόμιμα, σφετέραν δ' αἰνεῖ δίκαν ἕκαστος, far from being a sophistic expression of relativism, emphasizes the binding character of the received custom in a given circle.¹² From here on the specialization of the word as a political term only helped to sharpen an already existing tendency and to bring out its truly imperative force: "nomos is also to obey the will of one ruler," as Heracl. B33 says.¹³

1-2. The phrase ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων is fashioned after the Homeric formula for Zeus πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε: Hesiod produces the variation θεῶν βασιλῆι καὶ ἀνδρῶν at *Th.* 923, and Pindar himself names Zeus king of the gods at *O.* 7.34 and *N.* 5.35, not to mention similar titles elsewhere.¹⁴

Nomos is personified as a king. Normally the deity that represents the law of King Zeus is his spouse Themis, the Olympian goddess appointed to watch over the execution of his decrees (θέμιστες) in heaven and on earth.¹⁵ Nomos has no part in the early genealogy of the Olympians, unless one resorts to late Orphic sources. It is true that

¹¹ Cf. *P.* 3.52f γυίοις περάπτων πάντοθεν φάρμακα (the same Asclepius) and *P.* 4.271 χρῆ μαλακὰν χέρα προσβάλλοντα τρώμαν ἑλκεος ἀμφιπολεῖν. The scholium διανέμησις ad *N.* 3.55 presupposes νομόν in the text. A. Wilhelm, *Glotta* 24 (1936) 133ff, is right, I think, in accentuating ἐν χειρῶν νομῶ "im Handgemenge" at *Her.* 8.89.1, 9.48.2, al. Pohlenz (139; above, n. 2) takes *Ψ* 249 ἐπέων δὲ πολὺς νομὸς ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα together with *Aesch. Ag.* 685 γλῶσσαν νέμων and renders it "das Hin- und herbewegen."

¹² See Heinimann (above, n. 4) 71f.

¹³ Cf. *Democr.* B47 and 181. On this semantic change see R. Hirzel, *Themis, Dike und Verwandtes* (1907) 376f.

¹⁴ Both titles are transferred by Heraclitus to his Polemos, B53 Πόλεμος πάντων μὲν πατὴρ ἐστὶ, πάντων δὲ βασιλεὺς.

¹⁵ εὐβουλος . . . Θέμις at *I.* 8.31, *O.* 13.8, and *Frag.* 30.1, σῶτειρα Διὸς ξένιου πάρεδρος . . . Θέμις at *O.* 8.21f. In Homer, *O* 87 and *Y* 4, she is a minister of Zeus, but Hesiod raises her in rank to a Titanid, second spouse of Zeus, and mother of Dike and Eunomia, among others. In the fifth century there is fluctuation in the use of θέμις and νόμος; see, e.g., *Soph. O. C.* 168 ἵνα πᾶσι νόμος (=θέμις) φώνει and *Ant.* 799f ἡμέρος ἐλέκτρον νύμφας, τῶν μεγάλων πάρεδρος ἐν ἀρχαῖς θεσμῶν (=νόμων, cf. *O.C.* 1382).

Pindar elsewhere shows a taste for eccentric mythologizing;¹⁶ but this time the reason why he displaced Themis in favor of Nomos is not far to seek. Nomos, being masculine, could be labeled with an attribute belonging to Zeus. This easily suggests that a particular decree of his is alluded to.

The rule of law over men and gods alike seems to express the fact that for gods also there are laws to be obeyed, namely the laws set by their king and father, Zeus. This, however, should not be pressed too far, for "gods and men" is a stock doublet, of a type favored by Greek, with its love for antithetical or complementary expression.¹⁷ The doublet is a pair of Siamese twins, so to speak: where one partner goes, the other follows, although its presence at the place may not be strictly required; see the samples quoted by Wilamowitz, *Her.*² *ad v.* 1106, from which I choose *Hom. Hymn. in Merc.* 525f μή τινα φίλτερον ἄλλον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἔσεσθαι, / μήτε θεὸν μήτ' ἄνδρα Διὸς γόνον, and add Θ 27 (Zeus is speaking) τόσσον ἐγὼ περὶ τ' εἰμὶ θεῶν περὶ τ' εἴμ' ἀνθρώπων and Hes. *Th.* 886f.¹⁸ The πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε itself, progenitor of the Pindaric phrase, does not lay stress on two different classes of beings as such (for Zeus is actually father of a minority of men only, and not even of all gods) but rather on the notion that Zeus is father, and ruler, of all.

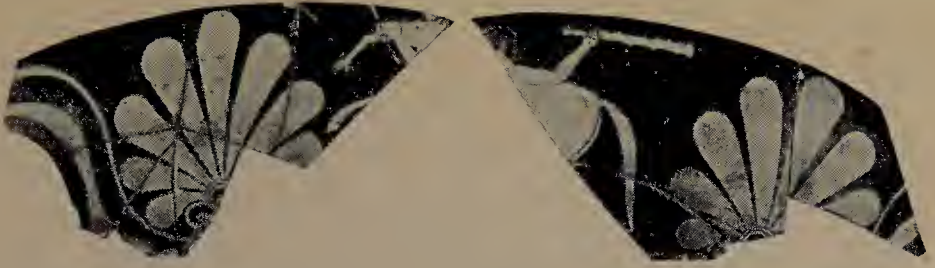
Nike is invoked with a similar stylization in the proem of a victory song for a boy of Metapontus, Bacch. 11.1ff Νίκη γλυκύδωρε . . . Ζηνὶ παρισταμένα κρίνεις τέλος ἀθανάτοισιν τε καὶ θνατοῖς ἀρετᾶς. Nike, the daughter of Styx, who has her place at the side of Zeus, is called arbiter of valor for men and gods alike, although the valor for which she is invoked is that revealed by athletic contests. This magnifying style, which embraces a wider range of reality than the particular occasion dictating the song, must have been felt appropriate for the dignity of a proem. It is a distant echo of the ancient use of addressing the god with a full list of attributes in the cletic hymn.

All this alludes, in the prelude of the poem, to the role that the law

¹⁶ I am thinking of *Μᾶτερ Ἀελίου πολυώνυμε Θεία* at *I.* 5.1; Theia, a rather obscure Titanid for Hesiod, is given the place of honor in the proem.

¹⁷ See E. Kemmer, "Die polare Ausdrucksweise in der griech. Literatur," *Beiträge zur histor. Syntax d. griech. Sprache*, Heft 15 (1903) 79ff, especially 85ff, where this "formelhafte Nachbildung des epischen Sprachgebrauchs" is traced down to the Attic poets and to Plato.

¹⁸ See also *A* 548, *Σ* 107, 404, *Pind. P.* 2.43, 9.40, 12.4. If a modern example may be quoted too, see Wilamowitz' Vorwort to his *Plato* II of 1919: "für einen alten Mann, der sich seine Preussenehre von keinem Gott und keinem Menschen aus dem Herzen reißen läßt."



Vv. 29ff. *τεῖοε δὲ στελεῶ... ἄλλαν δὲ πᾶχυν ὁδὰς φέρουσαν.*



Vv. 35f. *ζαμενέα τε τύραννον ὥρσε ποικίλων ἐκ λεχέων ἀπέδιλον.*

Cup fragments by the painter Oltes,
Campana collection in Villa Giulia, Rome.

given by the will of Zeus, the ἀνάγκα πατρόθεν of *O.* 3.28, will play on the further destiny of his son Heracles (see below *ad v.* 44).

3. ἄγει may be thought to have an object in common with δικαιῶν (so Wilamowitz, *Plato* II 96). The verb, however, is used absolutely for leading by a divine agency: *P.* 2.17 ἄγει δὲ χάρις, *P.* 5.76 Μοῖρά τις ἄγειν, *Soph. O. C.* 252 εἰ θεὸς ἄγοι, 997 θεῶν ἀγόντων, etc. No actual ellipsis is involved.¹⁹ This use of ἄγω corresponds to that of the epic ἡγέομαι.²⁰

δικαιῶν τὸ βιαίωτατον. The manuscript reading at *Plat. Gorg.* 484b βιαίων (*sic*) τὸ δικαιοῦτατον, as opposed to the other sources (schol. *N.* 9.35a, Aristides' quotation and paraphrase, Plato himself at *Leg.* 715a ἄγειν δικαιοῦντα τὸ βιαίωτατον),²¹ is certainly wrong.²² Turyn's alteration δίκαιον is unnecessary; true enough, present tenses of denominative verbs in -όω do not occur often in Pindar or Bacchylides, but there are three such instances in Pindar and an almost certain one in Bacchylides.²³

The vulgate translation "to justify"²⁴ is patently impossible, for, as

¹⁹ See O. Schroeder, *Pindars Pythien* (1922) *ad* 2.17, "bemerkenswert bei ἄγειν die Sparsamkeit Pindars im Gebrauch des Pronomens." So already in Homer, *B* 834.

²⁰ See P. Chantraine, *Études sur le vocabulaire grec* (1956) 91f.

²¹ With the single exception of Libanius, *Ap. Socr.* 87, who had the *Gorgias* reading in mind; see below, n.72.

²² Does the variant arise from manuscript corruption or from deliberate misquotation on Plato's part? The latter view, though less probable, has been held by Wilamowitz, *Plato* II 96ff (and now resumed by W. Theiler [above, n. 5] 69f): but Plato must first be credited with a verb βιαίώω that does not exist, and, secondly, δικαιῶν is essential to the argument of Callicles, cf. 488b2. (See Dodds [above, n. 6] 272: the corruption is a "spoonerism," as at *Alcib.* II 138a1 πορευόμενος προσεύξει for προσευξόμενος πορεύη). The allusions at *Plat. Leg.* 690c and 890a are too vague to witness any particular text. As for the mode of Plato's quotation, there is much overinterpretation in Treu (above, n. 4) 198f: the parenthesis τὸ γὰρ ᾄσμα οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι would be "ein Hinweis für Pindarkerkenner, dass der Sophist den Dichter hier auf seine eigene Weise auslegt, indem er auslässt, was seiner These unbequem werden musste." The words are "naturally no more than Plato's device for avoiding a long quotation of irrelevant mythological details and switching over to the paraphrase" (Dodds, 271).

²³ See B. Snell, *Bacch.*⁴ (1961) 20*: *Pind. O.* 1.113 κορυφούται, *O.* 9.78 ταξιούσθαι, *O.* 12.9 τετύφλωνται φραδαί, *Bacch.* 13.177 ἀμαυροῦ[ται] "is darkened." In Homer, too, the aorist and future forms are predominant; see K. Meister, *Die homerische Kunstsprache* (1921) 86f, but there are a number of presents as well: verbs in -όω are taken up by epic from common language; in the fifth century they are widely spread, see Ernst Fraenkel, *Griechische Denominativa* (1906) 82, E. Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.* (1959) I 731.

²⁴ For a bibliography see above, n. 4.

Treu (212f; see above, n. 4) rightly contends, there is no example of this meaning in classical literature.²⁵ The alternative version "to claim or demand as a right" is hardly more possible, for, in the many instances where the verb is used in this sense, it follows the construction of *verba volendi* in governing an infinitive.²⁶ The sense called for would have to be expressed as: *Nóμος ἄγειν δικαιοῖ τὸ βιαιότατον* (which Croiset actually printed in his Budé edition of Plato). It is to be observed that in the few instances where the verb governs a noun as an object, it always means "to bring to justice," i.e. "to punish." Here is the evidence. Aesch. *Ag.* 392 *κακοῦ δὲ χαλκοῦ τρόπον τρίβω τε καὶ προσβολαῖς μελαμπαγῆς πέλει δικαιοθελὺς* "when brought to justice," as E. Fraenkel, *Aeschylus, Agamemnon* (1950) 202f, has abundantly illustrated. Her. 5.92b.3, the oracle given to Eetion about the destiny of his son Cypselus, the future tyrant of Corinth, *ἐν δὲ πεσέεται / ἀνδράσι μουνάρχοισι, δικαιοῦσαι δὲ Κόρινθον*²⁷ "the rolling stone will fall upon the present rulers and will chastise Corinth" (i.e. the clan of the Bacchiadae). Her. 1.100.2 and 3.29.2, "to punish" trespassers. Thuc. 3.40.4 *τοῖς μὲν οὐ χαριεῖσθε, ὑμᾶς δὲ αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον δικαιοῦσεσθε* "if you do not follow the course I advise, you will not be mild with Mytilene, but rather be passing sentence on yourselves (i.e. you will be hard on yourselves)." ²⁸

This value arises from the factitive function of the verb, "to make *δίκαιος*."²⁹ Only, *δίκαιος* is not at an early stage the same as the more

²⁵ Ernst Fraenkel (124; above, n. 23) makes a special entry "gerecht machen" for this occurrence. Sept. Ex. 23:7, Je. 3:11, Ev. Luc. 16:15 are the only texts that might be quoted to support the supposed meaning "to justify," though even these mean rather "to absolve" (=lat. *justificari*), which is not precisely "to justify." At Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1136a18, *δικαιοῦσθαι* opposed to *ἀδικεῖσθαι* means "to be treated justly."

²⁶ In Sophocles (8 times), Euripides (twice), Herodotus (28 times), and Thucydides (11 times). In a few of these instances (as at Soph. *Phil.* 781, Thuc. 4.122.6 and 5.26.2) either the verb is used absolutely or an infinitive is supplied from the preceding clause. On the construction see J. M. Stahl, *Kritisch-historische Syntax des griechischen Verbums der klassischen Zeit* (1907) 628, 632.

²⁷ See H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (1956) II no. 6 and I 116 (where they translate "will exact justice from Corinth").

²⁸ See Classen-Steup *ad loc.*, "richten, verurteilen, eigentlich jemandem sein Recht anthun."

²⁹ As observed already by G. Curtius, *Das Verbum d. griech. Sprache* I (first ed. 1873) 349, denominative verbs derived from substantives are instrumental, "to provide with something," whereas, when derived from adjectives, they are factitive, "to make something such as the adjective implied." See Ernst Fraenkel (above, n. 23) 67ff, 71ff, Schwyzer I 730.

advanced "just," but rather "observant of rule or custom."³⁰ To make someone "just" in this sense, far from justifying him, is actually the same as bringing him to justice. This originally factitive usage is rare enough and is glossed by Hesychius with *μαστιγοῦν* (from Her. 3.29.2, as it seems), *νουθετεῖν*, and *κολάσαι*.³¹

A more common equivalent is the instrumental *δικάζω*,³² which Pindar uses at *O.* 2.59 τὰ δ' ἐν τῷδε Διὸς ἀρχῇ ἀλιτρὰ κατὰ γὰρ δικάζει τις (Rhadamanthys). The rarer form, *δικαιόω*, has been preferred here because of the paronomasia: the words, *δικαιῶν τὸ βιαίωτατον*, opposed in sense, but echoing each other, create a tension of which the poet is fond.

Surely Pindar meant "Rule, king of all, leads, bringing violence to justice, with highest hand." He imagines Nomos sitting on its throne and dispensing its decrees in the attitude of a king,³³ as Rhadamanthys is pictured so doing in Hades. On this rendering of the crucial verb the imagery becomes clear-cut and each detail contributes to the evidence of the whole.

Since this bears on the understanding of the equally crucial v. 15, I shall resume the discussion there.

The history of the verb *δικαιόω* is noteworthy. One would expect it to occur in Attic prose more often than a single instance each in Plato³⁴ and Demosthenes. It is, however, common in Herodotus and Thucydides. Therefore it is Ionic, and an Ionic element in the vocabulary of Thucydides. Its status must have been elevated in later epics, as the oracle about Cypselus shows.³⁵ From there, it traveled only too naturally into choral poetry.

³⁰ Cf. *δίκη* = *θέμις* "custom" and *δίκαιος* "heedful" in Homer.

³¹ So it is at Suid. s. v. *δικαιοῦν* and *ἐδικαιώθησαν*, with commentary on passages of Dio Cassius, where it is to be seen that the distinction drawn by the lexicographer is no more than a pun; for in both cases "sentenced" holds good, though the persons who are to be sentenced may be, as in the first instance quoted, free of guilt.

³² This is glossed by the other at Hesych. s.v. *δικαζέμεν· δικαιοῦν*, from *A* 542 *κρυπτάδια φρονέοντα δικαζέμεν*, used absolutely.

³³ Law-giving, *θεμιστεύειν*, is the privilege of kings from Homer on: *B* 205f *εἰς βασιλεὺς, ᾧ δῶκε Κρόνου πᾶϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω / σκῆπτρόν τ' ἠδὲ θέμιστας*. Cf. the *θεμιστοπόλοι βασιλῆες* of Hes. *Frag.* 7.3 (the Aeolid kings) and the variation Pindar does, *P.* 4.152f *θρόνος, ᾧ ποτε Κρηθείδης* (the Aeolid Aeson) *ἐγκαθίζων ἱππόταις εὐθύνε λαοῖς δίκας*.

³⁴ Plat. *Leg.* 934b *δικαιούμενον* "punished," in the archaizing language of the *Laws*; this single occurrence has been remarked by Pollux 8.25.

³⁵ From Ionic speech, as coincidence with Herodotus shows: see above, n. 23.

The superlative τὸ βιαιότατον is rightly taken as an elative, broadly applied in this style to anything the poet wishes to enhance.³⁶

4. ὑπερτάτα χειρί. Not, as curiously believed by Aelius Aristides 45.52 (II 70 Dind.), "with the hand of Heracles." Nor is there expressed in the phrase the idea of the transcendency and absoluteness of god, as some modern critics take it.³⁷

Nomos, as a paredros of Zeus, sits at the side of his throne and administers his justice with a powerful hand. The gods, particularly Zeus, are often described as sitting high up on their lofty thrones: *O.* 2.77 'Ρέας ὑπέρτατον ἐχούσας θρόνον, Aesch. *Su.* 595ff ὑπ' ἀρχᾶς δ' οὔτινος θαάζων (Zeus) . . . οὔτινος ἄνωθεν ἡμένου σέβων κράτος. This blends with the Greek idiom καθύπερθε γενέσθαι³⁸ "to have the upper hand" over the defeated, who is called ὑποχείριος, cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 897ff τί τὸ σοφόν; ἢ τί τὸ κάλλιον παρὰ θεῶν γέρας ἐν βροτοῖς ἢ χεῖρ' ὑπὲρ κορυφᾶς τῶν ἐχθρῶν κρείσσω κατέχειν; Soph. *El.* 1090ff ζῶης μοι καθύπερθεν χερὶ πλούτῳ τε τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὅσον νῦν ὑπόχειρ ναίεις.

4-5. It is not in Pindar's usual manner to state explicitly by means of a formal link that he is making an inference from a myth. At the beginning of *N.* 6 the transition is effected at v. 7 by τεκμαίρει καὶ νυν Ἀλκιμίδας, which leads to the celebration of the victorious athlete. So *P.* 2.25 ἔμαθε δὲ σαφές serves as a transition from gnome to the story of Ixion's hybris. The link comes in a more comparable way at *O.* 2.22 ἔπεται δὲ λόγος, the mythical example following at vv. 25-30 (the daughters of Cadmus, who bore great toils). But even so, this instance is unique in that the poet explicitly points out the relationship between gnome and myth in terms of a personal statement.

Verses 6-8 rest only upon the quotation of the scholium to Aelius Aristides and are overlapped by the first lines of the papyrus.

6. ἐπεὶ in the sense "after that" does not come first in the sentence in Pindar, although it sometimes does in Bacchylides. When ἐπεὶ does come first, it is an emphatic "for," linking mythical narrative to a general utterance, cf. *O.* 9.27ff ἀγαθοὶ δὲ καὶ σοφοὶ κατὰ δαίμον' ἄνδρες

³⁶ See F. Dornseiff, *Pindars Stil* (1921) 78f. For βιαιότατον cf. *N.* 1.65 τὸν ἐχθρότατον, *P.* 4.99 ἐχθίστοις μὴ ψεύδει, etc. For ὑπερτάτα cf. *P.* 8.4 κλαῖδας ὑπερτάτας, 27 ὑπερτάτους ἥρωας, etc.

³⁷ *I.* 5.53 Ζεὺς ὁ πάντων κύριος should prove, according to Gigante (96; above, n. 4) to be much more advanced than Horn. ξ 444 θεὸς δὲ τὸ μὲν δώσει, τὸ δ' ἔάσει; and yet Pindar's sentence is introduced by Ζεὺς τά τε καὶ τὰ νέμει, which is just what Horner had said.

³⁸ A military phrase derived perhaps from wrestling, to be found often in Herodotus and at Aesch. *Su.* 392.

ἐγένοντ'· ἐπεὶ ἀντίον πῶς ἂν τριόδοντος Ἡρακλῆς σκύταλον τίναξε χερσίν;
Bacch. 3.21ff θεὸν θ[εό]ν τις ἀγλαιζέθω γὰρ ἄριστος [ὁ]λβων· ἐπεὶ ποτε
καὶ δαμασίππου Λυδίας ἀρχαγέταν, κτλ.

Geryon. I prefer to follow O. Schroeder, *Pindari Carmina*² (1923) Prolegomena II 28, in spelling the name with Doric vocalism. Γηρυνεύς is the epic form, from Hesiod to Nonnus, with the exception of a late epigram, *Anth. Plan.* 91.4, so that the poet was free from Homer in spelling Γαρυόνας. Of two Chalcidian amphorae, one (Brit. Mus. B 135) spells Γηρυνόνης and the other (Paris, Bibl. Nat. 202) Γαρυφόνης.

Pindar refers to the adventures of Geryon at *I.* 1.13 θρασεῖαι τόν ποτε (Heracles) Γαρυόνα φρίξαν κύνες. The first mention of the monster and his combat with Heracles is Hes. *Th.* 289–294 and again 981–983: he is the son of Chrysaor and the Oceanine Callirrhoe and lives beyond the Ocean streams on the island Erythia;³⁹ there Heracles kills him, after slaying his dog Orthos and his shepherd Eurytion, near his misty dwellings. He confronts Heracles in full armor on a proto-Corinthian pyxis⁴⁰ and is regarded as one of his most formidable opponents.⁴¹ No doubt his three bodies and six warlike arms,⁴² and his remote abode in the west, were thought to be a most serious challenge to the prowess and endurance of the hero. For Pindar, the journey of Heracles to the far west, where he set down the famous pillars, is a symbol of the farthest limit of human capacity.⁴³

7. The scholium to Aristides *Κυκλωπείων ἐπὶ προθύρων*, against the

³⁹ Cf. Stes. 8 P., Pisander 5, Panyassis 7 Kinkel: the journey of Heracles beyond the streams of Ocean in the cup of the Sun is the older version of the adventure (see O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie u. Religionsgeschichte* [1906] I 468). Hecataeus 26 J. places it in Epirus, but this looks like a piece of rationalizing. The adventure is told by early prose writers with various details, Her. 4.8.1f, Pherec. 18, Hellan. 111 J.

Chrysaor sprang from the blood of Medusa, the daughter of Phorkys and Keto, who are in turn the children of Pontus and Gea. Geryon belongs therefore to a race of monsters, θῆρας ἀδροδίκας, to use the words of *N.* 1, with whom Heracles had often to deal: his sister is Echidna (Hes. *Th.* 297), and her children by Typhon are Geryon's dog Orthos (*ibid.*, 309), Cerberus, and the dragon of the Hesperids (*ibid.*, 333).

⁴⁰ F. Brommer, *Herakles. Die zwölf Taten des Helden in antike Kunst und Literatur* (1953) pl. 25.

⁴¹ Hes. *Th.* 981 βροτῶν κάρτιστον ἀπάντων.

⁴² See Stes. 9 P. (who, agreeing in this with two Chalcidian amphorae, gives him also wings) and Aesch. *Frag.* 74 N².

⁴³ O. 3.43f, *N.* 3.19ff, *I.* 4.11f, see E. R. Bundy, *Studia Pindarica II*, University of California Publications in Classical Philology, vol. 18, no. 2 (1962) 42f.

papyrus]ον ἐπὶ πρόθυρο[ν gives a better responsion: instead of assuming the difficult -ρον Εὐ- as equivalent to a dactyl at v. 20 and v. 47 (with lengthening of ν and moreover a biceps following it; see Lobel's comment *ad loc.*), and of deleting the paragodic ν at v. 20, it is worth considering the lengthening of final σ in 'Ιόλαος at the corresponding v. 47, which may be excused by two such instances, quoted by Snell³ II 173, at *O.* 6.77 and *P.* 3.6. The diphthongized spelling of the penultimate syllable in *Κυκλωπείων*, given by the scholium, is now shown to be right by metrical responsion against Boeckh's *Κυκλωπίων*. Meter requires the short syllable at *Eur. Or.* 965, *I.A.* 265, but the long (*pace* Wilamowitz, *Euripides, Her.*² II *ad v.* 15) at *El.* 1158, and so it does at *Anth. Plan.* 295.5.

According to Bacch. 11.77ff, the walls of Tiryns were built by the Cyclopes, when Proetus left Argos to his brother Acrisius and settled the fortress of Tiryns. Bacchylides implies by ἐλθόντες that these Cyclopes were outsiders: indeed they are said by Apoll. 2.2.1 to have come with Proetus and to have walled the new site for him, when he returned from Lycia and settled in Tiryns.

But according to Pherec. 12 J., they sailed with Perseus when he returned to his ancestral seat accompanied by Danae and Andromeda. After killing King Acrisius, he decided to retire from Argos (*ibid.*) and exchanged Argos for Tiryns with Proetus' son Megapenthes. So the line of Proetus reoccupied Argos after a generation. Perseus thereafter proceeded to wall Mycenae and Midea (Apoll. 2.4.4). Therefore, when Euripides calls Mycenae Cyclopean he is not open to blame for confusing the two obsolete Argolic sites, but he rather follows this second, Pherecydean tradition that connected the masonry work of the Cyclopes with the foundation of Mycenae and Midea by Perseus.⁴⁴ This may be one of those features that are often particular to the tragic tradition, as opposed to the epic and the lyric. In the time subsequent to the fall of the great palace life, a migrant race of giants⁴⁵ was invented to account for a masonry of a size that had become by then unusual.⁴⁶

It may be asked, then, whether Heracles is thought by Pindar to have led the cattle to Tiryns or to Mycenae. The Perseid line reigned in both localities. Although Euripides, in his *Heracles*, names only Mycenae as the terminal point of Heracles' labors, and the mythographers follow

⁴⁴ Soph. *Frag.* 227 P. (?), *Eur. Her.* 15, 944, 993, *Tro.* 1088, *El.* 1158, *Or.* 965, *I. A.* 152, 265, *Anth. Plan.* 295.5.

⁴⁵ They are said to be originally Thracians by Arist. *Mir.* 121, and to have joined Proetus from the land of the Curetes by schol. *Eur. Or.* 965.

⁴⁶ See the suggestive account of Wilamowitz, *Her.*² II *ad v.* 945.

him, Pindar most probably follows Hesiod⁴⁷ in taking Heracles back to Tiryns, Cyclopean Tiryns, as in the version represented by Bacchylides.

προθύρων means, as in Homer, the doorway of the outer enclosure (αὐλή). The large herd was assembled in front of Eurystheus' palace, where the king would at his pleasure come to survey them. According to Apoll. 2.5.10, he then sacrificed them to Hera.

8. Eight letters are missing in the papyrus before]αι: this rules out ἀναιτήτας τε, which Boeckh derived from the paraphrase of the scholium. The scholium quotes: ἐπεὶ Γηρυόνου βόας Κυκλωπείων ἐπὶ προθύρων Εὐρυσθέως ἀναιρεῖται⁴⁸ καὶ ἀπριάτας ἔλασεν. And it paraphrases: ἐπειδὴ τὰς τοῦ Γηρυόνου βόας οὔτε αἰτήσας οὔτε πριάμενος ἤλασεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Εὐρυσθέως. The missing part of the line must scan × — — ∪. D. L. Page and H. J. Mette have independently proposed ἀνατεῖ τε from the paraphrase οὔτε αἰτήσας.⁴⁹ It is attractive to see in ἀναιρεῖται the final result of a corruption of ἀνατεῖ τε, through an intermediate stage ἀνατεῖ; cf. Bacch. *Frag.* 23.2 and Soph. *O.C.* 786 (where L gives ἄναιτος against ἄνατος of A). If this is so, namely if the text, to which the scholiast resorted here, had ἀνατεῖ τε, the scholiast misunderstood it as an adverb meaning "without asking for." The monstrous form was then altered, whether accidentally or not, into the ἀναιρεῖται exhibited by the MSS now.

ἄνατος and the adverb ἀνατεῖ swing between nuances of "without harm" and "without punishment": Bacch. *Frag.* 23 "not harmed by maladies," Soph. *O.C.* 786, Aesch. *Eu.* 59, Soph. *Ant.* 485, Eur. *Med.* 1357. In a treaty between two neighboring Ozolian towns, Oeanthea and Chaleum, dated toward the middle of the fifth century, the right is given to plunder without penalty whosoever has plundered a citizen of either town: Todd 34.3 τὸν δὲ συλῶντα ἀνάτω' συλῆν.⁵⁰ Other people, not under protection of the treaty, may of course be freely plundered. The "plundering without a penalty" may recall a notion familiar enough from actual life for Pindar to use it to add a realistic touch to the plundering deed of Heracles. The expression is then equal to A 99

⁴⁷ Hes. *Th.* 291f ὅτε περ βοῦς ἤλασε εὐρυμετώπους / Τίρυνθ' εἰς ἱερήν.

⁴⁸ Oxon., συναιρεῖται of A can be disposed of as a banalization.

⁴⁹ D. L. Page, *Proc. Cambr. Phil. Soc.* 188, n.s. 8 (1962) 50, H. J. Mette, *Glotta* 40 (1962) 42f.

⁵⁰ This is formulaic: ἄπατον ἔμεν IC IV 72, col. II 1-2, col. IV 17, and 80.11-12 (Gortyna); ἄνατον ἦμεν IC I, X 2, 4 (Eltynia, early 5th cent. B.C.); ἀνάατορ ἦστω Schwyzer, *Exempla* 424 (Olympia, 4th cent. B.C.); ἀνάατον εἰμεν IG V 2, 357.177 (Stymphalos, 3rd cent. B.C.).

ἀπριάτην ἀνάποιον (quoted by Mette [see n. 49] 43), like this, a repetition that insists on the same notion, "free of charge."

However, all this reasoning, based on the οὔτε αἰτήσας of the scholiast, may easily be illusory. If we had the bare quotation of the text without the paraphrase, I doubt whether anybody would object to reading ἀναιρεῖ τε, an easy correction of the transmitted ἀναιρεῖται. The force of the preposition in the verb is not only "to take up," but also "to take back or away." Achilles says, *A* 300f τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἃ μοί ἐστι θοῇ παρὰ νηὶ μελαίνῃ, / τῶν δ' οὐκ ἄν τι φέροις ἀνελὼν ἀέκοντος ἐμέω, Antilochus objects to Achilles, *Ψ* 550f εἰσὶ δέ τοι δμῳαὶ καὶ μάνυχες ἵπποι· / τῶν οἱ ἔπειτ' ἀνελὼν δόμεναι, and Odysseus to Irus, *σ* 16 οὔτε τιwὰ φθονέω δόμεναι καὶ πόλλ' ἀνελόντα — see also the meaning "to win a prize" at *Ψ* 736 and *Her.* 5.102.3 and 6.36.1. This use is not alien to Pindar, *P.* 9.61 παῖδα τέξεται, ὃν κλυτὸς Ἑρμᾶς . . . ἀνελὼν φίλας ὑπὸ ματέρος οἶσει, *P.* 11.18 τὸν δὴ . . . ἐκ δόλου τροφὸς ἄνελε δυσπενθέος.⁵¹ Secondly, τε καὶ should be expected to link a smoother pair than is formed by ἀνατεί and ἀπριάτας.⁵² The words of the scholiast οὔτε αἰτήσας οὔτε πριάμενος are strongly reminiscent of the Platonic οὔτε πριάμενος οὔτε δόντος τοῦ Γηρυόνοῦ, so that one is left to wonder whether the source of the scholiast's paraphrase may be not Pindar's but Plato's words, of which he gives but an innocent variation.

Also the gloss ἔλεν in the papyrus margin seems to point to this reading. The dot placed before it indicates a variant (cf. col. III 11 marg. ρως). It has been taken by Lobel as a variant of ἔλασεν, but it is not easy to explain as such. It is more easily reconcilable with ἀναιρεῖ, of which it may represent a variant ἀνεῖλεν (the unaugmented form is surely a minor slip), prompted by a wish to assimilate the embarrassing present to the following aorist.

The historical present is unexampled in Pindar; it has, in fact, been concluded that it was felt unsuitable to choral lyric style.⁵³ But what is permissible in high tragic narrative (where it is frequent, beginning with the *Persae*) may stand also in a lyric one. It is preferable, however, to read ἀναίρει as imperfect. The imperfect expresses the accompanying action and the aorist the culminating, a feature already occurring in

⁵¹ Cf. the similar use of ἀνάγω, *N* 626f οἱ μὲν κουριδίην ἄλοχον καὶ κτήματα πολλά / μᾶψ οἴχεσθ' ἀνάγοντες, *P.* 5.1ff ὁ πλοῦτος εὐρύσθενής, ὅταν τις . . . αὐτὸν ἀνάγῃ πολύφιλον ἐπέταν.

⁵² See the samples given by E. Bruhn, *Soph. Anhang* 155.

⁵³ B. L. Gildersleeve, *Pindar, The Olympian and Pythian Odes* (1885) CII, *Notes on Stahl's Syntax of Greek Verb* (1909) 393 (with reference to his earlier articles), Stahl, *Syntax* 91, J. Wackernagel, *Vorl. ü. Syntax*² (1926) I 163.

Homeric narrative:⁵⁴ cf., e.g., *O.* 3. 14 ἔνικεν, 17 αἵτει (Heracles asked for the olive and brought it to Olympia), *P.* 4. 114f κρύβδα πέμπον . . . Κρονίδα δὲ τράφεν Χίρωνι δῶκαν, *E* 317f ἡ δ' ἀγκὰς ἐλάζετο θυγατέρα ἦν, / χειρὶ τέ μιν κατέρεξεν. αἰρέω, in particular, is among the verbs that have an inclination for the imperfect in Homer, see *Δ* 23 χόλος δέ μιν ἄγριος ἦρει, etc.

To sum up, although the supplement based on the paraphrase looks attractive, I consider the text, as it is transmitted (with the metrical change, hardly to be called one, of -ται into τε: the middle, by far more common, would inevitably slip in), quite acceptable in itself and moreover supported by some evidence, though slender, from the papyrus margin.

In epic only the form ἀπριάτην is found, as a fossil: in the *Iliad* phrase quoted above (*A* 99), and by itself at ξ 317 (adverbial) and at *Hymn. Dem.* 132.⁵⁵ The situation in the last two passages is the same: Odysseus and Demeter tell in their deceptive tales that they have been taken "free of charge," as booty is. "Free of charge," then, becomes almost a set attribute of booty, and Pindar goes only one step further by giving it a declension.

9. This is the earliest mention in literature of the man-eating mares of Diomedes. Pindar centers the story on the two main events, the capture of the mares and the combat with Diomedes, which are chosen for representation in art also.⁵⁶ The Thracian son of Ares shows, as

⁵⁴ See Stahl, *Syntax* 99,2, Wackernagel, *Vorl.* I 183, Schwyzer II 276f, P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* II (1953) 193f.

⁵⁵ See M. Leumann, *Homerische Wörter* (1950) 167f.

⁵⁶ The capture of the mares is shown on a metope of the Athenian treasure-house in Delphi (*BCH* 47 [1937] pls. 16–18 N 3), on the second eastern metope of Olympia, and on a metope of the Hephaesteum in Athens. It appears on Attic vases (according to the list of Sir John Beazley, *CFF* [1933] 8, no. 32, and F. Brommer, *Vasenl. z. griech. Heldensage*² [1960] 141f), on a lekythos in Syracuse (Brommer, *Herakles* pl. 19b), a cup in Odessa (*BSA* 46 [1951] pl. 16a), a cup fragment of the Campana collection (see below, pp. 78f and plate included; Beazley, pl. 1, 55–56 and pl. Y, 3+pl. 6, 16), a cup in Altenburg (*CVA Altenburg* 2, pl. 70, 5), and a cup fragment in Vienna (*CVA Wien*, *Kunsthist.* 2, pl. 99, 1).

The earliest known representation of the combat was carved on the Amyclaeon throne (Paus. 3.18.2 Διομήδην τε Ἡρακλῆς τὸν Θρᾷκα . . . τιμωρούμενος); it was shown also in the Theban Heracleum (Paus. 9.11.6); it is still extant only on a jug in Naples (see Pfuhl, *Mal. u. Zeichn.* 337). The motive is present in literature at Eur. *Alc.* 486, Apoll. 2.5.8, Dion. Chrys. 8.31, Strab. 7. *Frag.* 44. According to another version represented by Diod. Sic. 4.15.3 Heracles submits Diomedes to a kind of poetic justice by throwing him into his mares' mangers.

expected, the warlike spirit inherited from his father and the boldness of his nation.

The story of Geryon, having been touched upon in few verses, is resumed by a long narrative of a second feat of Heracles, the capture of Diomedes' mares. Both stories have in common the fact that Heracles had not done enough by slaying a dangerous monster or capturing a wild creature, but that he also had to overcome a formidable warrior in order to fulfill his ordeal.⁵⁷

Juxtaposition is a favorite scheme in choral lyric, similar in technique to the priamel sequence. Of the three myths chosen to celebrate Corinth at *O.* 13.52ff — Sisyphus, shrewd as a god, Medea the resourceful maid, and enduring Bellerophon — only the last is carried on by narrative (vv. 60–92). From the catalogue of legends quoted to the glory of Thebes, only the last item, the wedding feast of Cadmus and Harmonia, is developed in the overture to the first hymn. The effect is to enhance the particular song against a larger background. Similarly, in the prelude of *I.* 1, a poem celebrating a Theban victor, Delos works as a foil for Thebes.⁵⁸ Pindar therefore places second the adventure of Diomedes not for chronological, but for purely compositional, reasons. The junction is, however, simpler than usual, in keeping with the simplicity of the proem and with the straightforwardness of the τεκμαίρομαι clause; see above *ad v.* 4.

At vv. 9–17 the issue of the fight is anticipated: Heracles steals the mares and kills Diomedes. Ring composition is a favorite device also in Pindar's storytelling.⁵⁹ In a similar way the tale of Apollo and Cyrene is preceded by a long introduction (*P.* 9.5–13), which gives all essential points, before the poet goes into the actual narrative.

10–11. The Thracian people, of whom Diomedes is king, are elsewhere called Bistones (*Eur. Alc.* 485, etc.). In the neighborhood of the Bistonian marsh, near where Heracles kills Diomedes, certain ruins were said in antiquity to be remains of the manor of Diomedes, see

The story is known only from the sixth century onward, and is not a favorite on Attic vases: only six pieces altogether, a meager appearance, compared to the large number of the Geryon vases.

⁵⁷ The order of events occurring in the Geryon story, as narrated by Apoll. 2.5.10, has a notable similarity to Pindar's scheme of narrative, as Treu has observed (above, n. 4), 206: Heracles kills Orthos and Eurytion, cf. Pindar's vv. 18–32, another shepherd reports to Geryon, cf. vv. 33–35, Geryon sets out in pursuit and is slain by Heracles, cf. vv. 36ff.

⁵⁸ See Bundy (above, n. 43) 36ff.

⁵⁹ See L. Illig, *Zur Form d. pind. Erzählung* (1932) 57ff, Bowra (above, n. 5) 310f.

Strab. 7, *Frag.* 44 and Ael. *N. An.* 15.25; the latter reports a belief that horses who drink from a river near there would become carnivorous. This points to the presence of the story in local folklore.

13. ἔκπαγλον. In Pindar, though not in tragedy, the adjective always designates a warlike nature; Achilles and other heroes are called ἔκπαγλοι in the *Iliad*. Pindar applies it to another robust opposer of Heracles, *N.* 4.27, τὸν μέγαν πολεμιστὰν ἔκπαγλον Ἀλκυονῆ.

14. Lobel's ἀνδριάντα is unmetrical, as he recognizes (— — ∪ required instead), and must be dismissed together with the parallels provided by Treu (see n. 4) 205.

15. κόρῳ is a certain restoration of Lobel's from the marginal scholium οὐκ [ἐ]πὶ ὕβρ[ει ἀλλ'] ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα. The dative alone is too bare, and so σύν, the favorite Pindaric preposition, is the best that occurs to me to fill in a gap of one syllable; cf. *N.* 1.64 καὶ τινα σὺν πλαγίῳ ἀνδρῶν κόρῳ στείχοντα.

The scholium, as supplemented by Lobel, further reads: τὸ γὰρ [ἑαυτοῦ μὴ προ]ίεσθαι ἀνδρείου (ἐστὶν) ἀλλ' οὐχ ὕβριστ[οῦ. Ἑρα]κλῆς δ' ἡδ[έ]κει [ἀφελό]μενος. The common opinion, which attributed the violence to Heracles, now receives fresh support from the scholium.⁶⁰ But is it necessary to acquiesce in it? I consider the scholia secondary to the text as evidence and concern myself here with the text first.⁶¹

An adverbial clause may be postponed to the end of the period, after an intervening phrase, when this is required for special emphasis, e.g. *P.* 5.74ff ὅθεν γεγενναμένοι ἴκοντο Θήρανδε φῶτες Αἰγείδαι, ἐμοὶ πατέρες, οὐ θεῶν ἄτερ, ἀλλὰ Μοῖρά τις ἄγεν. Fraenkel, *Ag. ad v.* 581, quotes samples of this word order from Aeschylus. The clause οὐ σὺν κόρῳ ἀλλ' ἀρετῇ may therefore, in spite of the scholium, go back to the main subject Heracles, instead of to the last mentioned Diomedes. If my account of δικαιῶν, see above *ad v.* 3, is correct, this is a necessary consequence. Nomos, the guide of Heracles, is concerned with "bringing violence to justice"; this enactment having been exemplified by the fates of Geryon and of Diomedes, the latter cannot finally be said to have met his doom for an action performed "not with arrogance, but with prowess." This would indeed disrupt the train of thought and distort the expected climax.

Pindar is not likely to have felt a serious moral offense in Heracles' cattle-raiding. According to heroic customs, a raid of cattle is not dishonorable in itself; the Dioscuri indulged in it, along with the

⁶⁰ Treu (above, n. 4) 196.

⁶¹ A glance at the scholia preserved along with the paeans does not help to corroborate one's faith in their acumen.

Apharetidae,⁶² and so did Achilles, when he raided Aeneas on the slopes of Ida. If anyone is to be blamed, it is rather the latter, who, unlike Geryon and Diomedes, saved his life thanks to his swift knees, *Y* 490f. Nor was one punished in actual life for the act, if it was performed at the expense of aliens.⁶³ The poet, on the other hand, can hardly be expected to be in sympathy with Geryon, whose hybris lies, if nowhere else, in the very monstrosity of his nature.⁶⁴ Aeschylus, in a chorus of the *Heraclidae*, *Frag.* 74 N.² βοτῆράς τ' ἀδίκους κατέκτα δεσπότην τε τρίπτυχον τρία δόρη πάλλοντα χερσίν, κτλ., agrees, rather than collides,⁶⁵ with Pindar in the obvious treatment of the story. *Frag.* 81 σὲ δ' ἐγὼ παρά μιν αἰνέω μὲν, Γαρυόνα, perhaps from the dithyramb "Cerberus," has often been quoted, from Aelius Aristides on, in support of the "violence of Heracles." Yet it is not said in the fragment on what ground Geryon was praised along with Heracles; more likely than not, for having challenged the hero's strength and prowess. However, whatever praise might be meant there, the poet quickly dismisses it as unpleasing to Zeus. This looks like a *præteritio*, serving the purpose of taking the poet back to the main stream of his song.⁶⁶

To come back to Diomedes, his habit of feeding his mares with the flesh of strangers passing by, a habit there is reason to believe was not unknown to the poet,⁶⁷ ranks him in the company of well-known inhospitable characters, such as Antaeus (*I.* 4.52ff and *Frag.* 111), Cycnus (*O.* 10.15f), or Busiris, whose hybriatic deeds were brought to an end by Heracles, *N.* 1.64ff: καί τινα σὺν πλαγίῳ ἀνδρῶν κ ὁ ρ ω στείχοντα τὸν ἐχθρότατον φᾶσέ νιν δώσειν μύρῳ. Unlike those enemies, Heracles was prompted to the slaughter not for the sake of excess,⁶⁸ but

⁶² *N.* 10.60 Ἰδας ἀμφὶ βουσίη πως χολωθείς and Hes. *Scut.* 12 χωσάμενος περὶ βουσί are equivalent expressions for a quarrel arisen over division of a booty already secured.

⁶³ See the inscription quoted *ad v.* 8.

⁶⁴ See above, n. 39.

⁶⁵ As Treu (195; above, n. 4) believes.

⁶⁶ As often in Pindar, for instance at *O.* 9.35-41, *O.* 13.91, *N.* 5.14-18.

⁶⁷ Cf. vv. 23-26 of Pindar with Diod. 4.15.3. The Διομήδεια ἀνάγκη was proverbial; see Ar. *Eccl.* 1029 and schol. The proverb is quoted by Hesychius (although he explains it also in terms of a quarrel between Odysseus and the other Diomedes in the *Little Iliad*).

⁶⁸ κόρος, notoriously a difficult word: its value seems to swing between "satiety" (the Homeric usage) to "insatiability" (the former at *O.* 13.10 ὕβριν, κόρου ματέρα θρασύμυθον, *O.* 1.56, 2.95, and *N.* 7.52; the latter at *I.* 3.2 and *N.* 1.55), that is to say, from one pole to its opposite. But for the poet κόρος is also the condition of being ἀκόρητος. So the taunting of Menelaus at *N* 636ff πάντων μὲν κόρος ἐστί, καὶ ὕπνου καὶ φιλότῃτος (a motive that Pindar had in mind at *N.* 7.52) . . . Τρῶες δὲ μάχης ἀκόρητοι ἔασιν) could be rendered by

by his inborn valor. The reason for this is given in the following sentence: for Diomedes chose fight in defense of his own rather than flight (as Aeneas did when raided by Achilles), and so provoked Heracles to overcome his opposition, in order to keep a grip on his booty (cf. Eur. *Alc.* 486 οὐκ ἔστιν ἵππων δεσπύσαι σ' ἄνευ μάχης). Besides, when valor is mentioned, the likeliest claimant to it is surely Heracles, if one of his deeds is to be the subject of praise. One may remember how Pindar starts such a praise at *N.* 1.33f ἐγὼ δ' Ἑρακλέος ἀντέχομαι προφρόνως ἐν κορυφαῖς ἀρετῶν μεγάλαις, ἀρχαῖον ὀτρύνων λόγον, κτλ., and at *P.* 9.87 κωφὸς ἀνὴρ τις, ὃς Ἑρακλεῖ στόμα μὴ περιβάλλει.

The whole section (vv. 6–17), which anticipates the issue of the following narrative, is then divided between both personages: Heracles is made the subject in vv. 6–15 throughout, and Diomedes, after having been fully introduced there, is given the last two lines. Subjects that have been already mentioned are interwoven, without much specification of which is intended at a particular place: a feature not alien to Pindar's narrative manner, see *P.* 4.21ff θεῶ ἀνέρι εἰδομένῳ . . . δέξαι' (Euphemus), then at 24f ἀνίκ' ἄγκυραν ποτὶ χαλκόγενυν ναῖ κριμνάντων ἐπέτοσσε (the god), and 35f μᾶστευσσε δοῦναι (the god), οὐδ' ἀπίθησέ νιν (Euphemus), *P.* 4. 228f and 250f.

It must nevertheless be admitted that the final position of the crucial clause may raise an ambiguity. Precisely this ambiguity, combined with an unawareness of the obsolete meaning of *δικαιῶν* at v. 3, has allowed, I think, both ancients and moderns to take the false course. The source of the mistake lies in the argument of the Platonic Callicles. Aelius Aristides, arguing against him, obviously inherits it from him, and so does his scholiast.⁶⁹ Less obviously, but understandably, the heritage has been taken over by the moderns, from Boeckh on, without much investigation of the lexical problem presented by *δικαιῶν*. Owing to the cultural interest of the *nomos* sentence, the poem may have been handed over to the Alexandrians with already a definite coloring. The papyrus scholiast, then, can hardly be expected to be independent of the main stream. In modern times a scholar of the level of J. J. Reiske was able to show this independence; see his *Animadversionum ad Graecos auctores vol. III* (1761) 435: “. . . lex, omnibus imperans, diisque hominibusque, eo quod *punit vel ulciscitur* violentiam eminentissima

saying that the Trojans suffer from μάχης κόρος, cf. *I.* 3.2 πλούτου . . . κόρον, i.e. ἀκόρητος πλούτου. Exactly this excessive “lust” for battle is the kind of excess that Pindar has in mind here and at *N.* 1.65.

⁶⁹ Who takes *δικαιῶν* as *δίκαιον νομίζων*, so anticipating Treu (see above, p. 58). •

manu. Miror Aristidem Platonis seu versutiam seu lapsum non animadvertisse, cuius aetate Pindarus adhuc integer extabat.”⁷⁰ But in the second era of Pindaric scholarship, after Boeckh’s times, only F. Duemmler questioned again the Platonic approach, in *Prolegomena zu Platons Staat* (1891) 34f = *Kleine Schriften* (1901) I 191f.⁷¹ He pointed out that, apart from Plato, Aristides, and Libanius (who both depend on Plato), other ancient writers quote Pindar’s nomos in order to praise law in its philanthropic capacity. This, however, may be due more to their particular aim, and to the brevity of the quotation, than to an independent knowledge of the poem.

One voice of opposition, however, is still audible from antiquity. If Libanius in his *Apologia Socratis*, Decl. 1.87, takes as his target, as seems to be the case, an argument of the Accusation of Socrates written by the rhetor Polycrates, then the latter maintained that Socrates had misinterpreted his Pindar tendentiously and then refuted him as immoral.⁷² This is exactly what Plato does in his *Gorgias*. The standpoint

⁷⁰ The full passage of Reiske’s note, answering the article of Abbé Fraguier referred to at n. 4, runs as follows: “mores, artes, instituta, violentiae et libidinis injuriarum redarguit atque coercet disciplina sua lex, omnibus imperans, diisque hominibusque, eo, quod punit vel ulciscitur violentiam eminentissima manu. Miror Aristidem Platonis seu versutiam seu lapsum non animadvertisse, cuius aetate Pindarus adhuc integer extabat. Initium loci, unde vera poetae voluntas colligitur et elucescit, Clemens servavit Alexandrinus. Herculis exemplum poenas violentiae atque rapinarum a Geryone repetentis allegat Pindarus confirmandae sententiae suae ergo, vim et libidinem numquam inultam manere, sed semper exsistere aliquem, qui violentos et injuriosos alia vi contraria coercet atque ulciscatur.” For an appreciation of the work of Reiske on Aristides, see Dindorf, vol. I p. VII of his edition: “quas ad Aristidem conscripsit annotationes in praestantissimis Reiskiani ingenii monumentis numerandas esse censeam.”

⁷¹ Schroeder (201; above, n. 4) only too readily disposed of Duemmler’s view with the argument that, if Pindar simply meant to speak of a law that punishes the violent, he did not need to disturb the “universal Nomos,” which he defines as “Melodie und Rythmus, ewigen Gang und Brauch einer höheren Weltordnung.” Yet the poets used to resort to the power of nomos, as the main check on human insolence. In fact, nomos accompanies the hybris motive in an almost topical way: see Soph. *O.T.* 865 ὡν νόμοι πρόκεινται ὑψιποδες, κτλ., then 873ff, Eur. *Bacch.* 980ff οὐ γὰρ κρείσσον ποτε τῶν νόμων, κτλ., then 885ff.

⁷² Libanius, ὑπερτάτη χειρὶ βιάζεται τὸ δίκαιον, read in his *Gorgias* text the same corruption that we read now. When he found in Polycrates the correct reading, he ascribed it to a perverse alteration on his part, for mending Pindar and showing Socrates unfair (see Dodds [above, n. 6] 271). So Polycrates had the misfortune of having his argument turned against himself.

Pindar’s sentence was a favorite source of sophistic debate, as it appears from many references: Callicles in the *Gorgias*, Hippias at *Prot.* 337d, Agathon in his Gorgianic eulogy at *Symp.* 196b, Alcidas at Arist. *Rhet.* 1406a22.

of Polycrates is taken, at a much later time, by Olympiodorus, *Comm. in Plat. Gorg.* 26.13 Norwin, καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς οὐκ ἄδικος, ἀλλὰ προσεκκόπτων τὰ πάθη· οὐ γὰρ ἐβιάσατο, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀδίκων ἐχόντων ἀφῆρετο.

This should convince the recalcitrant that Plato's interpretation was liable to attack at its origin; and so perhaps temper the insolence of mine here.

16–17. The two lines do not express a general maxim of behavior,⁷³ but the summons Diomedes gives himself before entering into the fight: cf. expressions like that of Ajax at *O* 511f βέλτερον, ἢ ἀπολέσθαι ἔνα χρόνον ἢ ἐβιώναι, / ἢ δηθὰ στρεύγεσθαι ἐν αἰνῇ δηϊοτήτι or of Hector at *X* 253 ἔλοιμι κεν, ἢ κεν ἀλοίην. So says Odysseus, before entering the Cyclops' cave, at *Eur. Cycl.* 201f ἀλλ', εἰ θανεῖν δεῖ, κατθανοῦμεθ' εὐγενῶς, / ἢ ζῶντες αἶνον τὸν πάρος συσσώσομεν.

Perhaps it is now time, after such a lengthy discussion, to indulge in some supplements, although, of course, few of them that are certain can be added to those already found by the first editor.

9 καὶ μάργας] Διομήδεος ἵππους
 ἔξευξεν, μό]ναρχον Κικόνων
 παρὰ Βιστο]νίδι λίμνᾳ
 χαλκοθώ]ρακος Ἐνναλίοιο
 δαμάσσαις] ἔκπαγλον υἱόν,
 χόλον ἀεί]ραντα μέγαν,
 15 οὐ σὺν κό]ρῳ ἀλλ' ἄρετῃ.

9. κείνος καί] Page (article referred to at n. 49). I expect an adjective to accompany the first mention of the mares: καὶ κλυτάς] Snell. Pindar is capable of much harsher omissions of the subject, when this is suggested by the context (here from ἐργοισιν Ἡρακλέους): cf. *P.* 4.164 καὶ ὥς τάχος ὀτρύνει με τεύχειν ναῖ πομπάν (sc. ὁ θεός), *N.* 10.5 πολλὰ δ' Αἰγυπτῷ καταοίκησεν ἄσση (sc. Argos); see above, p. 69.

10. ἔκλειψε] Page. ἔξευξεν] "he bridled," cf. *O.* 13.64 Πάγασον ζευξάι ποθέων (Bellerophon). I add the paragogic ν because I need a long syllable here to correspond with my supplement λαιθάρ]υζον at v. 23. Α ν is also useful to fill the gap, which is of seven letters.

⁷³ Treu (above, n. 4) 196 "auf einer Seite steht das Rechtsgefühl und die absolute Wertung der Arete, auf der anderen Seite die krasse Gewalttätigkeit des Herakles, die hinter sich den Nomos hat."

14-15. In Page's restoration this line has Διός, and the following παῖδ' οὐ; this simply repeats the subject Heracles as object of the participial clause: "Heracles stole Diomedes' mares, having slain the son of Ares, who was opposing the son of Zeus."

13. δαμάσας] Page, slightly short for a space of eight letters; δαμάσαις] agrees better with both space and dialect. The first aorist participle ends in -αις in Pindar; see Schroeder's *Prolegomena* II 84.

14. "of the presumed acute only the lower tip" (Lobel). Before α, ρ seems to me more probable than any other letter. χόλον ἀείραντα, cf. *P.* 11.23 χόλον ὄρσαι and νεῖκος ἀειράμενος at *Theogn.* 90; perhaps the active also would do here. νόον ἀεί[ραντα] Snell.

16-17. κρέσσον] Page, the first syllable being considered *anceps*. The first *anceps* of the following line may be filled by τῶν or ἐῶν, the latter much liked by Pindar. Page πρό.

18. κρίβδαν] Page, στέγος δ' Snell.

19-20. (σ)τέγος] Page, κρυφῆ] Snell. θοός, an epithet of warriors in the *Iliad*, then ἥρως in the following line: is Heracles called ἥρως θοός at *N.* 3.22, as P. Maas, *Mus. Helv.* 11 (1954) 199, conjectured? The subject would still be indefinite enough to justify the marginal note at v. 18 ὁ Ἡρακλῆς τοῦ Διομήδους. Page articulates νυκτιβίας and supplements ὕβριος, to be construed with ὁδόν in the following line. But βίας ὁδόν is so coherent a phrase that it is not likely to be dismembered.⁷⁴

18. Heraeles' "way of force" does not identify the "violence" at v. 3 as being performed by him. For it does not follow from the etymological connection of the two words that they necessarily refer to each other.⁷⁵ Indeed, though βίαιος is a deprecatory epithet always designating an hybriatic quality, βία has often a positive connotation; for Pindar, except at *P.* 8.15, always. He often calls his admired heroes βιαταί: Patroclus at *O.* 9.75, Jason at *P.* 4.236, Antilochus at *P.* 6.28, Achilles at *Pae.* 6.84.

Force and shrewdness are equally noticeable in the hero's feats. The

⁷⁴ The genitive preferably precedes the governing noun; see *O.* 7.90 ὕβριος ἐχθρὰν ὁδόν, *P.* 3.103 ἀλαθείας ὁδόν, *Pae.* 9.4 σοφίας ὁδόν, *Frag.* 180.2 σιγᾶς ὁδοί.

⁷⁵ Treu (195; above, n. 4) sees the vulgate view of the violence of Heracles as definitely decided thereby; p. 206 "geschenkt wird dem Herakles vom Dichter nichts."

tales have hardly any of the vagueness with which the nordic saga is often content. The Greeks instead took pleasure in the actual devices by which the hero contrived to overcome his difficult tasks. There is often a good deal of popular humor in the invention of the cunning detail. *Οἶαν τινὰ δύσλοφον ὠμηστᾷ λέοντι Περσείδας ἐφίησι χεῖρα παντοίαισι τέχναις*, Bacch. 13.46ff. How cleverly he succeeds in mastering the Hydra's regenerating heads, or in disposing of the refuse heaped in the Augean stables! It is from this attitude of mind that the expression "the way of force" has been coined, a way that is to be described in the following vv. 20–32.

ἐϋ]ρε Page and Snell, cf. *O.* 1.110 *εὐρών ὁδὸν λόγων*, *N.* 6.54 *ὁδὸν ἄμαξιτόν εὐρον*. I retain the paragogic *ν*, although "it may have been struck through" (Lobel), to correspond with the reading *Κυκλωπείων* that I adopt at v. 7; see above, *ad loc.*

20. Supplements are Lobel's. *πεδάρσιον* is frequent in Aeschylus, Pindar uses *πεδά* to compose an adjective at *Frag.* 25 *πέδοικος*. Snell's *πεδάσαις* is weaker. The traces after *σ* are more in keeping with *ι* than with *α*, and a blank space after *ά* is fit for just a narrow letter like *ρ*. Besides, the groom is already entangled enough when thrown into the cribs, without Heracles' needing to pause and bind him in advance. Cf. *Apoll.* 2.5.8 *βιασάμενος τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς φάτναις τῶν ἵππων ὑπάρχοντας*.

If at the corresponding v. 47 only one syllable is lost (*μένω[ν τε]*), then *-σιον* here must be an instance of the semiconsonantal treatment of *ι* before a vowel, which seems not rare, though usually emended in Pindar (see Schroeder's *Prolegomena* II 55). Perhaps the preceding *σ*-sound may favor this phenomenon; cf. the spelling *σωπάω* at *O.* 13.91 and *I.* 1.63 and the scansion of *Κνωσίων* at Bacch. 17.39 as two longs.

21–22. *φάτναις ἐν λιθίναις*: according to Diod. 4.15.3 the mangers were of bronze and the halters of iron. *φρένες* are given to animals in Homer.

]*έναν* P, *ν* is corrected above the line by *τ* or *π*; since *π* does not suit any word here, if the correction has to be considered at all, there is not much else to fit the gap, the meter, and the sense, except *εὐεγρέταν*, a word that, though appearing only late, sounds poetic enough: "the mares' alert senses."

βάλ[ε, λαβ' ῥοτατᾶν
ἵππω[ν εὐεγρ]έταν φρέ[να λάθειν]⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Cf. *θυμὸν ἐγείρει*, and *νόον λήθειν* in Homer.

ἵππων μαινομέναν φρένας ἄσαι Page: read μαινομενᾶν. Lobel's μαινομέναν is acc. sing. agreeing with φρένα.

23. The *varia lectio* νν as against μιν *in linea*, is *difficilior*, given the scribes' tendency to epicisms, and is also prevalent in the papyri of Pindar. Therefore I prefer it here, although I leave μιν at v. 44, where no variant is attested. The case for νν, however, is very strong, and in such an instance respect for the paradosis may almost be superstitious.

]ζον "the lower part of a stroke compatible with the shank of ν" (Lobel). On the assumption that ν was written, there is not much else to fit the lacuna of approximately five letters, the meter scanning . υ] and the required sense "devoured," except Hesych. λαιθαρύζειν, glossed by λαμυρῶσαι, διαπράξασθαι. λαμυρῶσαι is also a hapax; but if the cognate adjective λαμυρός is applied to the jaws of the Nemean lion at Theocr. 25.234 and to those of a snake ready to attack at Nic. *Ther.* 293 (cf. Phryn. s. v. 291 Lob. οἱ δ' ἀρχαῖοι τὸν ἱταμὸν καὶ ἀναιδῆ), then the synonymous λαιθαρύζον is perhaps appropriate to describe the action of the wild mares' jaws. As Hesychius shows, the verb is transitive. It is a good equivalent of Eur. *Her.* 382 ἐθόάζον (the mares) κάθαιμα σῖτα γέννυσι. A gloss was written in the margin, perhaps to explain some obscure word like this. κεραΐζον Page; Lobel's διέσχιζον is unmetrical, as noted by Page, for the second syllable must be short.

24-25. The expression ἀράβησε . . . δοῦπος is adapted from the Homeric formula δούπησεν δὲ πεσών, ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ (*Δ* 504, *E* 42, 540, etc.). Outside Homer the verb means specially "to gnash the teeth," said of the Keres at Hes. *Scut.* 249 λευκοὺς ἀραβεῦσαι ὀδόντας and of hunting hounds at Apoll. Rh. 2.281. The verb is intransitive, as in Pindar, also at Soph. *Inachus*, V. Steffen, *Sat. Graec. Fragm.*² (1952) Soph. 85.39 μέγα δέος ἀραβεῖ, at Epich. 21.2 Kaibel ἀραβεῖ δ' ἄ γνάθος (of Heracles the glutton), and at Theocr. 22.126 λαῖη δὲ στόμα κόψε, πυκνοὶ δ' ἀράβησαν ὀδόντες. Usually δοῦπος is "thud," but here simply "noise," with poetic impropriety. The word occurs only here in Pindar.

διὰ λευκῶν ὀστέων . . . ἐρεικομένων is another Homerism, cf. e.g., the androktasia at *Π* 347 κέασσε δ' ἄρ' ὀστέα λευκά. The participle ἐρεικομένων is a Homeric word and is placed at the end of the sentence in Homeric fashion; cf. e.g., *M* 151f ὥς τῶν κόμπει χαλκὸς ἐπὶ στήθεσσι φαεινός / ἄντην βαλλομένων.

διὰ is used in its local sense, exactly as at *Frag.* 111.5 αἰὼν δὲ δι' ὀστέων ἐρραίσθη: there, of course, something material, the vital stuff or

marrow,⁷⁷ is what breaks through the bones. However, a sound also can be visualized as an actual being in poetic language, as at Sim. 90.3f P. μελιαδέα γάρυν ἀραρεῖν ἀκοαῖσι βροτῶν.⁷⁸ Homeric expressions like *Π* 78, where the voice of Hector summoning the Trojans περιάγνυται round Achilles, or *M* 289 τὸ δὲ τεῖχος ὑπὲρ πᾶν δοῦπος ὀρώρει, already foreshadow this tendency. "The noise cracked through the rent bones" is an elaborate way of expressing the bare fact "the rent bones cracked," an idea prompted by the poet's wish to represent δοῦπος as an animate being. Lobel's διαλεύκων, against the accentuation of the papyrus, has to admit a word belonging to late prose only and meaning moreover not "white," but "transparent."

26. πλεκτόν τε χαλκόν "entwined bronze," is clear enough as a description of a bronze chain; cf. *O.* 13.78 δαμασσίφρονα χρυσόν "the bit." It need not be specified by ἄλυσσιωτόν two lines further. πλεκτός, which is said of ropes, is here improperly extended to chains. On the correlation τε . . . δέ (v. 29) see Lobel's note (he quotes two examples in Pindar, *P.* 4.80 and 11.29) and Denniston, *Part.*² 513f.

27. τροπέζῳ, so accented in the papyrus; at Eust. *Il.* 877.55 (= Arist. Byz. *Frag.* 42 Nauck=Pind. *Frag.* 316) τὴν φάτνην αὐτῶν λέγων προβάτων τράπεζαν, which is a reference to this passage by Aristophanes of Byzantium, the case ending seems due to the grammarian, and need not be considered as a variant. προβάτων, "animals," is a generic word for any kind of cattle or herd; see Hesych. s.v. (glossed by τὰ τετράποδα) and the samples given by Aristophanes (as above). The verb is supplemented by Page as ὑπερή[γν]υε "he broke off the chain from under the cribs," the genitive being governed by the preposition ὑπό.

Euripides, *Her.* 384f, describes Diomedes' mares χαρμοναῖσι ἀνδροβρώσι δυστράπεζοι, but we cannot tell if he depends on Pindar. At *Her.* 1.162.1 the Thyestean meal, served to Harpagus by Astyages, is called ἄνομος τράπεζα. There is a touch of horror in this qualification.

28. ἄλυσσιωτόν (from ἄλυσις) is new, only ἄλυσιδωτός being known so far. ἄλυσιδωτός θώραξ, as opposed to στάδιος, is a kind of coat of mail, "lorica." ἄλυσις is "chain," but also "link" in a chain armor at Ael. *Tact.* 3.5 (it is etymologically connected with εἰλύω; see Frisk, *Griech. etym. Wörterb.* [1960] s.v.). (Verbal) adjectives in -ωτός may indicate

⁷⁷ On αἰών "marrow" see R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought* (1951) 205f.

⁷⁸ On personification see Dornseiff (above, n. 36) 51.

objects "furnished with," according to the instrumental function of denominatives derived from substantives; see n. 29.⁷⁹

σκυρωτάν (δόδον) at *P.* 5.93 is a similar formation from σκύρος "paved with chippings of stones"; cf. Hesych. σκυρωθῶσι·λιθωθῶσι. ἄλυσσιωτόν, accordingly, can mean "provided, or fastened, with links." If the adjective is to be taken together with πλεκτόν τε χαλκόν, as defining it, "chains of entwined links of bronze" (Lobel), then the word order, it must be admitted, is very harsh, not anything like a Pindaric "Sper-rung." The position rather suggests that it goes instead with δι' ἐρκέων. ἔρκη are "the stable" (cf. *saepta*=*stabula*), or "the stalls" separating each horse, if the stable is imagined as divided into stalls. This assumption avoids the further difficulty of accounting for the preposition διὰ, which leads Lobel to suppose a nonexistent adjective διερκής, in spite of the lection signs of the papyrus.

Putting every piece together, "the bronze chain . . . fastened with links through the stalls," seems to me as clear a description as is compatible with the vagueness of poetic style. The mares are imagined tied not to individual halters, but all to one long chain, which runs through the stalls and is fastened below (ὑπ-) the muzzle-high feeding cribs by means of links fixed to the wall. This arrangement offered Heracles a welcome means by which to master four mares by himself. He ripped off the whole chain with the mares tied to it: only by so doing could he hope to keep a grip on them all. He then could use the chain as a bridle to drive them away.

Although one may be tempted by Eur. *Her.* 381 ψαλίοις ἐδάμασε πάλους, cf. *Alc.* 492, to imagine that he used the chain as a kind of bit on their mouths, such an operation appears too impracticable to be entrusted even to Heracles' resourcefulness. Greek myth, although it does not need to be realistic in general outlook, shrinks from resorting to expedients that are too much at variance with common experience.

29. τεῖρε δὲ στελεῶ. The reading of the last word presents a problem: see Lobel's paleographic note "*ρ* is by no means satisfactory. There is a short stroke descending to the right from its loop that produces the appearance of a *λ*, though not the *λ* of this hand." He prints στερεῶ and suggests στερεῶς and στερεῶ βραχίονι or στομίῳ as an interpretation.

⁷⁹ E.g., Hesych. κλοιωτός (from κλοιός) "slave fastened with a collar," *Her.* 7.61.1 κιθῶνας χειριδωτούς "garments furnished with sleeves." On these adjectives, not directly derived from a verb, see Ernst Fraenkel (above, n. 23) 107.

Snell draws the necessary conclusion and actually prints στερεῶ<ς>.⁸⁰ The rejection of στελεῶ appears to be due more to lexical than paleographic reasons: see Lobel's commentary "στελεῶ . . . was not originally written, though I cannot say for certain that λ *was not written by way of correction on some other letter* [italics added]. But στελεόν is 'axe-handle' not 'club.'"

The normal use of the word is that of "haft," fitting various tools,⁸¹ or of a tool made out of a wooden shaft. But it means occasionally also the raw material out of which these tools are made, namely "trunk." At Alciphron 3.19.5 a Cynic philosopher bursts into the banquet hall, pushing the crowd aside, στελεῶ⁸² πρινύω ἐρειδόμενος, ἦν γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ πυκνώματος τῶν ὄζων χαλκοῖς τιςιν ἡλοῖς ἐμπεπαρμένην φέρων βακτερίαν "supporting himself with a trunk of holm oak . . . the staff was studded with some brass nails at its thick nodes." No doubt the knotty trunk exhibits the Cynic's ζῆλος Ἡράκλειος, just as Diogenes, in the portrait sketched by Luc. Vit. Auct. 18, shows his stick as being the club and his cloak as the lion skin of the hero (cf. Diog. Laert. 6.71).

It is then possible for στελεόν, once its meaning "trunk" has been recognized, to be used for "club," by the same trope as δόρυ is for "spear" or πεύκη for "torch"; especially since the club of Heracles, as represented in art, actually is a knotty trunk, barely pruned of its branches. Perhaps this is what is meant by χαλκέω ὄζω at Pap. Berol. 9870 (A. Traversa, *Hes. Cat.* [1951] 88.4, p. 124). Heracles' club is often

⁸⁰ The emendation may seem at first sight confirmed by the left-hand column of Pap. Flor. inv. 557, Pind. *Frag.* 344 Sn.³: this column preserves two consecutive lines ending with js and]παχυν, which look like vv. 29f of our poem. I am indebted to Professor Bartoletti for drawing my attention to this fact. Unfortunately the coincidence, forceful though it seems, reveals itself as merely casual; for, as Bartoletti first noticed, the right-hand column differs in meter from that of our poem. Furthermore, the space between here and the beginning of the new poem does not leave room for the remaining 52 vv. at least (26 of strophe and antistrophe, plus at least 26 of epode), not to mention the possibility that the poem might have continued further than the two preserved systems.

⁸¹ Ap. Rh. 4.952 "hammer-handle," *Anth. Pal.* 6.297.2 "shovel-handle," Anaxippus 6.3 K., in a catalogue of cooking instruments, "rolling-pin" (see Schweighaeuser *ap.* Meineke *CGF* IV 465). The μακρὸ ῥάφανος applied to adulterers is also called στελεόν.

⁸² στελέχω coni. Meineke, in his edition of 1853, p. 149, coll. Poll. 10.166. στελέχος indeed means "trunk" or "stem," (see N. 10.61 δρυὸς ἐν στελέχῳ). But at the Pollux passage, on the contrary, it means "handle" (of a mattock), just as στελεόν does elsewhere. Pollux' use proves, if anything, that the two words may occasionally interchange, and so makes Meineke's correction superfluous.

called σκῦταλον (Pind. and Her.) or σκυτάλη (*Anth. Pal.* 9.237), notwithstanding the variety of their usages, often synonymous with στελεόν.

The word has a variety of forms, see *LSJ* s.v. στελεά, etc. The epic form is diphthongized, στειλενῇ or στειλειός. Perhaps this is what the scribe was going to write here, when he emended himself, correcting a λ out of an ι.

Treu (206; above, n. 4), while reading στερεῶ, would like to take it as a "colloquial kenning" for the club (i.e. "the hard"), cf. Hes. *Op.* 743 αἶον ἀπὸ χλωροῦ τέμνειν; but here the whole sentence is fashioned as a riddle, whereas in Pindar the singularity would remain senseless. Philostr. *Imag.* 2.23, where Heracles is represented as actually striking down the mares with his club (quoted here by Treu, 206) does not recall Pindar, but rather Quint. Smyrn. 6.247f καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐπὶ στυγερῇσι φάτνησι / αὐτῷ σὺν βασιλῇ κακὰ φρονέοντι δάϊξεν. Pindar, instead, is at one with the early monuments, in representing the hero as *driving away* the animals under threat of his club.⁸³

Using the chain as a bridle for restraint, he flogs them on⁸⁴ with what he has in his hand, with the club. As a result of these two actions horses are led on the required way, in antiquity as nowadays. One is reminded of how they are schooled by the combined use of a long strap and a whip. The whole description is realistic, not on the assumption, though, that Heracles beats the mares' legs and heads. This procedure would show little horsemanship indeed. The leg and head in question belong to someone other than the mares.

30ff. σκέλος . . . πᾶχυν . . . πρυμνὸν κεφαλᾶς αὐχένα are clearly objects of φέρουσαν, not of τεῖρε, as it has been thought,⁸⁵ for this would leave φέρουσαν hanging without a sense. The mares, while they are driven away, carry off the limbs of the groom, whom they have just dismembered. The description is exactly reproduced by a cup fragment of the Campana collection by the painter Oltos (referred to at n. 56):

⁸³ See above, n. 56: eight pieces altogether, although in two of them, the metope of Delphi and the cup fragment in Vienna, the club is not to be seen, owing to their fragmentary conditions.

⁸⁴ τεῖρε expresses the pain which the club inflicts on them; cf., e.g., *N* 251.

⁸⁵ B. A. Van Groningen, *Gnomon* 35 (1963) 129 "these are busy tearing to pieces the human victims, which gives Heracles the opportunity of immobilizing their heads by a chain thrown over them [at v. 27 he supplements ὑπερήλασε]. Afterwards he takes care of the other parts of their bodies [italics added]. The whole description is realistic." Treu (above, n. 4) 207 "Die eine Stute bekommt Schläge auf die Hinterhand, die andere auf die Vorderhand, die dritte, die sich besonders bissig gebärdet, auf das Kopfende, das Maul." But the correct interpretation had already been given by the first editor, E. Lobel.

one side of the cup shows, as I have elsewhere pointed out,⁸⁶ a man's forearm hanging from the mare's mouth, and Heracles brandishing his club at her; on the other side Diomedes is hastening to rescue his property, as Pindar describes him at vv. 36ff below. The cup is earlier than the poem, so that they both derive the same traditional detail from a common source, most probably epic. I suggest that Pindar, knowing his poet by heart, as usual, followed him closely in the whole tale from v. 20 onward. The epic coloring of the language (noticed above, see *ad vv.* 24f) is another hint in favor of this view.

31. *πρυμνὸν κεφαλᾶς . . . αὐχένα*: Lobel notes, "I find no example of adjectival *πρυμνός* accompanied by a defining genitive . . . of the type of *ἐσχάτη χθονός*, Aesch. *P.V.* 846." *πρυμνόν* is therefore a neuter substantive here, as it is at *E* 339, where Aphrodite is wounded above the base of the palm *πρυμνὸν ὑπερ θέναρος*. "The butt of the head . . . the neck" looks at first a riddle-like expression of the type frequent in Aeschylus, the closest, because simplest, samples being Hes. *Frag.* 158, Aesch. *Ag.* 494f, *Prom.* 1021. But again, these sentences are spoken as a riddle, whereas Pindar's is not. So "butt of the head" after all is not an ornamental periphrasis, but rather a condensed way of saying that the mare unroots the neck, and the head with it, and takes it along in her mouth.

33. *ὅμως ἐ[οῖ]σ'*: "though being, she nevertheless . . ." There seems to be an acute above the letter that was written after ρ ("a stroke ascending to right from the upper right-hand side," Lobel): therefore Treu's *ἐρημία*, whatever it may mean (207; above, n. 4), is scarcely confirmed by the traces. There is a puzzling upright, ascending high above the line, which I fail to understand; it cannot represent δ or an apostrophe. Lobel recognizes here a qualification of the messenger, a female, who turns up at v. 34. *ὑπάκ[ουε]*, did this person "hearken" to the events that had just been happening? This supplement, however, if accepted, would hinder the junction of *Frag.* 2 at the end of this line.

34. *πικρο[τά]τᾱν*: immediately after the gap, the right end of a horizontal bar and the top of a stroke descending to the right have been combined by Lobel to make *τα*, although they are below the level of the other letters; the fact is perhaps due to fiber damage. A mere dot on the underlayer represents *ν*. *κλάγεν* (as in Bacchylides, Pindar has *ἐκλαγξε* twice) may be said of articulate voice, as at Aesch. *Ag.* 201.

⁸⁶ *Maia* n. s. 16 (1964) 31ff. For convenience I reproduce a picture in the included plate.

35. ζαμενεῖ δέ, ζαμενέα δέ, or ζαμενέως (Lobel) are the only forms that fit the space. One may also consider ζαμενέ[α τε] τύρανν[ον ὥρσ]ε.

36. ποι]κίλω[ν ἐ]κ λεχέω[ν ἀπέ]δ{ε}ιλ[ος Lobel, coll. *N.* 1.50 and *Pae.* 20.14 (=P. Ox. 2442, *Frag.* 32.14), two passages where the poet describes with similar words Alcmena hurriedly rising from her bed. On ἀπέδιλος denoting haste, see Lobel *ad* P. Ox. 2442, *Frag.* 32.14, p. 54 of his edition; add Theocr. 24.36 ἄνστα, μηδὲ πόδεσσι τεοῖς ὑπὸ σάνδαλα θείης. Dio Chrys. 8.31, who gives ποικίλην . . . ἐσθῆτα to Diomedes, may be mentioned here.

37. Before the lacuna the lower part of a stroke going slightly rightward: καθέλ[ε is possible. If so, the tale returned to its starting point, the death of Diomedes, being thus modeled after the usual annular pattern of composition.

41-46. After τεταγμένον "some ink near the line, perhaps a stop, but uncommonly low" (Lobel). The scribe, however, places his dots with a certain freedom; we can be reasonably sure that some sort of stop was meant.

There is not a stop at v. 44 after ἐφετμαῖς, but what looks like an apostrophe on the top of the line may be a reference sign to a marginal scholium (other reference signs appear again at col. II 23, 28). Independently from this observation, sentence-beginning is marked at v. 43 by the particle ἄρα, which comes usually, in Pindar always, second in the sentence. τοῦτ' ἄρ[α suppl. Lobel, although according to him the apostrophe is omitted; if I may judge from the facsimile, the apostrophe is visible, though faint. If on the contrary we start the sentence a line below with Σθενέλοιο, we would miss a connective there, since the narrative is coherent enough to demand one. τοῦτο has to be taken as a proleptic pronoun, resumed by the infinitive clause that follows.⁸⁷

42. A thick stroke after εἷα looks like a correction (cf. at col. II 15), then the loop of a ρ follows (see Lobel's paleographic note). Between this and the following letter there is, in my opinion, just enough room for a narrow letter like ι. I venture reading εἷαρ[ι]- so far.

What follows can scarcely be ε, for the bar of ε does not quite join the arc normally (but see col. II 17). Lobel favorably considers an ο or σ canceled by a horizontal stroke. But this, though paleographically plausible, does not lead to any suitable word, if the reading εἷαρ[ι]- is

⁸⁷ How this can be "an elaborate specimen" of the Homeric phrase τόδ' ἰκάνω, *E* 309, al., as Lobel thinks, is not clear to me.

accepted. As for the letters after the lacuna, no way of dividing them is particularly rewarding. *κατά* being ruled out by the traces, we are left with *κάτω*, *κάτωρ* (*Hymn. in Bacch.* 55, meaning unknown), *κατρεύς* (Indian bird). *ἐνεκα* (but Pindar has only *ἐνεκεν*) and *οὔνεκα* (or *τοὔνεκα*) leave us to supply a monosyllabic word at the end, and the latter, as a conjunction, is not to be construed with the remaining sentence. I have considered also *-εκατο* as a verbal ending, with no better results. Other metrically possible words are: *Ἐκάτη*, *ἔκατος* (archer), *ἡλεκάτη* (distaff), *δυνδεκάτη* (in the twelfth day), none of which are very attractive here.

"This (labor) then as a twelfth, at Hera's behests, Eurystheus bade him, to go alone without aid" (for the particular task that must have been mentioned in the lost lines, the capture of Cerberus, as one may conjecture).

45-46. *μόνον ἄνευ συμμαχίας*: cf. *N.* 3.34 *μόνος ἄνευ στρατιᾶς* (Peleus). According to Apollodorus, Eurystheus had ordered originally ten labors (2.4.12) and when Heracles performed them in eight years and a month, he refused to accept two, the Hydra and the Augean stables (2.5.11), on the ground that one had been performed for hire (2.5.6, cf. *O.* 10.29), and the other with the help of Iolaus (2.5.2 *οὐμόνος, ἀλλὰ μετὰ Ἰολάου τῆς ὕδρας περιεγένετο*). He then made up for the two he had rejected by ordering Heracles to perform another two, namely the golden apples and Cerberus, the total so amounting to the canonic twelve. The time required in the decathlos version is paralleled by the eight-year-long servitude of Apollo and Cadmus, and suggested to Sir James Frazer, Apollodorus I 218 n. 1, "that in ancient times Greek homicides were banished for eight years and had during that time to do penance by serving a foreigner." The addition of a month in the passage of Apollodorus is explained by O. Gruppe, *RE* Suppl. 3.1021, with the reason that eight years and a month, in the Greek intercalary system, are equal to a hundred moon months,⁸⁹ a number suitable to the cycle of ten labors. This points to the antiquity of the decathlos version; although there is no reason for supposing it (with Gruppe) to be earlier than the dodecathlos, it is very probably earlier than Pindar.

Of course, once the motif had been invented, the identity of the particular labors discarded by Eurystheus could be varied at the poet's liking. Diomedes' mares, the Amazon's girdle, and Geryon's cattle, respectively the eighth, ninth, and tenth labor according to the mythographers, might have been refused by Eurystheus with at least equal reason, for Heracles profited from the help of many companions.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ See Geminus 8.27, Censor. 18.4f.

⁹⁰ As Apollodorus, Diodorus, and others say.

Abderus, for instance, had a task that proved fatal to him, the role of watching the dangerous booty, while Heracles was facing Diomedes.⁹¹ And Iolaus himself shared in most of Heracles' deeds.⁹²

If, as it seems, the supplement δωδέκατον is inevitable at v. 43, this is the earliest evidence of the *twelve* labors in extant literature. The date of the so-called *dodecathlos* has been the subject of many conjectures, ranging from Mycenaean to Hellenistic times. The earliest mentions so far have been Theocr. 24.82 δώδεκα οἱ τελέσαντι πεπρώμενον ἐν Διὸς οἰκεῖν / μόχθους, Call. Aet. 23.19, Apoll. Rh. 1.1318, Euph. 51.13 Powell. The twelve metopes of the temple of Zeus in Olympia, reproducing precisely the twelve canonic labors, are thought by F. Brommer, *Herakles* (1953) 57ff, to be the origin rather than a reflection of the tradition. Nevertheless, the theme of the labors in the service of Eurystheus is as old as the *Iliad*. Of all Heracles' deeds, those that are to become canonic (with a few exceptions: Augeas, Stymphalids, and Diomedes) are also favorites on early monuments, whereas only a few of the noncanonic can rival them in popularity (as Antaeus, Cycnus, and Centaurs). This may reflect the influence of tales in which they had received a prominent treatment. The epigram of Theocritus for Pisander of Camirus, Ep. 22.5 χῶσσοις ἐξεπόνασεν εἰπ' ἀέθλους, is easily, though not necessarily, reconciled with this view. Lion and Cerberus remain fixed in the first and the last places respectively from their first appearance in Homer and in Hesiod. The other labors in between vary widely in number and order. But they vary just as much in texts later than our Alexandrian witnesses of the canon,⁹³ so that the fact does not signify much either one way or the other. The greater or lesser completeness of the list is rather bound up with the particular character and requirement of each poet, or is simply casual.

The Alexandrian fondness for catalogues may have built up a fashion

⁹¹ Hellan. 105 J., Apoll. 2.5.8, Hyg. 30, Strab. 7, Frag. 47.

⁹² See Eur. *Heracl.* 7f πόνων / πλείστων μετέσχον εἰς ἀνὴρ Ἡρακλῆει, Arist. *Frag.* 97 Rose λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰόλεον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐρώμενον ὄντα κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἀθλῶν καὶ παρασπίζειν, Paus. 1.19.3 and 8.14.9 τὰ πολλὰ Ἡρακλεῖ συγκόμνειν λέγουσιν Ἕλληνες.

⁹³ A list is given by C. Robert, *Die griech. Heldensage* II (1921) 434. One may add a 2nd cent. B.C. papyrus from the Fayûm, published by J. W. B. Barns, *CQ* 43 (1949) 1f, containing the paraphrase of a poem, seemingly Hellenistic. In Ox. P. 2331, published by Lobel, only verses on the Nemean lion are preserved together with three illustrations of the events. Ox. P. 2454 col. I, from a Hellenistic (?) tragedy on the death of Heracles, mentions the labors in the order: Lion, Hydra (Antaeus, Alcyoneus), Erymanthian boar, Diomedes' mares, Cerberus. Again a casual choice. The only poet of a good school who gives a complete canonic list is Quint. Smyrn. 6.208–268.

out of a feature that had already, though not so conspicuously, existed in earlier poetry. It seems almost certain that evidence for this is now extant in Pindar.

44. *Ἡρας ἐφετμαῖς* takes up the νόμος of the opening sentence. There the decree of Zeus, here the "behests of Hera," urge Heracles on his career. The statements are not incompatible: Zeus's command, given to his son at Pytho (Apoll. 2.4.12), was the direct agency, but Hera's wrath was the ultimate cause of his servitude to Eurystheus. In the version of the *Iliad*, T 95-133, Hera deceptively anticipated Eurystheus' birth, so that Zeus was found to have sworn, without meaning it, the subjection of his son to an inferior mortal.

The double agency, human and divine, is coupled here as at *O.* 3.28 εὐτέ μιν ἀγγελίαις Εὐρυσθέος ἔντυ' ἀνάγκα πατρώθεν and as it is in a Fayûm papyrus, containing a paraphrase of a Hellenistic poem, (referred to at n. 93), col. I 15-16 πό]νους,⁹⁴ οὗς Εὐρυσθεὺς ὁ Σθενέλου συντάσσει ἐπὶ τὴν μῆνιν Ἡρας.

47-49. It may be surprising to find at this point that Iolaus is building a mound for his grandfather Amphitryon; for according to Apollodorus, Amphitryon fell in the battle fought by the Thebans against the Minyans long before. But tradition can vary, and not only does Euripides introduce him as a character of his *Heracles* at a later stage of events, but he is present also at Heracles' death in a Hellenistic (?) drama on *Heracles Oetaeus*, Ox. P. 2454, col. II 58 (see n. 93).

Iolaus was held at Thebes to have shared the tomb of Amphitryon, after he had fulfilled his heroic career by slaying Eurystheus, see *P.* 9.80ff.⁹⁵ Near to the tomb, which is called Amphitryon's at *N.* 4.20 and Iolaus' at *O.* 9.98f, was held the great festival of the Iolaea, and lovers used to take their oath there, see Arist. *Frag.* 97 Rose. The heroon lay in front of the Proetid gates (see Paus. 9.23) and was a major local glory of the Thebans.

47. At the end of the line either one or two syllables are to be supplied, μένω[ν τε or μένω[ν θ' ἑκάς (e.g. supplevi). It depends upon whether ι is treated as a semiconsonant in πεδάρσιον at v. 20.

50. καλλικέρας is found at Bacch. 19.24 καλλικέραν δάμαλιν, i.e., Io. It may be an epithet of victims that are sacrificed on the tomb mound.

⁹⁴]ιους P supplevi: a likely restoration of the word for "labors" needed here, cf. Eur. *Her.* 427.

⁹⁵ The marginal scholium to v. 49 seems to report a piece of information found at schol. *N.* 4.20, according to which at Thebes there was only the cenotaph of Iolaus, whereas his real tomb was in Sardinia.

51. *οἱ* is elsewhere placed in Pindar so that the digamma is metrically effective; see P. Maas, *Greek Metre* (1962) 133; at *O.* 1.57 Fennel's *τοι* is read. *τοι* is not unwelcome after a relative, so I take up the same emendation here.

52. *στρατός* probably stands for *λαός*, as often. The sense perhaps is that the Thebans were willing to pay to Amphitryon due funerary honors; cf. *N.* 4.21 *Καδμεῖοί νιν οὐκ ἀέκοντες ἄνθεσι μείγνυνον*. Professor Gigante suggests to me *Κάδμ[ου]* as a likely supplement of the preceding gap.

IV. TRANSLATION

Law, king of all, mortals and immortals, leads, bringing violence to justice, with highest hand. I judge from Heracles' deeds. For Geryon's cattle he seized and drove to the Cyclopean doorway of Eurystheus without price paid, and Diomedes' (fierce) mares (he subdued, after he had slain) near the Bistonian marsh the chief of the Cicones, terrible son of (bronze)-armed Enyalius, (rousing) his great (anger), not with battle lust, but with valor. For (he preferred) to be dead, (his) goods being seized away, rather than to be a coward.

Having entered the large (mansion, the hero quickly) at night found a way of force; he took a man aloft and threw him into the stone cribs, (to divert the fierce) mares' (alert) senses, and they (devoured) him. Forthwith a noise cracked through the shattered white bones. He thereupon tore off, from underneath the animals' tables, the entwined bronze, fastened to links along the stable, and stung them with his club, while one was carrying off a leg, one a forearm, another in her teeth the head, by the root of the neck.

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she screamed the bitterest news, (and aroused) the mighty lord from his various-colored couch, unshod . . . he slew (?) . . .

.

came also the son . . . ranked as a supernumerary (?) of Heracles. This as a twelfth, at Hera's behests, Sthenelos' son bade him, to go alone without help. And Iolaus remaining in seven-gated Thebes and heaping a mound for Amphitryon . . . in one tomb . . . the beautiful-horned . . . the folk not unwilling . . .

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V. CONCLUSION

The mythical tale restored by the papyrus develops an incident of Heracles' career, framed within the famous theme in which the hero, guided by the will of Zeus, succeeded in chastising many hateful brutes for their insolence toward men and gods. An unprejudiced examination of the lexical material shows that the crucial *δικαιῶν* at v. 3 cannot mean "justifying," as has generally been assumed, but must on the contrary be taken in the sense of "punishing" (see above, pp. 57-59). Nor can *Nomos* at v. 1 be an abstract principle of law, but should rather refer to a particular decree of Zeus (pp. 52-57). Furthermore, the clause *οὐ σὺν κόρῳ ἀλλ' ἄρετᾳ* may syntactically refer to either of the antagonists; but in view of the mythical tradition on Diomedes and of the purport of the poem as a whole, it can only apply to "the punishment" inflicted by Heracles upon Diomedes (pp. 67-71).

From the many instances of punished violence that the legend of Heracles could offer, the stories of Geryon and Diomedes are chosen perhaps because, while belonging to the cycle of the labors directly ordered by Zeus, they resemble each other in that Heracles, in order to fulfill his ordeal, was compelled to overcome two opponents who were also known as fierce and formidable warriors (p. 61, pp. 66f).

The poet does not follow a straight line of tale, but first states the issue of the fight, and then tells the events leading to it (p. 66). He duly pays tribute to the valor of Heracles at the close of this section (pp. 68f).

The subsequent narrative must have been strongly influenced by epic. This is revealed both in wording (see above *ad vv.* 24-25) and in a gruesome detail that one believes to be traditional since it also appears on an archaic cup. Pindar has a taste for atrocious representations in common with epic and with archaic vase painting (pp. 78f). He takes delight in a realistic description (see above *ad v.* 19) of Heracles' device for capturing the dangerous mares by using their halter as a bridle (above *ad v.* 28) and by flogging them on with his club (above *ad v.* 29).

Diomedes, having been told of the theft, hastened to rescue his property and was slain on the spot by Heracles. The same tripartite scheme — theft, report of it, and final fight — is observed in Geryon's story as told by Apollodorus (see n. 57). Also this similarity of pattern inclines one to think that a model, probably epic, underlies Pindar's tale.

If, as it seems, the supplement *δωδέκατον* is inevitable at v. 43, this is the earliest evidence of the twelve-labor cycle in extant literature (see above *ad v.* 43). Pindar alludes to a rare version, preserved in Apollodorus, according to which Eurystheus refused to accept the labors

performed with the help of Iolaus and bade Heracles do two more, the total number thus amounting to the canonic twelve (above *ad vv.* 45-46).

The structure of the poem, as now extant, is of the simplest. It is composed solely of two well-known elements that are so often coupled — a maxim and a mythical tale.

Although a Pindaric ode does not often begin with a gnomic proem, nor is this as a rule followed immediately by a myth, these are not serious objections to the acceptance of the Nomos sentence as a proem. The inferential clause at vv. 4-5 is unique in linking the gnome to the myth. This singularity is best explained with the particular conditions of this proem: the phrase, although superfluous in sense and avoided under normal circumstances, serves the purpose of amplifying a proem that otherwise would be decidedly too short. The sentence about Nomos may be called a gnome from a mere point of definition. In fact, the personification and the attributes given to Nomos are fashioned after the style proper for invocation, and this is the usual way a choral ode begins (pp. 56f). These stylistic elements dignify the sentence, making it fit to be a proem.

If this is so, while the proem, along with its severe moral, is contained in an unusually small compass, the narrative, on the contrary, is given ample room immediately after the opening. Considering only the preserved part, the mythical tale runs for some fifty lines at least, and was probably carried on further. Indeed, it counts among the longest and liveliest in Pindar. In all other instances, a long myth is not started toward the beginning of the ode (with the exception of *P.* 3, 4, and 9). Between proem and myth, space is usually left for mention of the occasion for which the song is commissioned. But in a poem in which the subject is centered on the glorification of Heracles, myth and occasion may coincide to such an extent that the myth actually replaces the part that is usually reserved for the occasion.

In addition, one should keep in mind that we are ignorant, in all but a few samples, of the conventions governing Pindar's art in genres other than the epinician. The new poem seems to be composed more in the manner of the "dithyrambs" of Bacchylides, which are narrative throughout, or, as two of them (16, Heracles, and 19, Io), introduce the myth by an exordium. The common conventions of the genre should not be disregarded in favor of a too individualistic appreciation of each poet.

Certainly it is idle to speculate about the nature of what is not preserved. What is left is nevertheless enough to justify the assumption that the main subject of the song lies precisely in the development of a

tale taken from the vast wealth of legends on Heracles: although not confined to the treatment of one tale alone, as Bacchylides in his dithyrambs, Pindar nevertheless develops only one in detail. In the second strophe, Heracles with his labors is still the protagonist. It therefore looks as if the celebration of the hero were the main theme of song. This simple thought rules out those interpretations that burden the opening sentence with complicated and contradicting notions.

Pindar could hardly have chosen to center his celebration on a sophisticated opposition of values, as that implied in the idea of a power that "justifies violence" — Heracles' violence in particular. For Heracles' victories do not call for justification, but for glorification. Such a contrast, with its inner tension and dark undertone, could indeed be an inspiring dramatic subject, but hardly suitable to voice a clear celebration of the hero.

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SOME REFLECTIONS ON ATE AND HAMARTIA

R. D. DAWE

ὁ μεταξὺ ἄρα τούτων λοιπός. ἔστι δὲ τοιοῦτος ὁ μήτε ἀρετῇ διαφέρων καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ μήτε διὰ κακίαν καὶ μοχθηρίαν μεταβάλλων εἰς τὴν δυστυχίαν ἀλλὰ δι' ἁμαρτίαν τινὰ τῶν ἐν μεγάλῃ δόξῃ ὄντων καὶ εὐτυχίαι, οἷον Οἰδίπους καὶ Θυέστης καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων γενῶν ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρες. ἀνάγκη ἄρα τὸν καλῶς ἔχοντα μῦθον ἀπλοῦν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ διπλοῦν, ὥσπερ τινὲς φασι, καὶ μεταβάλλειν οὐκ εἰς εὐτυχίαν ἐκ δυστυχίας ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον ἐξ εὐτυχίας εἰς δυστυχίαν μὴ διὰ μοχθηρίαν ἀλλὰ δι' ἁμαρτίαν μεγάλην ἢ οἷον εἴρηται ἢ βελτίονος μᾶλλον ἢ χείρονος. σημεῖον δὲ καὶ τὸ γιννόμενον· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἱ ποιηταὶ τοὺς τυχόντας μύθους ἀπηρίθμουν, νῦν δὲ περὶ ὀλίγας οἰκίας αἱ κάλλιστα τραγωιδίαι συντίθενται, οἷον περὶ Ἀλκμαίωνα καὶ Οἰδίου καὶ Ὀρέστην καὶ Μελέαγρον καὶ Θυέστην καὶ Τήλεφον καὶ ὅσοις ἄλλοις συμβέβηκεν ἢ παθεῖν δεινὰ ἢ ποιῆσαι.

Aristotle *Poetics* 1453a7-22

FEW passages in Greek literature can have provoked as much thought as the passage reproduced above. Here we have the finest critical mind of antiquity passing judgement on the process which lies at the very heart of Greek tragedy, and doing so in a way which in the eyes of many is gravely inadequate, and in the eyes of some hopelessly wide of the mark. "The idea of *hamartia* simply will not fit Sophocles . . . still less will it explain Euripides," wrote W. C. Greene, and many other scholars have expressed themselves in similar terms. Whitman even prefaced the treatment of Sophocles in his book with a chapter on "Scholarship and Hamartia," in which he poured ridicule on the usefulness of trying to apply the term to actual Sophoclean tragedies; ridicule which would have been more effective if it had not been accompanied by the sentence (p. 33) "There can be no real doubt that Aristotle meant by *hamartia* a moral fault or failing of some kind."

For *hamartia*, though a familiar word in the vocabulary of every student of Greek (and even Shakespearian) tragedy, is still a term subject to widespread misconceptions. There still flourishes, even in otherwise civilised parts of the globe, the belief that *hamartia* may mean a flaw of character. But closer to the truth is the often quoted definition of Rostagni: "Errore, proveniente da inconsapevolezza, da ignoranza di

qualche fatto o di qualche circostanza: colpa involontaria, quale appunto ci vuole per indurci al perdono e alla pietà." The question whether *hamartia* may or may not mean a flaw of character is one no longer open to discussion; for this interpretation, which had already been challenged by P. van Braam in *CQ* 1912 p. 266, was killed stone dead by Hey in *Philologus* 1927, pp. 1ff and 137ff, in which all the known uses of the word were given a thorough and competent investigation. The possibility that *hamartia* might mean "wrongdoing" is excluded from our context because it would not consort with the rest of what Aristotle has to say about tragedy. We are left only with some such definition as Rostagni's, or what we may more briefly call an error of judgement. But the error of judgement theory has itself been subjected to ferocious attack. It will be one of the aims of this article to show that such ferocity is unmerited.

In the first place to speak of a "doctrine" of *hamartia* is incorrect. Aristotle spends much less time on it than he does on *peripeteia* or *anagnorisis*: those two casual references enshrined in the excerpt printed at the head of this article constitute all that he has to say on the subject. Any person who comes to the *Poetics* fresh from reading the *Ethics*, be they Eudemian¹ or Nicomachean, will accept these two references as the most natural thing in the world. Problems would only present themselves to his mind if Aristotle had instead chosen to use the word *atuchema*, indeed almost any other word besides *hamartia*.

But casual or not, these two references in the *Poetics* to *hamartia* have exposed Aristotle to some of the sharpest criticism ever (and often very properly) directed against that work as an aid to the understanding of ancient poetry. It is argued that of all the Greek tragedies which survive, *Women of Trachis* is the only one where "error of judgement" appears an adequate diagnosis of the event or events which set in motion the great chains of catastrophe familiar to us from our reading of the tragic writers. In particular *hamartia* appears inadequate when measured against the events depicted in *Oedipus Rex*, a play which is clearly in the forefront of Aristotle's mind throughout the *Poetics*, and which he mentions by name in the present context.² We thus have an unattractive

¹ In some respects it seems that the viewpoint of the *Eudemian Ethics* is the closer of the two to the *Poetics*. This is pointed out by I. M. Glanville in *CQ* 1949 pp. 47-56, in an article entitled "Hamartia and Tragic Error" which forms an interesting and valuable complement to Hey's investigations.

² He also mentions Sophocles' *Thyestes*. Something about this play may be gleaned from Pearson's edition of the fragments, vol. 1, pp. 91-93, 185-197, but nothing like enough to make it worth further discussion in relation to our present topic.

choice before us: either *hamartia* in Aristotle's discussion has a meaning unknown from any of its other very frequent occurrences in Greek literature (including Aristotle himself), and Aristotle has not seen fit to add a word of clarification to his casual introduction of this novel concept: or else his words have almost no relevance to Greek tragedy as it was actually practised, in spite of the sentence *σημείον δὲ καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον*; in which case it is equally surprising that he added no word of explanation to help the aspiring playwright (*ὧν δὲ δεῖ στοχάζεσθαι* is how ch. 13 begins) on his way to mastering this new concept, this revolutionary advance in the treatment of the process that lies at the very heart of tragedy.

That I am not exaggerating the embarrassment that modern criticism feels over this dilemma may be seen from three recent discussions, which I select from the recent literature: discussions which illustrate the sense of frustration felt by many over this intractable problem. The first is that of Else in his commentary, who feels that the work of scholars like Hey has given little help because "such an investigation will be inconclusive, because *ἁμαρτάνειν*, *ἁμαρτία*, and their cognates and compounds display such a wide range of meanings — all the way from the simple error or failure to 'sin',³ or as close to it as classical Greek ever comes — that either interpretation of our passage remains possible." Else then links *hamartia* with its converse, recognition, but attempts to give the word a highly specialised sense: it "would denote particularly a mistake or error or ignorance as to the identity" of a blood relative. The reason why scholarship has not come to this conclusion before is "the myopia with which the sequence of Aristotle's argument has been regarded." The conclusion to which Else's argument leads him is not likely to recommend itself to most scholars. It is enough to point out that the number of Greek tragedies in which a hero passes from good fortune to bad through failure to recognise a blood relative does not exceed one; and the brevity with which Aristotle, on this explanation, outlines his own original theory of tragedy, with its rigorously limited scope, would remain as puzzling as ever.

A second interpretation may be found in Kurt von Fritz's well-known article "Tragische Schuld und poetische Gerechtigkeit in der griechischen Tragödie,"⁴ in which some excellent remarks are offered on the absence of any necessary logical relationship between character

³ In support of "error" as against "sin" see Zuntz in *Gnomon* 1958 p. 24.

⁴ Von Fritz's article first appeared in *Studium Generale* 1955 pp. 194ff, and is now to be found also in his volume of collected essays entitled *Antike und moderne Tragödie*.

and fate in tragedy. It may be however that von Fritz is under some misapprehension in thinking that most Englishmen would be inclined to equate "flaw" with the German "Schuld." Early in the article *hamartia* is represented as an act done in "Unwissenheit," but before long it is being used, with reference to Orestes, of "einer objektiven ohne subjektive Schuld." The position of Orestes is analysed correctly, but the application of the word *hamartia* to it will, as with the theories of Else, strike most readers as discordant with the uses of that word as they were authoritatively established by Hey (to whose work, incidentally, von Fritz nowhere refers). From this point in the article onwards, the word seems to be applied almost indiscriminately to any tragic situation.

More recently Professor Adkins⁵ has declared himself in favour of taking *hamartia* solely as a "mistake of fact," and he too denies the value of *hamartia* as a concept useful to the student of tragedy, writing in one place "Aristotle's usage of ἀμαρτία in *Poetics* 13, then, is far from coinciding with the usage of ἀμαρτία in extant Greek tragedy, and would exclude many ἀμαρτίαι in which important tragic characters are involved to their detriment" and in another place "nor has the chapter (sc. ch. 13) any relevance to extant Greek Tragedy." I am reluctant to accept these conclusions for several reasons; first, because most of what Aristotle has to say in the *Poetics* does have a close relationship with the art of poetry as practised in classical times, as his copious quotations show. Second, if chapter 13 is not intended to apply to the art as already practised, but instead sets out to adumbrate a new theory of tragedy, its brevity renders it either inexplicable or useless or both. And why, in such a case, did Aristotle choose to remind us of the classical examples of Oedipus and Thyestes? Third, in establishing the meaning of ἀμαρτία Adkins bases himself too exclusively on passages in the *Eth. Nic.* (supported by others from *Merit and Responsibility*) instead of building his argument on the broader foundation laid down by Hey (he does not mention I. M. Glanville either).

On p. 89 Adkins considers whether ἀμαρτία may have "its full range" of meanings, in which case "Aristotle is correctly representing the usage of Greek tragedy." His reason for dismissing this possibility, which I believe comes closest to the true answer, is this:

The form of the distinction, as Aristotle expresses it, gives great emphasis to δι' ἀμαρτίαν τινά; an emphasis which is completely misleading so far as the fifth century is concerned, for *any* change from εὐτυχία to

⁵ A. W. H. Adkins, "Aristotle and the Best Kind of Tragedy," *CQ* 1966 pp. 78-102.

δυστυχία involves an *ἁμαρτία*; and if any action which precipitates such a change is an *ἁμαρτία*, *ἁμαρτία* doubtless should be mentioned in the analysis, but requires no emphasis.

But is there really any very startling emphasis on *hamartia*? The word is mentioned in the context of the right character for a tragic hero. Someone has to pass from good fortune to bad: traditionally there are two well-marked routes to misfortune: there is (a) the well-merited punishment of the transgressor which, says Aristotle, is not a suitable subject for tragedy and which does *not* necessarily, even in the fifth century, involve any *ἁμαρτία*; or (b) there is the downfall of a decent chap like you or me, through some mistake or other. There is no abnormal emphasis: Aristotle is simply recording his opinion, in ordinary Aristotelian Greek, that what one ought to do is represent on stage not cases of (a) but cases of (b).

Adkins attempts to give his theory further support by examining the meaning of *ἐπιεικής*, which he takes as meaning a man notable for his "co-operative excellences." But are we obliged to treat the word in this narrow specialised sense? May it not be the "ordinary language" which Adkins finds present in his discussion on *μαρόν* (p. 96)? Adkins has done us a valuable service in pinpointing the differences in outlook between Aristotle and the fifth-century tragedians, but I believe he has laid too great a stress on them. The difference between us is that, though both of us agree that Aristotle was not ideally equipped to talk about Greek tragedy and that his interposition between us and it has very possibly done more harm than good, Adkins would maintain that the *ἁμαρτία* "doctrine" is almost wholly irrelevant to classical tragedy, whereas I would continue to maintain that in this respect at least Aristotle had fastened onto an essential truth on a topic where many of his successors have gone astray.

We return then to our original problem, which may be defined in these terms: we have to work with the meanings of *hamartia* as they were established by Hey; and we have to show that this concept is applicable to Greek tragedy as that art was actually practised. Now the biggest obstacle in our path, as it seems to me, is this: the *Poetics* offer us, at this point, a view of tragedy which appears to exclude the rôle of the gods: and yet every schoolboy knows (even if his knowledge is not immune from the charge of oversimplification) that what Greek tragedy is about is heroic figures being sent to their doom by divine and irresistible forces. How are we to effect the necessary reconciliation?

The pleasures of polemic must not be indefinitely prolonged. We may begin the more constructive phase of the argument by establishing the limits of our enquiry. *Hamartia* is used by Aristotle only in connection with plays which depict some noble person going to his doom. This at once eliminates from our enquiry most of the plays which have come down to us under the classification of Greek tragedy. *Hamartia* will not apply to *Helen*, for that play is a near comedy. It will not apply to *Eumenides*, for that play is a dramatised court of law. It will not apply to *Philoctetes*, a study in character and the interplay of personality. But with these and other plays excluded from our consideration, we are still left with a sizeable nucleus of dramas which seem to meet some of the modern as well as all of the ancient requirements of tragedy. We instinctively recognise that no theory of tragedy is going to impress us unless it has some relevance to a play like *Antigone*, *Hippolytus*, or *Bacchae*. If we ask what it is which our "instinctive recognition" has in common with Aristotle's best type of tragedy, the type which has proved the most influential in the history of later European tragedy, it is that they share the concept of some noble person going to his doom. Of the thirty-three tragedies which survive, not more than ten meet this description; but the ten would constitute an impressive anthology. They are Aeschylus' *Persians*, *Seven*, and *Agamemnon*; Sophocles' *Ajax*, *Antigone*, *Women of Trachis*, and *Oedipus Rex*; and Euripides' *Heracles*, *Hippolytus*, and *Bacchae*.

There is one other proviso which must be made before we move closer to the heart of our problem. We must recognise that in this enquiry the application of the word *hamartia* to the essentially tragic element of any given play is not intended to exclude the validity of other assessments. It is apparent to any student of Greek tragedy that the difficulty in understanding the issues involved is not that the poets fail to express themselves on the subject, but that they express themselves in contradictory ways, ascribing the downfall of a hero to fate, or to the malevolence of a particular deity, or to the ill will of some other human agent, or simply to the hero himself, either for some defect in his attitude or to some wrong decision he has taken. It is with the last of these possibilities that *hamartia* is most immediately concerned, but in the course of this article I will try to suggest that *hamartia* does not exist in isolation from those other explanations. The principal method by which I shall hope to show this is by relating it to other concepts with which it has something in common, and by establishing that an error of judgement is something which can be either entirely the responsibility of the man who makes it, or can be something induced, normally by the gods

putting a man in such a position that he has little choice but to make a decision that will later recoil on him with disastrous, and above all disproportionate, consequences.

* * *

One speculative, but also rewarding, method will consist of bringing the *hamartia* concept into some kind of relationship with the force of *ate* so often invoked by the tragedians.⁶ The differences between the two concepts may not be so profound as the dissimilarity in the appearance of the words might lead us to suppose. Certainly we must not allow ourselves to be misled by the nonappearance of the word *ate* in Aristotelian discussion, for it had by that time acquired the old-fashioned remoteness of a Homeric gloss. The word was at all times almost unknown to prose, and the decline and fall of its vigour can be observed within the limits of tragedy itself, its last efflorescence coming in the famous third stasimon of *Antigone*. The ties of language which link *ate* with *hamartia* we can examine later. For the moment let us try to get a clearer idea of what *ate* actually is; for most works of reference and criticism surround this concept with a wholly unnecessary cloud of mystery.

In the first place let us record that the most common meaning of *ate* is ruin, destruction, disaster, misfortune. But in addition it has a narrower, more specialised sense; and it is on this sense that all discussion focusses. Confronted with it, the imagination of critics runs riot. Greene⁷ describes it as "something satanic, a very devil"; to Schade-waldt⁸ it is "Prädisponiertheit für kommendes Unheil"; to Cornford⁹ it is "exuberant, sanguine, triumphant, fed by alluring Hope, leaping to clasp hands with unconquerable Desire"; and Whitman speaks of the "mercilessly truthful concept of the goddess Ate, whom Professor Jaeger has described as the 'madness of doom.' The phrase is particularly

⁶ There is a Göttingen dissertation by Josef Stallmach entitled *Ate, Beitrag zur Frage des Selbst- und Weltverständnisses des frühgriechischen Menschen*, which relieves me of the necessity of treating *ate* to the full discussion it deserves, and which I intended to give it before I learnt of the existence of this thesis. The fact that I have found myself independently in agreement with Stallmach most of the time does not absolve me of the charge of plagiarism, to which I willingly plead guilty.

⁷ *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1935 p. 24.

⁸ *Wiener Studien* 1955 p. 12, n. 21; Schade-waldt expressed the need for a special study on the use of *Ate* in Homer. Stallmach's dissertation, dated 1950, had however already investigated the topic very competently.

⁹ *Thucydides Mythistoricus* pp. 182-183.

felicitous . . ."¹⁰ Such descriptions are fanciful, and although it is impossible to hit on a single word which will adequately render the mental condition which it denotes, the meaning of the word is not so elusive that we should have to resort to these extravagances: in fact the *Lexicon des frühgriechischen Epos* has done a more satisfactory job in explaining the meaning of *ate* than all of the "mysterious infatuation" explanations put together.¹¹

The first and most important point at issue — a point on which Stallmach in his dissertation refuses to commit himself — is whether the meaning *Schaden* (damage or harm) is the primary one, which can then give us the meaning *Verblendung* (mental blindness) when it is applied specifically to the mental processes: or whether, as Liddell and Scott and the majority of scholars seem to believe, it is the consequences of *Verblendung* which lead to *Schaden*. It is important that we should make up our minds on this topic, because if it can be shown that it is a blow to the mental processes which leads to ruinous consequences,¹² this will lend support to the school of thought which thinks of certain Greek tragedies in terms of "those whom the gods wish to destroy they first drive mad"; on the other view responsibility rests more heavily with man, for the *Verblendung* is likely, in default of any explicit statement to the contrary, to be thought of as self-induced. Since the concept of *ate* is almost the only explanation ever brought forward by Homer or the tragic poets for bridging the void between divine and human responsibility, the only link between predestination and free will, it is highly desirable that we should at least attempt to make up our minds one way or the other.

The dispute is not new. Its history was traced by W. Havers,¹³ who

¹⁰ *Sophocles* p. 38. It should, however, be pointed out that *Ate* is not really a goddess at all. She is personified only in books *I* and *T* of the *Iliad*. It is to the latter that Plato *Symp.* 195d is referring when he writes "Ὁμηρος γὰρ Ἀτὴν θεὸν τέ φησιν εἶναι καὶ ἀπαλήν. *Ate* is nowhere represented on vases or as a statue, though one must concede that close relatives of it are (see n. 23). Whitman's further statement that Herodotus "taught that satiety of wealth (*koros*) bred *hybris*, and *hybris* madness and death (*Ate*)" also exceeds the evidence. *Ate* is used only twice in Herodotus, at 1.32, where it is a danger which may visit poor men also, and is used in its wider sense, not specifically of mental derangement.

¹¹ The treatment given there has been attacked by Gerhard Müller in *Navicula Chiloniensis* (Festschrift for F. Jacoby). I remain however convinced that the *Lexicon's* treatment of the word is basically correct.

¹² "Der tragische Irrtum ist etwas den Menschen Ueberfallendes," remarks Reinhardt in another connection, *Sophokles* p. 114.

¹³ In an article entitled "Zur Semasiologie von griechischen ἄτη," in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1910.

believed that the basic meaning was a blow, which paralyses or otherwise disrupts the mind. H. J. Seiler¹⁴ objects "Aber weder von 'Wunde' noch von 'Schlag' findet sich in der Funktion von ἄτη eine Spur." But παρακοπά at Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 223 plainly alludes to the notion of being knocked from one's senses, and no one has ever doubted that in function παρακοπά is there either identical with, or else an instantaneous manifestation of, what the poet elsewhere calls ἄτη; and πατάξαι is used in connection with ἄτη at *Ant.* 1097 (see n. 40). Havers had believed himself able to show that *ate* belongs etymologically to a group of ideas where words denoting blows and striking are common currency. Further references to discussions supporting the ἄτη = blow theory can be found in the Boisacq Etymological Dictionary, though that authority expresses doubt on the validity of such derivations.

Reluctantly granting, therefore, that the etymology of ἄτη is not as decisive as we might have hoped, we must see what evidence we can extract from the actual use of the word in the literature. First we may notice that in Homer the origin of *ate* is said in a number of places¹⁵ to be Zeus; and it is only in *Iliad I* and *T*, which are notorious for containing religious concepts more advanced than, or at any rate different from, the rest of Homer, that this kind of *ate* is acknowledged by the speaker to be in some way something for which he is himself answerable. More usually, like so many other things in Homer which in later literature are described as coming from a man's own personality, it is thought of as something sent from outside. Those who have had the pleasure of reading books like Snell's *Die Entdeckung des Geistes* or Dodds's *The Greeks and the Irrational* will require no further demonstration of this. Let us only remember that "Agamemnon's Apology" is not typical.¹⁶

¹⁴ In *Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung* (Festschrift Albert Debrunner) p. 409.

¹⁵ *B* 111, *Z* 356 (and *I* 100 if we read ἄτης for ἀρχῆς with Zenodotus, which seems necessary), *Θ* 237, *Π* 685. The Erinys is the sender at *ο* 233 (and figures in a reconstruction of a Hesiodic fragment which ends like *ο* 233: see *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 1950 p. 261). The Erinys and Zeus combine with Moira in the "Apology of Agamemnon" at *T* 87. Ate is sent by Aphrodite at *δ* 261, *ψ* 223.

¹⁶ It exceeds my competence to go into the relationship between Books *I* and *T* of the *Iliad*. It is however clear to all that the personified Ate of both these books (more particularly Book *I*) belongs to a world of ideas unlike anything we are used to in the rest of Homer. It may however not be sufficiently appreciated that the author of Book *I* was the first person of whom we have any knowledge to attempt to analyse and reconcile the customary attributions of misfortune to the gods on the one hand and men on the other; and the highly pictorial nature of his language should not blind us to the boldness of his attempt to evolve a reasonable balance between the various elements mental, moral, human, and divine,

Secondly, if we examine Seiler's article (see note 14), we find that with the verb the tense that occurs most often in Homer is the aorist passive: a clear sign that *ate* must originally have described something done to someone, not something of which he is himself the originator. Seiler himself believes that these active-passive (and not middle) uses are late developments: and similarly with the idea of *ate* being sent by Zeus. His statistics¹⁷ do not, however, support him; and the enthusiasm with which Aeschylus and Sophocles invoked *ate* does not support his contention that the idea is already reaching the end of its life in Homer. Then there is one passage in Homer which is inexplicable on the assumption that *ate* is basically *Verblendung*. At *T* 113 we read *Ζεὺς δ' οὐ τι δολοφροσύνην ἐνόησε / ἀλλ' ὅμοσεν μέγαν ὄρκον, ἔπειτα δὲ πολλὸν ἀάσθη*. If there were any question of *Verblendung* here, it would have to precede, not follow, the failure to recognise the trick. It must mean something like "and thereafter he paid heavily for his mistake," and not, as Seiler translates it in the *Lexicon des frühgriechischen Epos*, "und in dieser Hinsicht = und darauf, wurde er sehr getäuscht."¹⁸ *Ate*, we may recall, means "penalty" in the laws of Gortyn, and there is an imposing number of passages in the literature when *ate* is explicitly opposed to

which contribute towards a personal catastrophe. The poet may be said to have been in advance of Solon, on whom Greene (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1935 p. 7) commented: "Unexplained, and perhaps unexplainable, is the affliction with *ate* of even him who is striving to do nobly; here is the stubborn residuum of evil that every philosophy finds difficult to justify on purely moral grounds." It would be difficult to find, even in tragedy, any more advanced analysis. Margaret Noé, in her book *Phoinix, Ilias, und Homer* has a long discussion of these passages. She omits however to stress not merely how different this author is, but how far in advance of his own time (whatever that was); and I cannot agree with her when she writes: "Das Wort *ἄτη* begegnet uns bei Homer oft und ist auf vielerlei Arten übersetzbar, deren letzter Sinn jedoch überall auf den Begriff der unschuldigen Schuld hinausläuft." It would in fact strengthen Miss Noé's case about the uniqueness of Book *I* if she did not hold this opinion.

¹⁷ Seiler finds the aorist passive 10 times in Homer, Hesiod, and the Hymns. The aorist middle comes 6 times in the *Iliad* (and twice in Apollonios of Rhodes). The aorist active comes once in the *Iliad* and 4 times in the *Odyssey*, and the present middle only twice, both times in the *Iliad*. At Hesiod *Erga* 284 and the Homeric Hymns *Dem.* 246, 258, *Aphr.* 253, the passive element can no longer be strongly felt.

¹⁸ Much of what Seiler writes in the *Lexicon* follows from his initial premise, which is unproved and unprovable, "Dem allgemein an dem Verbum festzustellenden semantischen Gehalt entspricht aor. med. seiner Bedeutung nach am genauesten." Seiler's contributions to the *ate* words in the *Lexicon* are not always easily reconcilable with the treatments given by Mette in the same columns.

κέρδος.¹⁹ In Homer *Verblendung* is certainly not the predominate meaning. The epic examples can be classed in many different ways, but here, if only to provide material for others to disagree with, is how I would divide the occurrences into a broad classification.

1. Misfortune (the idea of deception, prominent at *K* 391, being either expressly stated, or not far from the mind, in all these examples except *T* 270 and μ 372): *B* 111 (cf. *I* 18ff), Θ 237, *K* 391, *T* 270, δ 261, κ 68, μ 372
2. Forced error: *I* 100 (Zenodotus), *Z* 356, *\Pi* 685, *T* 136, ψ 223, *Shield* 97
3. Unforced error: *A* 412 (= *\Pi* 274), *I* 537, *\Lambda* 340, Ω 28, *Hymn Aphr.* 253, *Hymn Dem.* 246, 258
4. Wrongdoing: δ 115f, 119 (both perhaps better classed under 3), δ 503, 509
5. Stupefaction: Ω 480, 805, λ 61, ϕ 296
6. Penalty: *T* 113, ϕ 302 (presumably ἀνὰ τί is related to this)
7. The special Allegory cases: *I* 509, 512, *T* 88, 91, 126, 129, with \omicron 233 where the Erinyes also sends it.

The small rôle played by *Verblendung* in this classification will seem smaller still when we think of those places in Homer where *Verblendung* is very much in question, but where Homer declines to oblige the modern literary critics by using the word *ate*. Particularly striking is the fact that it is never used to refer to the conduct of the suitors in the *Odyssey*. At κ 68 Odysseus says that his comrades have harmed him (ἄσσαν) but *ate* is not used of their folly. Those who, like Schadewaldt or Gundert,²⁰ believe in an *ate*-stricken Hector, will find nothing in Homer's actual language to support them. It is however easy to see how, as the emphasis shifts, *ate* will provide the missing link between those theories of tragedy which see men as the hapless victims of the gods, and those which, taking their cue from passages like *Iliad I* or the *Odyssey* proem, see them as responsible for their own downfall.

¹⁹ Hesiod *Erga* 352, Solon 1.74f, Theognis 133, Aesch. *Cho.* 825, *Eum.* 1007ff, Soph. *O.C.* 92f. Hesiod *Erga* 231 probably implies the same opposition and so may 413 and 216. Aesch. *Suppl.* 444 is corrupt, but it seems likely that what is being spoken of is a restitution "greater than the loss." In Solon 1.13 *ate*, once more the instrument of Zeus, is surely financial ruin; but for a different interpretation see Jaeger in *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1926 pp. 69ff. I mention finally the proverb ἐγγύη· πάρα δ' ἄτη.

²⁰ Schadewaldt in *Wiener Studien* 1955, and Gundert in *Neue Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie* 1940 p. 227.

The division of responsibility between men and gods has long been properly understood to be an irresolvable problem in Homer: or to speak more realistically, it has long been understood that the Homeric poets did not recognise any contradiction between assigning responsibility for a particular event to the gods in one line and to men in the next.²¹ Thus at *II* 685 Patroclus is described as committing an act of *ate*, and is called a fool; and then in a moment we are told ἄλλ' αἰεί τε Διὸς κρείσσω νόος ἢ ἐπερ ἀνδρῶν. The error was "therefore" induced by *force majeure*. Students of Greek tragedy have perhaps been a little slower to recognise that Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides are also deliberately indeterminate, or over-determinate, as Professor Dodds might say, in their ascriptions of responsibility. It is however clear that often in these authors the means by which the gods send men to their doom is to cause them to commit an error that will lead to their own downfall. The gods consign men to destruction not with the thunderbolt, but by interfering with the correct functioning of the mind and its judgement.²²

We have already noted that the idea of deceit, ἀπάτη, was prominent in class 1. of the Homeric examples. There is no doubt that the Greeks, rightly or wrongly, regarded ἄτη and ἀπάτη as etymologically related concepts (comparable is the apparent link with ἄσαι meaning "fill," which caused ἄτη to become associated with κόρος). Possibly the most striking association, indeed virtual identification, of ἄτη and ἀπάτη can be seen on the Apulian vase painting which depicts Απα (sc. ἀπάτη) dressed as an Erinys. The link with the Erinys appeared first in *Iliad I* and *T*, and there appears to be total identification of Erinys with Ate at

²¹ The topic has been discussed innumerable times, but perhaps never better than by Lesky in his "Göttliche und menschliche Motivation im homerischen Epos," *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1961.

²² The idea is not solely antique. What Aeschylus in *Niobe* expressed in the words

θεὸς γὰρ αἰτίαν φύει βροτοῖς
ἔταν κακῶσαι δῶμα παμπήδην θέλῃ,

Goethe echoes in his own

Ihr lasst den Armen schuldig werden
Dann überlasst Ihr ihn den Pein.

There is an interesting article by Deichgraber in *Göttinger Nachrichten* 1940 entitled "Der listensinnende Trug des Gottes" which should be read in this connection.

Soph. *Ant.* 603.²³ It will be recalled that in Hesiod's *Theogony* *Ate* is a niece of *Apate* (vv. 217ff), and the connection between *ate* and deception appears often in the literature. Besides the Homeric examples (prominent among which is *T* 97) we may record Aesch. *Pers.* 94, *Suppl.* 110 (admittedly unintelligible), Soph. *Ant.* 617 (and in a sense throughout the whole of that ode), *Trach.* 850. *δολία*, the epithet which accompanies *ἄτη* in this last example (cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 93) is used of *πειθώ* in Aesch. *Cho.* 726, *πειθώ* being, as we remember from *Agam.* 385, itself the child of *Ate*. *δολιόφρων* appears as a gloss on *ἁεσίφρων* at *Iliad* *Ψ* 603, alongside *ματαιόφρων* and *βλαψίφρων*. And almost as a commentary on the *Niobe* quotation cited in note 22 we may take the Aeschylus fragment 301 *ἀπάτης δικάϊας οὐκ ἀποστατεῖ θεός*.

For a long time such explanations of tragic downfall appeared perfectly satisfactory. But with Euripides responsibility of men tends to come into the foreground and the responsibility of gods to recede: and correspondingly it is with Euripides that *ate* is replaced by other words, and even other processes, concerning the derangement of the mind. (This progress in ideas would have been applauded by Plutarch [*Mor.* 168B] where appeals to *ἄτη* are taken to be characteristic of the superstitious man.) Issues become more personal, more emotional; but still the old vocabulary which described these events in intellectual terms persists. As we shall see before this paper lurches finally to its conclusion, when Aristotle uses part of that vocabulary, *hamartia*, he is making no radical departure from established practice.

* * *

It will already be apparent that *ate* and *hamartia* have at any rate something in common. But how much in common? It may be for metrical reasons that the noun *hamartia* does not occur in Homer. But it is significant that no other word is used (except *ate* itself) which might fill the gap. A schematic representation might look as follows:

²³ I first saw a picture of this vase in Cornford's *Thucydides Mythistoricus* p. 194. The references he cites are Naples Mus. Heydemann Cat. 3253; *Mon. Ined. d. Inst. Arch.* 9 (1873) Tav. 1, li; *Annali* (1873) pp. 22ff; *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, vii 6 a; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, Taf. vi, Fig. 449, p. 408. Professor A. D. Trendall has most kindly supplied me with more recent references, including Carlo Anti, "Il vaso di Dario e i Persiani di Frinico" in *Archeologica Classica* 4 (1952) pp. 23-45, Anna Rocco, "Il pittore del vaso dei Persiani" in *Arch. Class.* 5 (1953) pp. 170-186, and Margot Schmidt, "Der Dareiosmaler und sein Umkreis" (Münster 1960). It seems clear that the restoration of *ΑΓΑ* as *ἀπάτη* is correct. On the absence of *Ate* from vases see n. 10.

| Ways in which good men come to harm (βλάβη): | Occurrence in Authors concerned: | | |
|---|----------------------------------|------------|-----------|
| | Homer | Tragedians | Aristotle |
| Ate | | | |
| Hamartia | | | |

Problem: estimate the extent by which the parallel lines opposite *ate* and *hamartia* are separated.

Obviously there is a certain air of unreality about the problem as posed. The dangers of imposing upon antiquity a system of thought which exists only within our own minds are only too evident; and I approach this question not in any spirit of cheery confidence, but with the hesitancy of an amateur water diviner who thinks, but is not quite sure, that his stick may be beginning to twitch. If we examine the occurrence of *ate* words in the poetry and criticism of antiquity, to see if by any happy chance *ate* and *hamartia* words are ever used in the same context with reference to the same ideas, instant gratification is our reward. Let us begin where the coincidences are most striking.

1A. Passages in poetry where *ate* and *hamartia* (or ἀμπλακία)²⁴ are linked

Archilochus fr. 73:

ἥμπλακον, καὶ ποῦ τιν' ἄλλον ἢδ' ἄτη κιχήσατο.²⁵

Pindar *Pyth.* 2.25ff:

ἀλλά νιν ὕβρις εἰς αὐάταν ὑπεράφανον
ᾤρσεν· τάχα δὲ παθὼν εἰκότ' ἀνήρ
ἐξαίρετον ἔλε μόχθον. αἱ δύο δ' ἀμπλακίαι
φερέποναι τελέθοντι.

²⁴ It may be objected that ἥμπλακον is not the same as ἡμαρτον. But the closeness of the two concepts is clear from an examination of the lexicon. ἀμπλακήματα, ἡμαρτήματα writes Hesychius. The confusion at Aesch. *Eum.* 934 where M has ἀμπλακήματα and the other MSS ἡμαρτήματα must derive from the latter word glossing the former, unless indeed it is a simple substitution of a synonym. At Soph. *O.T.* 472 Κῆρες ἀνα(μ)πλάκῃται are paraphrased by the scholiast as αἱ εἰς μηδὲν ἡμαρτάνουσαι. The same equation reappears in the Euripides scholia at *Hipp.* 833 (ἀμπλακίαισι· ὃ ἐστίν, οὐδ' ἐμὸν ἡμαρτήματα τιμωροῦμαι ἀλλὰ διὰ προγονικόν), 892 (γνώσῃ γὰρ αὖθις ἀμπλακῶν· ἔχεις γὰρ γινῶναι ὅτι ἡμαρτες), and *Andr.* 948 (ἡ δ' ἀμπλακοῦσα συννοσεῖν αὐτῇ θέλει· ἡ δ' ἡμαρτοῦσα ἀνδρός).

Similarity between ἀμπλακία and ἄτη can be shown by comparing Eur. *Hipp.* 146 with Homer *I.* 537: both refer to the failure (by an oversight) to sacrifice to the gods.

²⁵ The scansion of ἄτη is apparently unique, but sense forbids the emendation ἄγγη; nor do I believe in ἄλη, commended by the Stephanus *Thesaurus*, where the statements of Herodian and the *Et. Magn.* in favour of the long α are recorded.

Soph. *Ant.* 1259-1260:

οὐκ ἄλλοτρίαν
ἄτην, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἁμαρτών.

Apollonios Rhodios 4.412:

ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀάσθην
ἁμπλακίηι.

Hamartia, as a neuter plural, occurs at Aesch. *Pers.* 676 and *Agam.* 537. Of the first passage I suspect, and of the second I am sure, as a Thucydidean orator might say, that *hamartia* means "loss" or "penalty," like the instances of *ate* cited in note 19. At *Agam.* 1192 an act of *ate* is one of the *hamartiai* referred to at 1197. The compound ἁμαρτίνοος at *Suppl.* 542 also deserves attention in its context. Theognis 327 D ἁμαρτωλαὶ γὰρ ἅμ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἔπονται is strongly reminiscent of the *ate* passages in *Iliad* I and T. Plutarch *Mor.* 418 E cites from Empedocles ἁμαρτίας καὶ ἄτας καὶ πλάνας.

1B. *Passages in ancient criticism where ate and hamartia appear to be equated*

- i. The scholia BT on *Iliad* B 111 ἄτη ἢ ἐκούσιος ἁμαρτία (for illumination of the term we must turn to Aristotle *Eth. Nic.* Book 3).
- ii. ἀτάσθαλα: ἄδικα, ἁμαρτωλά in the *Lexici Segueriani Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων*, ed. Carl Boysen.²⁶
- iii. ἀτάσθαλος: ἁμαρτωλός, παρὰ τὴν ἄτην Apoll. *Lex.* 46.24.
- iv. ἀάσατο: ἡγνοήσεν, ἡμαρτεν Apoll. *Lex.* 2.9.
- v. ἀναμάρτητος is the ancient gloss on ἀάσατος.²⁷

²⁶ Now most conveniently to be found in *Lexica Graeca Minora*, selegit K. Latte, disposuit et praefatus est H. Erbse, Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, Hildesheim 1965.

²⁷ ἀάσατος is a word which has attracted a great deal of attention. For ancient etymologies see the *Lexicon des frühgriechischen Epos*. It has been discussed most recently by A. C. Moorhouse in *CQ* 1961 p. 12, who objects to the ἀναμάρτητος explanation. But in all three places (*Iliad* E 271, *Odyssey* φ 91 and χ 5) ἀναμάρτητος seems to me more acceptable than the proposed fresh etymology, which would give a meaning of "unlimited," "insatiable," or "most exacting." To object, as Moorhouse does, that in *Iliad* E 271 the Styx cannot be called infallible because it is the oath, not the water, which is infallible, is tantamount to denying the existence of transferred epithets altogether. What the waters of the Styx, in their capacity as guarantors of oaths, and the archery contest in the *Odyssey* have in common is that they are both ἀναμάρτητος. Moorhouse's further objection that *ate* in the *Iliad* never means injury is to be set against the fact that two of our three passages come from the *Odyssey*, where at φ 302 *ate* can mean nothing but injury, as it probably does at μ 372 also.

2A. Passages which establish a correspondence between "Ατη and Βλάβη

a) Passages from poetry.

- i. ἡ δ' "Ατη σθεναρή τε καὶ ἀρτίπος, οὐνεκα πάσας
πολλὸν ὑπεκπροθέει, φθάνει δέ τε πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν
βλάπτουσ' ἀνθρώπους·

Iliad I 505-507

(cf. 512 ἵνα βλαφθεὶς ἀποτείσῃ)

- ii. πρέσβα Διὸς θυγάτηρ "Ατη, ἥ πάντας ἄῃται,
οὐλομένη· τῇ μὲν θ' ἀπαλοὶ πόδες· οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' οὔδει
πίλνεται, ἀλλ' ἄρα ἧ γε κατ' ἀνδρῶν κράτα βαίνει
βλάπτουσ' ἀνθρώπους·

Iliad T 91-94

- iii. οἶνός σε τρώει μελιδῆς, ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλους
βλάπτει, ὃς ἄν μιν χανδὸν ἔλῃι μῆδ' αἷσιμα πίνῃι.
οἶνος καὶ Κένταυρον, ἀγκαλυτὸν Εὐρυτίωνα
ἄσ' ἐνὶ μεγάρῳι μεγαθύμου Πειριθόιοι,
ἐς Λαπίθας ἐλθόνθ'· ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ φρένας ἄσεν οἴνῳι,
μαϊνόμενος κακ' ἔρεξε δόμον κάτα Πειριθόιοι·

Odyssey φ 293-298

(cf. ψ 11-14)

- iv. ὅσον γ', ἀναξ, τάχιστα· συντέμνουσι γὰρ
θεῶν ποδώκεις τοὺς κακόφρονας Βλάβαι

Soph. Ant. 1103-1104.

It is evident from the language used (cf. also 1097, and 1075) that the Βλάβαι are none other than *Ate* in a plural form, or perhaps the *Λιταί* of *Iliad I*, which has clearly been the archetypal passage.

b) Passages from ancient criticism.

- i. ἀάσκει is glossed by φθείρει, βλάπτει in Hesychius.
ii. ἀάταν is glossed by τὴν βλάβην in *Et. Sym. Cod. V ap. Et. Magn.* 497.27 (see Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*, no. 973).
iii. ἄτην καὶ βλάβην is the gloss of the scholiast on Pindar *Nem.* 9.41 (p. 155 Drachmann vol. 3).
iv. ἄατον is explained as τὸ πολυβλαβές, τὸ ἀβλαβές, τὸ βλαβερόν (and τὸ ἀπλήρωτον) by Apion in his Homeric Glosses. Similarly, "Ατη is explained as τὴν θαίμονα καὶ τὴν βλάβην, referring respectively to *Iliad I* 505 and *B* 111, and the first meaning given of ὄσαι is τὸ βλάψαι.
v. Numerous other references which the curious can find for themselves listed under the *ate* words in the *Lexicon des frühgriechischen Epos*.
vi. The scholia on Euripides *Hipp.* give βλάβης παραφροσύνης at 276, οὐδεμίας βλάβης at 1149, and φανεράν ἔσχες βλάβην at 1288. In Aesch.

Pers. 93ff the Σ (Dähnhardt p. 42) are referring to ἀπάτη when they mention τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐπελθεῖν αὐτῶι βλάβην. In the MSS of Sophocles which I am collating at present, βλάβη appears regularly as the gloss on ἄτη.

Finally let us notice how the word θεοβλάβεια is used in prose authors to denote what appears to be the *ate* process.

2B. *Passages which establish a correspondence between Ἀμαρτία and Βλάβη*

- i. The famous discussion of ἀτύχημα, ἀμάρτημα, and ἀδίκημα which occurs at Aristotle *Eth. Nic.* 1135b classes all three as types of βλάβη.
- ii. In the *Magna Moralia* 1201b34 mention is made of a specific ἁμαρτία committed by a man who knows only in general ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα φαῦλα καὶ βλαβερά.
- iii. In the *Rhet. ad Alex.* ch. 4 ἁμαρτία is described as τὸ δι' ἀγνοίαν βλαβερόν τι πράττειν.

Lastly, as a demonstration of ἁμαρτία occurring not only in an Aristotelian milieu in connection with βλάβη, we may take the piece of "ancient poetry" cited by Lycurgus in *Leocr.* 92, which is tantamount to a statement of the *ate* process.

ὅταν γὰρ ὀργὴ δαιμόνων βλάπτῃ τινά,
τοῦτ' αὐτὸ πρῶτον ἐξαφαιρεῖται φρενῶν
τὸν νοῦν τὸν ἐσθλόν, εἰς δὲ τὴν χεῖρῳ τρέπει
γνώμην, ἣν' εἶδηι μηδὲν ὦν ἁμαρτάνει.

(We might also compare the βλάπτοι of Soph. *Ajax* 456.)

* * *

The representative selection of quotations reproduced above should indicate to us that there is a relationship between *hamartia* and *ate*. It would not occur to most of us to classify them both as types of βλάβη, but, as the evidence shows, the Greek mind felt no such reluctance. Further connections²⁸ could be established if we permitted ourselves to

²⁸ In the light of our *ate-apate* equation we may like to consider Aristotelian sentences like ἐξαπατηθέντες ὑπὸ Κλεοφώντος . . . ἐγνωσαν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν (*Ath. Pol.* 34) or οἱ αὖ τὸ . . . πλείω ἐξηπατῆσθαι καὶ ἡμαρτηκέναι (*Rhet.* 1389b16). In note 19 we listed some cases where *ate* and κέρδος were opposed. The same opposition but with ἀμπλακία in place of *ate* occurs at Theognis 401ff:

πολλάκι δ' εἰς ἀρετὴν
σπεύδει ἀνὴρ κέρδος διζήμενος, δντινα δαίμων
πρόφρων ἐς μεγάλῃν ἀμπλακίην παρέγει

stray further afield to see what else could be predicated in common of both these concepts. But for the purposes of the main text of this article it is enough if we can make it clear that if Aristotle had wanted to allude to the tragic process often crystallised by the poets themselves as *ate* — a process he would himself no longer have fully understood — *hamartia* is the word he would have used.²⁹ We have seen that in the language of the poets *ate* and *hamartia* are closely allied concepts, the actual choice of word depending more on the user's standpoint than on any radical difference in the result described. We have also seen that of the two words only *hamartia* survived, and that this word is used by ancient criticism to gloss the no longer fully understood references to *ate* in the poets. The deduction is now open to us that Aristotle's *hamartia* might have some relevance not only to the poets' *hamartia*, but to its older and more superstitious sister, *Ate*.

But "might" is not the same as "must." In this article we are working throughout on the assumption that Aristotle's *hamartia* is the lineal descendant of tragedy's. More usually it has been the practice to examine Aristotle's use of *hamartia* in the *Poetics* in the light of his usage elsewhere. Since Aristotle was *par excellence* the master of specialised terminology, such a course seems, to put it mildly, sensible. But I would contend that whichever method one chooses to follow, the result is the same. If anyone had suggested to Hey that the Aristotelian *hamartia* was not necessarily so very different from the Sophoclean *ate*, he would have had no difficulty in overcoming his initial surprise. In a revealing footnote (*Philologus* 1927 p. 162 n. 33) Hey wrote: "Die aristotelische Mustertragödie könnte man, um der Gattung einen Namen zu geben, etwa (a parte potiore) die 'Tragödie der Verblendung' nennen, wenn

(the significance of that *παπα*-compound will be discussed later) and is implied at Soph. *Ant.* 1025-1032. *Ate* was used of the influence of drink at κ 68, λ 61, φ 302; in Aristotle drink leads to a *hamartia* at *Rhet.* 1402b13. *Ate* is used of love's effects at the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite* 253, at Z 356, (Γ 100), T95ff, possibly Ω 28, and at δ 261, φ 223, in Sophocles at *Ant.* 862, and in Euripides at *Hipp.* 240. Euripides uses *hamartia* in the same connection at *El.* 1036, *Bacch.* 29, *Or.* 649, *Tro.* 1028, and at *Hipp.* 320, 323 (the attitude previously described as *ate*), 464, 507. It is Aristotle's word for such "indiscretions" too. The trio of wine, love, and insanity turns up in Plato, *Rep.* 573.

²⁹ It is unfortunate that the etymologies proposed for *hamartia* are so speculative that no weight can be put on them. It would be highly convenient if the suggestion of Prellwitz that *hamartia* was connected with ἀμείρω "rob" or ἀμέρω "make blind" coincided with the truth. It would be equally satisfactory if Boisacq were right in giving it affinities with words meaning "forget" and "neglect." But the stern verdict of Frisk must be our guide: "Bildung und Herleitung unklar."

man nicht den griechischen Ausdruck 'Hamartie' adoptieren will." We have already seen that to some ancient criticism *ate* and *hamartia* could be synonymous. If we take the modern critic's assessment of *hamartia*, we may remark how easy it would be to transpose his comments without alteration into a discussion on *ate*:

Was ist das Charakteristische aller dieser Fälle aus der ἀμαρτάνω-Gruppe? Sie beziehen sich auf Handlungen, die ausgeführt werden in dem guten Glauben, das Zweckmässige zu tun, die aber missraten (zu βλάβαι werden) infolge mangelnder Einsicht des Handelnden. Sie haben an sich keine moralische Seite, können aber eine solche erhalten, je nach dem Grade, in dem der Handelnde für sein Nicht-Wissen selbst verantwortlich zu machen ist [p. 143].

Dass die gut (oder nicht böse-) gemeinte Tat zur βλάβη ausschlägt, ist Schuld der mangelhaften Einsicht (ἄγνοια..... ὅταν μήτε ὄν μήτε ὁ μήτε ὡι μήτε οὐ ἐνεκα ὑπέλαβε πράξει). Dieser Mangel an Einsicht besteht entweder um einfachen Nichtwissen der für die Wirkung der Handlung in Frage kommenden Faktoren, oder in der vorübergehenden Verdunklung des Wissens durch ein πάθος [in his *Résumé* on p. 159].

The place assigned by Aristotle to transient πάθος (and what is *Ate* if not a transient πάθος?) or the failure to apply latent knowledge to particular cases is admirably discussed by I. M. Glanville (see note 1), and in the pages of the *Nicomachean* and *Eudemian Ethics* there is a wealth of comment by Aristotle which could, if space and energy permitted, be brought into a fruitful relation with the practice of the tragic poets themselves. But I renounce such grandiose projects. Instead, and by way of transition, let me close this section by reproducing two quotations from Glanville's article, for the reader to mull over by himself in tranquillity: the first is on page 54, the second on page 56:

a) But for the poet, the boundary between the voluntary and the involuntary (τὸ δὴ ἀγνοούμενον, ἢ μὴ ἀγνοούμενον μὲν μὴ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δ' ὄν, ἢ βίαι), the limit of purpose and of happiness, is still the shifting margin between the human and the divine.

b) . . . as the human agent passes from ignorance to knowledge and attributes his fate directly to the deity, so we, in this moment of intense feeling, accept ἀμαρτία as a function of the divine will that shaped his end.

* * *

It is clear what remains to be done. We have now to look at the plays named on p. 94 to see if the explanation of a forced or unforced error

has a sufficiently wide validity for it to be considered by Aristotle and by us a reasonable one-word definition of the process that leads a tragic hero to his downfall.³⁰

Aeschylus notoriously receives very little mention in Aristotle, but the *hamartia* theory fits his plays at least as well as any other single explanation could, once we are willing to accept the *ate-hamartia* link. In his earliest play he loses little time in making the chorus speak of the role of *ate* (*Pers.* 93ff), doing so in language which the poets of *Iliad I* and *T* would easily recognise. Later in the play we see how *ate* has functioned, as we learn of Xerxes' νόσος φρενῶν (750), which was determined by forces superior to himself (Zeus in 740), as well as by the evil communications which corrupt good manners (753): though perhaps in the latter we are entitled to see Πειθῶ at work again.

In *Seven* the prime mover is the inherited curse, but in all three generations *ate* or its equivalent is the medium through which the hero falls. In 756 we learn that it was παράνοια φρενῶλης which brought Laius and Jocasta together; in 725 Oedipus is called βλαψίφρων — we recognise now the full force of the first half of that compound (an adjective which Triphiodorus [411] was to link directly with ἄτη 900 years later!) — and, then, in what Aristotle would have called his moment of *anagnorisis*, at 779, ἀρτίφρων. In the present generation it is *ate* which sends Eteocles to his doom (687), or at any rate that is how it appears to the chorus.

Particularly prominent in this play is the rôle of the Erinyes, a daemon associated with *ate* from the time of the *T* poet in the *Iliad*. It would require another article the size of the present one to demonstrate how close are the links which exist between Ate, Blabe, Erinyes, Moira (and Moirai), and some of the less common sinister figures that haunt Greek poetry, like Aisa. A few references will point the way. There are the obvious links like *Agam.* 1433; but more interesting are places like *Soph. Ant.* 603 with its famous φρενῶν Ἐρινύς. On this J. Hooykaas³¹ wrote: “φρενῶν Ἐρινύς animi statum ex ipsa natura ortum, non aliunde allatum indicare neque ego primus contendo neque qua ratione negari possit video.” What we have learnt since his time has taught us that the conflict between external and internal forces need not be so great as was once imagined. Nonetheless it is evident that to Sophocles, Erinyes is not now being visualised as a goddess like one of the Furies in *Eumenides*. *Ate*, or even βλάβη, could be substituted, just as at *Trach.* 895 (cf. 842

³⁰ P. W. Harsh wrote briefly on the uses of the word *hamartia* in the tragic poets, in *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 1945 p. 47.

³¹ *De Sophoclis Oedipode Coloneo*, diss. Leiden Sijthoff 1896.

and 850); or compare *Ant.* 1075 with 1104. (Contrast *Ajax* 835ff or fr. 508 ἔσαιν' Ἐρινὺς ἡδοναῖς ἐψευσμένον, which reminds us strongly of the language used of ἄτη at Aesch. *Pers.* 93ff.) The Erinyes at *Ajax* 1034 forges a sword, something done for her by Aisa at Aesch. *Cho.* 647. There is almost no limit to these ramifications.³² Such deities may be said to represent the superstitious side of the *ate* concept, originating with *Iliad* I and T, as *hamartia* represents its intellectual side. It is especially important to be on one's guard against the standard English translation of Moira as "fate." This overlooks her perhaps originally separate rôle as one of the darker powers, like the Erinyes with whom she is so often linked. It is more than possible that at Aesch. *Eum.* 1047, where, at the very end of the *Oresteia*, the names of Zeus and Moira are linked, we are intended not so much to think of the King of the Olympians and "Fate," but — since this is the guise in which Moira appears most of the time in the play — of Ζεὺς καὶ Μοῖρα καὶ ἡερόφουτις Ἐρινύς.

The *Oresteia* is not primarily conducted in terms of *ate* or *hamartia*: for although the word *ate* comes frequently enough, it is usually in its ordinary sense of *Schaden* without specific reference to the mind. But it is significant that when Aeschylus wishes to use a single word to denote what might be called the tragic acts in the prehistory or posthistory of his play, his summarising word is either *ate* or *hamartia*. At *Agam.* 1197 *hamartia* is the word used to denote the actions by earlier members of that distressing household to which the king belonged. At *Cho.* 519 it is the word which describes Clytaemnestra's offence. At *Agam.* 1192 and *Cho.* 1076 *ate* refers to offences which have taken place earlier in the myth and offences which the chorus fear are yet to come. At *Agam.* 386 another piece of the prehistory, the rape of Helen by Paris, is described as the product of a mind under *Ate*'s influence.

As I mentioned on p. 97, παρακοπά at *Agam.* 223 — again referring to the prehistory of the play — is to be considered as not essentially different from *ate*. As Πειθώ is the child of *Ate* at 386, so here παρακοπά is itself αἰσχρόμητις, and mention of it immediately precedes the decisive words, ἔτλα δ' οὖν θυτῆρ γενέσθαι θυγατρός. But this passage presents special difficulties. The τόθεν of v. 220 shows that the παρακοπά follows Agamemnon's apparently rational assessment of his position, 206ff; and it follows his submission to the "yoke of necessity." We are not talking of a kind of madness like that which afflicts Orestes in *Choephoroi*. Matricide is an act, whereas Agamemnon's παρακοπά relates

³² Cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 1535 with Fraenkel *ad loc.* and Dodds *The Greeks and the Irrational* p. 8.

only to his decision to act, as the epithets *αἰσχρομήτης* and *πρωτοπήμων*³³ show, to say nothing of the context in general: it operates in fact exactly like *ate*.

Aeschylus seems to have put the cart before the horse. Is it possible that he misunderstood the Homeric *ἔπειτα δὲ πολλὸν ἀάσθη* which we discussed earlier? Although misunderstandings of Homer by Aeschylus are not unknown, this remains a forced interpretation. The difficulties with which we are confronted seem to me to lend support to the view that I have expressed elsewhere,³⁴ and attempted to justify, on quite different grounds, namely that Aeschylus' sequence of thought has been disturbed at an early stage of the textual transmission by the transposition of the Hymn to Zeus from its rightful place. If vv. 160–191 belong, as I maintain they do, after v. 217, the “yoke of necessity” is no longer simply the dubious “impossibility” of “failing the alliance” (v. 213). It is, more directly, the will of Zeus itself. Four stanzas now intervene between Agamemnon's rational evaluation of his dilemma and his “going mad.” The *τόθεν* of v. 220 now picks up the situation as described in vv. 184ff with its highly significant preparatory words *ἐμπαίοις τύχαισι συμπνέων*. The description of the irresistible power of Zeus is followed by a description of Agamemnon “breathing with the blasts of fortune which fell upon him.” It is then that Agamemnon bows to necessity, because *παρακοπά* has done its work. On this interpretation *παρακοπά*, like *ate*, is the familiar link between the will of Zeus and the will of man, the latter being compulsorily assimilated to the former through its agency; Agamemnon's mental processes are, in the most exactly etymological translation one can think of, *knocked sideways*.³⁵ The simplest way of showing how our problem will disappear if we

³³ Just as *hamartia* is the fatal decision from which all else stems, (*ἐν ἀρχῇ γὰρ γίγνεται τὸ ἀμάρτημα, ἥ δ' ἀρχὴ λέγεται ἥμισυ εἶναι πωτός* Aristotle *Politics* 1303b29), so *ate* is often described as the origin of all subsequent disasters. Cf. *Ἄτης, ἥτις πρῶτον ἀάσθη* T 136; *τὸ πρῶτον ἐφεζόμενος μέγ' ἀάσθη* δ 509; *φλαυρὴ μὲν τὸ πρῶτον, ἀνηρὴ δὲ τελευτᾷ* Solon fr. 1.15; *<ποτι>σαίνουσα, τὸ πρῶτον παράγει | βροτὸν εἰς ἄρκνας ἄτα* Aesch. *Pers.* 98f; *Πειθῶ | προβούλου παῖς ἄφερτος ἄτας* Agam. 386; *πρώταρχον ἄτην* Agam. 1192 (as the parallels show, the MS text should not be changed). We may also compare the *ἄτα* which is the *κακοῦ ἔρωτος ἀρχάν* at *Sept.* 688, and the Lycurgus passage reproduced on p. 105.

³⁴ *Eranos* 1966. I see, with a mixture of emotions from which satisfaction is not entirely absent, that *Eranos* has now published an article of refutation by Dr. Leif Bergson (1967 pp. 12–24).

³⁵ *παρα*-compounds are often to be found in contexts of the type we have discussed. Cf. K 391, Ψ 603, Aesch. *Pers.* 98, Theognis 404, Pindar *Ol.* 7.24ff, Ar. *Pax* 90, Eur. *Hipp.* 240, Timotheos *Pers.* 76. This would relate easily to the original meaning of *hamartia* as missing the mark.

accept the transposition is to reproduce Fraenkel's translation, which we must remember is intended as an aid to comprehension, not as an exercise in elegance, with virtually no alteration beyond the alteration in sequence.³⁶ παρακοπά can now be Aeschylus' commentary not only on the τόθεν sentence, to which it must be confined on any natural interpretation of the ordinary sequence, but on the συμπνέων and ἀνάγκη clauses as well. Etymologically it relates well to ἐμπαίους (187).

And then the elder leader of the Achaean fleet, not finding fault with any prophet, letting his spirit go with the blasts of fortune that fell upon him, when the Achaean folk were sore pressed by famishing delay in port, while they held the coast over against Calchis, in the region of Aulis, where the tides roar to and fro, when he slipped his neck through the strap of compulsion's yoke, and the wind of his purpose veered about and blew impious, impure, unholy; from that moment he reversed his mind and turned to utter recklessness. For men are emboldened by base-counselling wretched infatuation, the beginning of woe.

* * *

I say no more about Aeschylus; and when the time comes, I promise to be just as brief with Euripides. For it is only right that Aristotle's preoccupation with Sophocles should be ours too. The famous *Ate* ode in *Antigone* (vv. 582ff) is a natural starting place. We have already noticed that *Ate* has superstitious connections as well as intellectual ones — and just as well, for an ode to *hamartia* would be a strange thought indeed. And yet from the logical standpoint there is no great difference. In fact the whole of *Antigone* is seen in intellectual terms to a degree found in no other tragedy, with the possible exception of *Oedipus Rex*. The kind of language we have been discussing abounds throughout. As events move towards their crisis, the chorus stress the need for εὐβουλία (1098); and after the event the messenger sums up in terms of ἀβουλία (1242) and Creon himself speaks of his own δυσβουλία (1269). The closing lines of the play are a homily on φρονεῖν. Antigone herself sees the dispute as one over which side is committing the *hamartia*:

ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν οὖν τάδ' ἐστὶν ἐν θεοῖς καλὰ,
παθόντες ἂν ξυγγνοῖμεν ἡμαρτηκότες.
εἰ δ' οἷδ' ἁμαρτάνουσι, μὴ πλείω κακὰ
πάθοιεν ἢ καὶ δρῶσιν ἐκδίκως ἐμέ.

(925-928)

³⁶ To be scrupulous, what I have done is to change "So it was then with" to "And then" (the Greek is καὶ τόθ'); to reverse semicolon and comma punctuation; to delete the "and" in v. 218 (taking the δ' as apodotic); and to translate the Greek aorists as aorists, not, as Fraenkel quite legitimately does, as pluperfects.

If her action is wrong, it is an act of *δυσβουλία* (95). Worth mentioning too is the exchange at 1050f where we find *βλάβη* once again:

TE. ὅσωι κράτιστον κτημάτων εὐβουλία;
 KP. ὅσωι περ, οἴμαι, μὴ φρονεῖν πλείστη βλάβη.

Against this background stands the *Ate* ode. The first stasimon had been on the brilliance of human intelligence and the attendant dangers when it goes wrong, this note of warning being sounded only in the last antistrophe, where it refers, one can only assume, to Antigone's ingenuity in burying the body. Our *Ate* ode is parallel in structure, the last antistrophe having a special application to the case of Creon, as will emerge immediately from the following scene with Haemon. The following chorus is about *Ἔρως*: we have already noted the connections of Aphrodite and *Ἔρως* with *Ate*.³⁷ When we read 787ff we recognise this as language we have seen before used of *Ate*:

καί σ' οὔτ' ἀθανάτων φύξιμος οὐδεὶς
 οὔθ' ἀμερίων σέ γ' ἀνθρώ-
 πων, ὃ δ' ἔχων μέμνηεν.
 σὺ καὶ δικαίων ἀδίκους
 φρένας παρασπᾶις ἐπὶ λῶβαι . . .

When later, in the *kommos*, allusion is made to Antigone's antecedents in misfortune, it is to the *atai* of her parents' marriage that she most specifically refers (862).³⁸

It seems then to be no accident that the *Ate* ode stands in the physical, as it does in the spiritual, centre of *Antigone*. From it we learn in a comprehensive form characteristics which we had previously learnt piecemeal from different sources. It is sent by the gods, in particular Zeus. Its function is similar to that of *ἀπάτη*, and it is opposed to *ὄνασις*, as elsewhere to *κέρδος*. It is the instrument by which the gods set men on the path to destruction, when they choose to "shake a house" (584):

τὸ κακὸν δοκεῖν ποτ' ἐσθλὸν
 τῶιδ' ἔμμεν ὅταν φρένας
 θεὸς ἄγει πρὸς ἅταν.

³⁷ "Eros Tyrannus," a chapter in Cornford's *Thucyd. Mythistoricus* will supply additional evidence.

³⁸ *πατρῶιαι*, not *ματρῶιαι*, is the reading of LR. May this not be right, referring to the marriage of Laius and Jocasta (cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 742-757), and thereby avoiding the tautology? This gives fuller meaning to *τρίπολιστον*, referring to the three generations, and consorts naturally with *τοῦ τε πρόπαντος ἀμετέρου πέτμου Λαβδακίδαισιν*.

It is not difficult to see how this utterance is exemplified in the action of the play itself. Creon believed himself to be acting rightly in the interests of the city. Antigone (504f), Haemon (733), Teiresias (passim), the chorus (here), and Creon himself (post eventum) recognise that he is in fact mistaken.³⁹ Creon's own evaluation of the causes of his downfall are as comprehensive as our earlier studies have encouraged us to believe they would be. The chorus introduce him (1259f) as one

οὐκ ἄλλοτρίαν
ἄτην, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἁμαρτῶν

and his first words of lamentation are *ὡς φρενῶν δυσφρόνων ἁμαρτήματα*. But in the same breath as he says this, Creon recognises that he is the victim of the gods. His *hamartia* too has been their will. But the victim of ἄτη or ἀπάτη does not know what is happening to him until it is too late. So here the chorus (1270) comment οἷμ' ὡς ξοικας ὀψέ τήν δίκην ἰδεῖν and Creon responds οἷμοι ἔχω μαθὼν δειλαιοι. πάθει μάθος applies to Creon in a more refined sense than it did to Aeschylus' Agamemnon, whose μάθος does not rise above that enshrined in the formula παθὼν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω. With *Antigone* we are now much closer to the ἄρτι μανθάνω of Euripides; and closer too to Aristotelian *anagnorisis*.⁴⁰

³⁹ That Creon is in fact making a mistake, although adhering to the letter of the law, is something that would have been readily comprehensible to Aristotle, who (*Eth. Nic.* 1137b) distinguishes between τὸ ἐπιεικές and τὸ δίκαιον. Creon observed only τὸ δίκαιον. I reproduce the most relevant sentences: αἵτιον δ' ὅτι ὁ μὲν νόμος καθόλου πᾶς, περὶ ἐνίων δ' οὐχ οἷόν τε ὀρθῶς εἰπεῖν καθόλου, ἐν οἷς οὖν ἀνάγκη μὲν εἰπεῖν καθόλου, μὴ οἷόν τε δὲ ὀρθῶς, τὸ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεόν λαμβάνει ὁ νόμος, οὐκ ἄγνοῶν τὸ ἁμαρτανόμενον. καὶ ἔστιν οὐδὲν ἥττον ὀρθῶς· τὸ γὰρ ἁμάρτημα οὐκ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ οὐδ' ἐν τῷ νομοθέτῃ ὅλλ' ἐν τῇ φύσει τοῦ πράγματός ἐστιν, εὐθὺς γὰρ τοιαύτη ἢ τῶν πρακτῶν ὕλη ἐστίν. ὅταν οὖν λέγῃ μὲν ὁ νόμος καθόλου, συμβῇ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦτου παρὰ τὸ καθόλου, τότε ὀρθῶς ἔχει, ἢ παραλείπει ὁ νομοθέτης καὶ ἡμαρτεν ἀπλῶς εἰπὼν, ἐπανορθοῦν τὸ ἐλλειφθέν.

⁴⁰ Before we leave *Antigone*, we ought to steal a glance at the textual corruption of v. 1097. When doubts assail Creon after his disturbing interview with Teiresias, who has already made a minatory reference to the Erinyes at 1075, he voices his fears in a crisp antithesis:

ἔγνωκα καὶ τὸς καὶ τὰράσσομοι φρένας·
τό τ' εἰκαθεῖν γὰρ δεινόν, ἀντιστάντα δέ
ἄτηι πατάξαι θυμὸν ἐν δεινῷ πάρα.

(1095-1097)

The chorus recommend εὐβουλία (1098), viz. παρεικαθεῖν (1102), and urge the necessity of speed:

συντέμνουσι γὰρ
θεῶν ποδώκεις τοὺς κακόφρονas βλάβαι.

Orthodoxy has always been ready to admit that *hamartia* is a fair diagnosis of the tragic error in *Women of Trachis*. Deianeira's error, committed under the compulsion of love, as we are reminded towards the end of the play (1138f), is clear enough: only too clear, many modern critics have felt, though the chorus (589) provisionally approved her action, and at 727f treat it as a purely involuntary error. When Hyllus comes to explain her act to his father, his words are about the things she ἤμαρτεν οὐχ ἔκουσία (1123); and if one wished to choose a single line from this play as enshrining the moral, it would be 1136, ἅπαν τὸ χρῆμ' ἤμαρτε χρηστὰ μωμένῃ. Deianeira's act must be predestined, for she is fulfilling an oracle; but if there is any moral evaluation in this piece, it is simply that the heroine "made a mistake." In this respect *Women of Trachis* is not different from other plays: it is merely that other plays tend to be richer in alternative explanations; for even if the last words are κοῦδὲν τούτων ὅ τι μὲν Ζεὺς, it has to be admitted that the action of the piece is not pervaded by the mysterious interpenetrating ambiguities which most of us have come to regard as belonging to the essence of Greek tragedy.

With *Ajax* we must differentiate between the prehistory of the play and the events which constitute it: the same division that we shall have to make with *Oedipus Rex*. The messenger speech 748ff relates the conditional prophecy of Calchas and the two occasions when Ajax had returned a prideful answer to Athena's offer of help. This information comes to light in the middle of the play, just before Ajax commits suicide: it may therefore have been put in by the poet to mitigate the feeling that Ajax' death is totally unjustified. Earlier in the play (172ff) the chorus surmise that Ajax' madness is a punishment for a failure to sacrifice (cf. Homer *I* 537 where such an omission is called an act

The βλάβαι we recognise as ἄται under a metrically more convenient form, or else as Ἐρινύες; cf. 1075. As v. 603 shows, this is a distinction without a difference. They are the personification of the πλείστη βλάβη mentioned in v. 1051. The scholion explains συντέμνουσι ας κατακόπτουσι καὶ βλάπτουσι. In the light of these two pieces of information it had seemed to me that the most probable reading in 1097 was Ἄτη, nominative, with ἀντιστάντα either in the "whole and part" construction or as the participle in agreement with θυμόν. Then I found that this suggestion had already been made by von Blumenthal in *Hermes* 1942 pp. 110f. And later still I found the suggestion anticipated by Ludwig van Derenter in a disreputable pamphlet *De Interpolationibus Quibusdam in Sophoclis Tragoediis*, published as a doctoral dissertation at Leiden in 1851. ἐν δεινῶι remains difficult unless *El.* 221 is a sufficient parallel. "It is terrible to give way, but Ate is at hand to strike my spirit (in ruination?) if it resists." Cf. the πάρα δ' ἄτη in the proverb cited in note 19.

of *ate*, and Eur. *Hipp.* 146 where it is ἀμπλακία).⁴¹ But even the hybristic answer to Athena is itself an act of *ate*; compare the parallel at δ 502–504 (of Αἴας: ὁ Λοκρός, said posterity, mindful of the conflict with the suicide story which the δ poet may not have known):

καὶ νύ κεν ἔκφυγε κῆρα, καὶ ἐχθόμενός περ Ἀθήνην
εἰ μὴ ὑπερφίαλον ἔπος ἔκβαλε καὶ μέγ' ἀάσθη.
φῆ ῥ' ἀέκητι θεῶν φυγέειν μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης.

Either explanation can therefore be subsumed under the *Ate-Hamartia* heading. But so far as the events depicted in the play itself are concerned, Ajax' downfall is occasioned by the shame he feels at having slaughtered sheep instead of Odysseus and the sons of Atreus: and the reason why he confused these dissimilar objectives is because Athena had visited him with *ate*. It may seem to us that if guilt attaches to Ajax, or if he has made any error of judgement, this lies rather in his decision to kill anyone at all, not in his mistaking sheep for soldiers. It is hard to reconcile Ajax' description of himself at 364f:

ὄρᾱις τὸν θρασύν, τὸν εὐκάρδιον,
τὸν ἐν δαῖοις ἄτρεστον μάχαις,

and Teucer's later panegyric over him, with his night sortie on the commanders' tents. Can it be the case that his mind was already deranged before he set out at all? A difficulty here would be that at 387ff Ajax, recovered by now from his frenzy, addresses a prayer to Zeus which contains a wish that he may kill the Atridae and Odysseus before he dies. Sophocles seems not to have provided us with the information necessary for a solution of this problem. But that *Ajax* is an *ate* play, no one can doubt. Its language abounds in references to the sickness of Ajax' mind: and although in the mouth of an enemy it is Ajax' character which is said to make him specially liable to derangement of this kind (1358), most comment, including comment from Athena herself, treats the *ate* as a divine visitation. When the word itself occurs, it is not always certain whether on any particular occasion it means "ruin" in general, or "derangement"; but the latter meaning seems the more likely at vv. 195, 643, 848.

It is certainly true that *Ajax* is to a large extent a play of character. Slaughtering the sheep would not have led to suicide in a man who was not of Ajax' heroic temper. That amiable victim of *ate*, Don Quixote, also slaughtered sheep in the belief that they were soldiers, but long

⁴¹ At *Iliad* Ω 68 Zeus says of Hector that he never forgot to sacrifice:

οὐ τι φίλων ἡμάρτανε δώρων.

after, with his senses restored, died a purely natural death. But once granted the data of the play, Ajax dies because he committed an initial wrong act; and this wrong act was committed because he was deceived by Athena and visited by *Ate* (once more the *ate-apate* connection). To the fourth-century critic it would therefore be a play of *hamartia*. Yielding, as always, to the temptations of irrelevance, I cannot forbear to point out how *Ajax* corresponds in two other ways with precepts laid down in the *Poetics*. Pity and fear for one like ourselves are found side by side with *ate* at vv. 121ff:

ἐποικτείρω δέ νιν
δύστηνον ἔμπας, καίπερ ὄντα δυσμενῇ,
ὁθύνεκ' ἄττι συγκατέζευκται κακῇι,
οὐδέν τὸ τοῦτου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦμόν σκοπῶν

and another Aristotelian canon glimpses at us from behind the words of the chorus at 154-156:

τῶν γὰρ μεγάλων ψυχῶν ἰεῖς
οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι· κατὰ δ' ἂν τις ἐμοῦ
τοιαῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἂν πείθοι.

We come now to *Oedipus Rex*. Aristotle's preoccupation with this play does not need to be stressed; and indeed he mentions it by name in the *hamartia* context. But if we ask wherein the *hamartia* of Oedipus lies, more than one answer is possible. In Aristotelian terminology the unwitting offence of a man killing his father⁴² and marrying his mother⁴³ would undoubtedly constitute acts of *hamartia*. On this supposition we are talking about a kind of *hamartia* which does *not* correspond with *ate*. This view of *Oedipus Rex* is popular today, and there are grounds for supposing that it was popular in antiquity. It is likely enough that it was the view of Aristotle himself. Some modern critics prefer to believe that Oedipus' *hamartia* consisted in his failure to keep the oracles in the forefront of his mind night and day, in such a way that he would never lay a finger on any man nor spend a moment in dalliance with any woman. It would be possible to quote Aristotle in support of this interpretation also: ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ διχῶς λέγομεν τὸ ἐπίστασθαι (καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἔχων μὲν οὐ χρώμενος δὲ τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ ὁ χρώμενος λέγεται ἐπίστασθαι), διοίσει τὸ ἔχοντα μὲν μὴ θεωροῦντα δὲ καὶ τὸ θεωροῦντα ᾧ μὴ δεῖ πράττειν (*Eth. Nic.* 1146b5). Aristotle then continues by discussing the

⁴² ἐνδέχεται δὲ τὸν τυπτόμενον πατέρα εἶναι, τὸν δ' ὅτι μὲν ἄνθρωπος ἢ τῶν παρόντων τις γινώσκειν, ὅτι δὲ πατὴρ ἀγνοεῖν (*Eth. Nic.* 1135a28). Corrupt or lacunose?

⁴³ τὰ μὲν μετ' ἀγνοίας ἀμαρτήματά ἐστιν, ὅταν μήτε ὃν μήτε ὁ μήτε ὡι μήτε οὐ ἔνεκα ὑπέλαβε πράξει (*Eth. Nic.* 1135b12).

influence of various πάθη on the judgement. This would bring us closer to *ate*, but at a price: first because Aristotle is not talking directly about *hamartia* in this context, and second, because Sophocles nowhere draws our attention to Oedipus' failure to keep his latent knowledge ever present in his mind.

Should we then remain content with the first explanation — that the *hamartiai* of Oedipus were his acts of homicide and incest? This is certainly possible: it is possible too that Aristotle was thinking of homicide and incest when he wrote δεῖ γὰρ καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ ὄραν οὕτω συνεστάναι τὸν μῦθον ὥστε τὸν ἀκούοντα τὰ πράγματα γινόμενα καὶ φρίττειν καὶ ἐλεεῖν ἐκ τῶν συμβαινόντων ἅπερ ἂν πάθοι τις ἀκούων τὸν τοῦ Οἰδίπου μῦθον (*Poetics* 1453b). It may well be that to Aristotle, as to posterity at large, the real horror of the story of Oedipus lay in the killing of his father and the marriage with his mother, even if this does all lie ἔξω τοῦ δράματος.

But there is reason to think that Sophocles himself, if he had been anachronistically invited to apply the critical term *hamartia* to his own play, would have returned a different answer. For 962ff of *Oedipus at Colonus* read as though they had been composed expressly for the purpose of refuting this misconception.⁴⁴

ἐπεὶ καθ' αὐτόν γ' οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύροις ἐμοὶ
 ἁμαρτίας ὄνειδος οὐδὲν ἀνθ' ὅτου
 τάδ' εἰς ἐμαυτὸν τοὺς ἐμούς θ' ἡμάρτανον.

(966–968)

Sophocles *might* have chosen to write a story about Oedipus going to the oracle, and killing his father on the return from it, and marrying his mother shortly afterwards; but he did not, and put those events into the mouth of Oedipus only as a backward glance at the prehistory of the play that he actually chose to write instead. It is not unreasonable therefore to look for some *hamartia* within the action of the play itself. Only one possibility presents itself. The tragic element in Sophocles' treatment of the story must lie in Oedipus' insistence on finding out the

⁴⁴ It is a commonplace of criticism that *Oed. Col.* is not to be used as a commentary on *Oed. Rex.* But Sophocles must have mulled over these problems, and is unlikely to have changed his mind drastically, for his religious thinking appears not to have undergone any profound changes in the course of his career — at any rate none that we can trace. Walter Jens, *Statt einer Literaturgeschichte* (ed. 5, 1962) p. 321 refers to work by one of his pupils, Bernd Seidensticker, tracing in detail the relationships subsisting between *O.T.* and *O.C.* No one has yet established the dating of Sophocles' plays, but a large study published by Heinrich Siess in *Wiener Studien* 1915 suggests that *O.T.* and *O.C.* may have been written only about ten years apart. See also H. Fischl in *WS* 1912 pp. 47–59.

truth.⁴⁵ But an apparently flattening retort is easily found: do we suppose that if Oedipus had not found out the truth, all would have been well? From the point of view of the plague-ridden city, the answer must of course be that no, all would not have been well. But from the point of view of Oedipus and Jocasta, who had been living together without any unhappiness that the poet has thought fit to mention, the answer can only be that ignorance was bliss — and that Sophocles was not really concerned with the plague except as a device to set the play in motion is clear from the way in which it is allowed to drop almost wholly out of sight once the play is under way. There is no doubt at all that the direct cause of the downfall of Oedipus was his discovery of who he was: without that discovery he would still have been King of Thebes, and he would not have blinded himself.

In their moralising over the fate of Oedipus, Aeschylus and Sophocles have much the same verdict to offer; for although Aeschylus describes Oedipus as one who killed his father and married his mother (*Sept.* 752–756), when he moralises on his fate (772–784) his tragedy is conceived as that of a man who was honoured above all men, as the one who had solved the riddle of the Sphinx, and whose downfall was occasioned by his discovery of the true nature of his marriage. Exactly the same moralising is to be found in the last seven lines of Sophocles' play (cf. *Eur. Phoen.* 1758ff). For Teiresias too, the prophet who had evidently reconciled his professional conscience to silence for a long time, the tragedy was the same, one of discovery: ἥδ' ἡμέρα φύσει σε καὶ διαφθερεῖ (438). It is the discovery itself which constitutes the process μεταβάλλειν . . . ἐξ εὐτυχίας εἰς δυστυχίαν. It is initiated by Oedipus himself, and he persists in his resolve against all advice. It must of course have been all part of the divine plan that Oedipus should learn of his identity: ἄφαρ δ' ἀνάπυστα θεοὶ θέσαν ἀνθρώποισιν as Homer says, λ 274. The story would be pointless otherwise; and it would be very nearly as pointless if Oedipus did not make the discovery himself. If Oedipus' *hamartia* consists in his repeated resolve to pursue his enquiries, this *hamartia* is in reality as predestined as the incest and parricide and belongs to the category of the "forced error" that has occupied our attention in the earlier pages of this paper; but from the artistic point of view it provides

⁴⁵ This view was taken also by P. van Braam in "Aristotle's Use of ἀμαρτία," *Classical Quarterly* 1912 p. 266, an early attempt to refute the "flaw" theory. Almost indistinguishable from Oedipus' insistence on finding out the truth is his unequalled capacity for doing so. If therefore at v. 442 Bentley's τέχνη for τύχη is correct, we would very nearly have Sophocles' own confirmation that this interpretation of his play was on the right lines. "Die Kunst ist's grade, die dich niederstürzt" is Weinstock's translation.

the satisfactory illusion of a voluntary choice. The tragedy seems in some way more meaningful seen in this light than if we suppose that to the mind of Sophocles, as perhaps to the mind of Aristotle, the *hamartia* was the incest and parricide committed simply αἰδρεΐησι νόοιο. What sets *Oedipus Rex* apart from other plays of the *ate-hamartia* type is that this quality seems for once wholly admirable: we can no more censure Oedipus for his persistence than we can blame the mother in the *Hymn to Demeter* whose resolve to save her baby from death by burning is also, as the event proves, an act of *ate*. Oedipus does not have his fate thrust upon him; he eagerly embraces it with a courage which sets our sympathies on his side. Besides φρόνησις, to which εὐβουλία is related, he embodies *par excellence* that quality of δεινότης to which Aristotle alludes at *Eth. Nic.* 1144a25. The old concept of *ate*, of the kind which distorted the judgement of Creon in *Antigone*, is no longer the main-spring of the play. This is not to deny that it may still exert some vestigial influence: the speech of Oedipus at 1076ff has the same ring of mad resolve that was heard long before when Eteocles (*Sept.* 653ff), smitten by *ate* and conscious by now of his destiny, moves towards his end like a piece of metal coming into the field of a magnet. It seems not impossible that Oedipus' repeated failure to see the obvious is in some way the legacy of *ate* plays. Oedipus' lack of correct response to Teiresias' words at 447ff, which is no doubt motivated primarily by dramatic necessity, may be in some measure excused if we superimpose Weinstock's explanation of *Verblendung*. But with *Oedipus Rex* we seem already to be at a time when *hamartia* has become the more valuable term of criticism. It is perhaps not too fanciful to designate this play the turning point in the history of the two words: and not too fanciful to suggest that one reason why Aristotle mentions it so often is that Oedipus incorporated so many of the qualities which Aristotle himself commended. It is his very excellences which make his downfall so profoundly disturbing to the student of right and wrong.

Believing, like Aristotle himself, that in discussing problems of this kind one cannot do better than pass in review the opinions of others, devoting more space to them the more sensible they are, I would like to take this opportunity of explaining why I do not accept the conclusions reached by Martin Ostwald in his article "Aristotle on Hamartia and Sophocles' Oedipus Tyrannus," published in *Festschrift Kapp* 1958 pp. 93-108. This article is particularly valuable to those whose linguistic accomplishments predispose them against ploughing through Hey's articles in *Philologus*. It traverses much of the same ground, but lays much greater stress on the distinction between ἀμαρτία and ἐμάρτημα,

following the lead of P. Manns *Die Lehre des Aristoteles von der tragischen Katharsis und Hamartia* (Karlsruhe and Leipzig 1883).

He (sc. Aristotle) reserves ἀμάρτημα exclusively for blunders actually committed, usually considered as residing in an act rather than an agent or an institution. ἀμαρτία, on the other hand, denotes in Aristotle a short-coming inherent in the general disposition or ἕξις of an agent or an institution, something that gives him the capacity of making mistakes. Accordingly, when we now apply these findings to the ἀμαρτία of the tragic hero in *Poetics* 13, we can state at once that it consists not in any act committed by him—for Aristotle would have called that ἀμάρτημα—but in some disposition inherent in him . . . Our findings enable us, therefore, to assert that Aristotle did not attribute Oedipus' fall into misfortune to any specific blunder committed by him, as some scholars maintain, but to something within him that is part of his disposition.

It looks as though Ostwald is about to tell us that *hamartia* does, after all, mean a fatal flaw. But fortunately when he comes to apply his definition to *Oedipus Rex* itself he avoids this fallacy.

But he does not know the one thing of which, according to Aristotle, a man is least likely to be ignorant: he does not know who he is himself, he is ignorant of his own identity as son of Laius and Iocasta and the slayer of his father and husband of his mother. It is here that his ἀμαρτία lies, and it is in this sense that he acts involuntarily. Only this can be his ἀμαρτία in terms of the tragedy, for his slaughter of Laius and the marriage to his mother would be ἀμαρτήματα, and his ignorance of these facts would be a ἀμαρτία relating to events and actions that are not part of the tragic action proper.

My objections to Ostwald's arguments are these:

- 1) The distinction between ἀμαρτία and ἀμάρτημα, which is in any event not inviolate, as the quotation in note 39 proves (τὸ γὰρ ἀμάρτημα . . . ἐν τῇ φύσει τοῦ πράγματός ἐστιν), is not between a capacity for error and the error itself. No tragic hero falls simply through a latent, potential, and unrealised capacity for error. It is rather the case that ἀμαρτία is the subjective word, ἀμάρτημα the objective. ἀμαρτία refers primarily to the false *decision* in the mind, ἀμάρτημα to the false *act*. Clearly in a philosophic discussion on what constitutes a good tragedy, and in a chapter devoted to the nature of the ideal tragic hero, ἀμαρτία is much the more suitable word.
- 2) Ostwald's definition comes dangerously near to obliterating the difference between ἀμαρτία and ἄγνοια. But the epithet μεγάλη will fit only the former, for ignorance does not come in a range of sizes from

little to big. Certainly, it is not difficult to find a major rôle for *ἄγνοια* to play in the tragedies, but this is because only the gods have perfect knowledge. *ἄγνοια* is a precondition for *ἁμαρτία*, one definition of which, we recall, is *τὸ δι' ἄγνοϊαν βλαβερόν τι πράττειν*.

3) On Ostwald's view Oedipus' downfall is caused by his ignorance of the identity of himself and his blood relatives. The converse of this ought to be that if he had known these identities, he would not have fallen. But clearly this would only be true if he had had this knowledge *before* killing his father and marrying his mother. However, Ostwald has already rejected this possibility in the last sentence of the quotation given above, on the grounds that all this lies outside "the tragic action proper."

* * *

The three plays of Euripides which we isolated for the purposes of this study were *Heracles*, *Bacchae*, and *Hippolytus*. I promised brevity with Euripides. Let me now redeem my pledge.

Heracles meets the Aristotelian definition of a tragic hero better than most characters in Euripides. His fatal act is precipitated by a visitation from *Lyssa*. At v. 824 Iris had announced that her arrival was to be a *βλάβος* for Heracles, and after the event the chorus ask:

πῶς παισὶ στενακτὰν ἄταν ἄταν
πατέρος ἀμφαίνεις;
λέγε, τίνα τρόπον ἔσυτο θεόθεν ἐπὶ
μέλαθρα κακὰ τάδε;

(917ff)

Euripides has, *suo more*, improved on tradition, by making *Lyssa* herself reluctant to fulfill her duties, and by making Heracles suffer not so much from a temporary warping of the judgement as a full-scale maniacal fit. But it is not difficult to see that the tragic error in Heracles is not different from, but only a development of, the old idea of *Ate*, sent from the gods to interfere with the workings of the mind in such a way that the hero will cause his own destruction.

The physical presence of *Lyssa* on stage as the divine power that forces Heracles to destruction is paralleled by the figure of Dionysus in *Bacchae*. The last words of Pentheus were:

οἴκτιρε δ' ὦ μῆτέρ' με, μηδὲ ταῖς ἐμαῖς
ἁμαρτίαισι παῖδα σὸν κατακτάνης.

(1120f)

It was an act of divine *ἁπάτη* that led Pentheus to his fatal decision to spy on the maenads. Commentators speculate on the precise nature of

the power used by Dionysus on Pentheus, that power which is crystallised in the single portentous syllable α at v. 810. It is not hypnosis,⁴⁶ but clearly we have to do with something more than a chatty suggestion. The power does not induce clinical madness, but robs its victim of the ability to reason sensibly and moderately. There is only one power known to us which meets this description: *ate*, now a concept too old-fashioned to be mentioned by name, but living on in this disguised and more sensational form. This would not be the only respect in which *Bacchae* shows archaising tendencies.

Heracles and *Bacchae* showed us, in the flesh as it were, the forces that bring the hero to ruin. In *Hippolytus* divinities are present at the beginning and end of the play only. The play is more in the mainstream of Greek tragedy in this respect. Where divinities work at one remove from the action there is obviously more scope for *ate* and *hamartia* to do their work. It is gratifying therefore to be able to report that *Hippolytus* is exceptionally rich in the kind of language we have been considering. It is most noticeable in the evaluation at the end of the play:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|
| ἐξηπατήθη δαίμονος βουλευμασιν | (1406) |
| στένω σε μάλλον ἢ μὲ τῆς ἁμαρτίας | (1409) |
| δόξης γὰρ ἦμεν πρὸς θεῶν ἐσφαλμένοι | (1414) |
| θεῶν διδόντων εἰκὸς ἐξαμαρτόνειν | (1434) ⁴⁷ |

Earlier examples may be summarily catalogued thus:

a) With reference to *Hippolytus*: 21, 1149

⁴⁶ A. R. Bellinger in an article entitled "The *Bacchae* and *Hippolytos*," in *Yale Classical Studies* 6 (1939) p. 22 speaks of Pentheus as "hypnotised by the god" and then on the same page as "mad." Then on p. 23 he writes: "and then, cruellest penalty of all, the madness leaves Pentheus and he recognises his perilous state." I do not need to underline how closely this diagnosis brings us to *Ate*.

⁴⁷ Once more we are reminded of Eteocles in his moment of *ate*:

θεῶν διδόντων οὐκ ἂν ἐκφύγοι κακά (Sept. 719)

The way in which *hamartiai* are so liberally distributed over *Hippolytus* was noted by Knox in *Yale Classical Studies* 13 (1952) pp. 1ff. It is significant too that he notes first, "The freedom of the human will and the importance of the human choice are both, in the prologue of the *Hippolytus*, expressly denied. In no other Greek tragedy is the predetermination of human action by an external power made so emphatically clear." Then in the next paragraph he notes too how "As we watch the human beings of the drama, unconscious of the goddess' purpose, work out her will, we are struck by their apparent freedom. In no other Greek tragedy do so many people change their minds about so many important matters." The richness in *hamartia*-type language in this play fits perfectly as the bridge between the two antinomies to which Knox has drawn attention.

b) With reference to Theseus: 832, 892, and especially

τὴν δὲ σὴν ἁμαρτίαν
τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι μὲν πρῶτον ἐκλύει κάκης

(1334-1135)

c) With reference to Phaedra: 146, 232 (παράφρων), 238 (παρακόπτει), 240-241 (παρεπλάγχθην γνώμης ἀγαθῆς, / ἐμάνην, ἔπεσον δαίμονος ἄτηι), 276, 323, (438), 507, 615.

The results of this survey of the usage of the plays themselves suggest that the "doctrine" of *hamartia* is not the inexplicable irrelevance it has so often been made out to be. What Aristotle understood by *hamartia* was no doubt only a part of what the tragedians had understood by it; but when he wished to choose from the wealth of ideas in tragedy that vital strand which runs right through their centre, it was the right strand which he selected.⁴⁸

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⁴⁸ I would like to express my gratitude to Professor D. L. Page and Professor F. H. Sandbach for their criticisms of this article.

CALLIMACHUS, FRAGMENTS 260-261

HUGH LLOYD-JONES AND JOHN REA

THE text of the largest fragment of Callimachus' *Hecale*, no. 260 in Pfeiffer's great edition, rests largely upon P. Rainer VI, a wooden tablet 52 cm. long, 8 to 10 cm. high, and 2 cm. thick, and containing the upper parts of four columns of writing of the fourth or fifth century after Christ (see plates). On the back are lines 1097-1107 and 1126-1137 of Euripides' *Phoenissae*, which enables us to determine the length of the columns. The piece was first published by Theodor Gomperz in 1893; it is no. 227 in the second edition of Pack's *Greek and Latin Literary Papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt*, p. 32; and it is fully described by Pfeiffer (vol. 2 pp. xxiv-xxv). When Pfeiffer prepared his text, he was not able to study the original (see his edition, vol. 1 p. ix), and the photographs that accompany the two earliest editions of the text are by modern standards altogether inadequate. Through the kindness of Dr. Helene Loebenstein and her colleagues in the National Library of Austria, we were supplied with the photograph here reproduced, and used it during a seminar held at Oxford during the Michaelmas Term of 1965 at which we discussed the fragment with several colleagues. In the spring of 1966 Rea with the aid of a grant from the Faculty Board of Literae Humaniores at Oxford visited Vienna and examined the original tablet; but neither his scrutiny of the original nor the later acquisition of infrared photographs has much modified our original findings.

The text printed in Pfeiffer's edition (vol. 1 [1949] pp. 247ff) depends upon the Vienna tablet, except that lines 44-58 are supplemented from *P. Oxy.* 2217, published by Edgar Lobel in *P. Oxy.* vol. 19 (1948) pp. 44ff. Since that date the fragment has been further augmented by Lobel's publication of *P. Oxy.* 2398 (vol. 24 [1957] pp. 97ff) and *P. Oxy.* 2437 (vol. 25 [1959] pp. 123ff); these additions are taken account of in the transcription and text which will be found below.

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Professor Jean-Marie Jacques and Dr. Anna Morpurgo (Mrs. John Davies), and also of our colleagues who took part in the seminar, especially Dr. M. L. West and Dr. R. A. Coles. We share responsibility for this article, but generally

speaking Rea is the author of the palaeographical part (Part I below), Lloyd-Jones of the rest (Part II below). The reader will find it convenient to have Pfeiffer's edition in hand.

I

Column 1

.....ετερονγαραπηλ.....ορ...
 ωσιδονω[.]αμαπαντεςυπ.....ν.....
 ανδραμεγανκαιθηραπελωριοναν...αιδεσθαι
 μεσφ'οτε'δη'θησευσφιναποπροθιμακροναυσε
 5 μιμνετεθαρσηεντεςεμωδεδισαιγειπατρι
 νευμενοςωστ'οκιστοσεσαστυροναγγελιωτης
 ωσενεποιπολεωνκεναναψυξειεμεριμνεων
 θησευσουχ'εκτας'ουτοσαπευδρουμαραθνος
 ζωοναγωντονταυρονομενφατοτοιδ'αιοντες
 10 παντεςιηπαιηονανεκλαγοναυθιδεμιμνον
 ουχινοτοστοςην'γε'χ[ρ]υσινκατε'χε'υατοφυλλων
 ρυβορεησουδ'αυτοσοτ'επλετοφυλλοχοοςμικ
 ρςζατοτ'αγρωσταιπεριτ'αμφιτεθησειβαλλον
]...περιστατοναιδεγυναικεις
 15

Column 2

16
 καιρ'οτ'επ...[.]ιθυςς.....ε.....νεκ...τοι
 ουρανιδει...α.οιε...π...ρ.....επαλλας
 τηςμενε.ωδην.....δρ.....
 20 μεσφ'οτεκεκροπιδ...επ.....κατολ.αν
 λαθριοναρρητονγενεηδ'οθενουδενινεγνω
 ουτ'εδαηνφ.....ωγαχιουξε...υται
 οιωνους'ωσδηθενυφ'ηφαιστωτεκε.αια
 25 ταυτακιδ'ημενεησερυμαχθονοσοφραβαλοιο
 τηγρανεονψηφωδεδισδυωκαιδεκατ'αλλων
 αθανατωνοφιοστεκατελλαβεμαρτυριησιν
 πελληνηνεφικανεναχαυδατοφραδεκουραι
 αιφυλακοικακονεργονεπεφρασσαντοτελεσσα
 κ.ιστη....[.].....ακαδ.....ανεισαι

Column 3

30

.....ν.ς

35

.....ρυναιδεπαραπ.....κρωνα
 δ.....ρυγαρεγωγετεονποτεποτνιαθυ.ον
πολλαπαραισιαμηπο[.]?ελαφροι
ριωνοιτοτεδ'ωφελονε.....
 .υτω.[...].τερηνμε.[.]απε...εγ.....

40

ημετερ[.]εκλειν...ε...λλ...ε.οι
 μηδ[.]ποτ'εκθυμοιοβαρυςχολοςαιεναθηνης
 αυταρεγωτυτθοςπαρε.[...].ονο.[...].δ[...].γαρ
 ηδημοιγενειηπ...δε...[...].ευ.....

43A

]....ε.

Column 4

43B

γ]αστεριμ[ουνονε]χοιμικ[ακησακτηριαλιμου

43C

.]δουμεχ[.....]έχειδο[

44

.]λλεκαλ[...].ελ]ει]τονεδ.[

45

....ακ[.....]ινονπ]αγ.[
 καικ]ριμν[ονκυκε]ώνο]απ[οσταξαντοσεραζε
 ...].μης[...].ριτ]ιεπ[εσσειται]
]θων[...].ν[ι]κακαγγελονειθεγαρ[
 ...].ν[.....]ζωονακαταχρονονόφρα[....]ης

50

ωσθρ[ιατιην]γρηϋ[ν]επιπνιουσικορων[ην
 ραιμ]ατ[ον]ουγαρ[π]ωπαντ'ηματαναι[μ]ατορικνον
 ευφαρεμον·ναιτο[υτ]οτοδένδ[ρ]εον·αυονεόνπερ
 ουκηδηρυμοντεκ[α]ιόξονακαυαξαντες
 ηελιοιδυ[ς]μέωνεισωποδαπαντεςέχουσι

55

δ<ε>ι]ελοσαλληνυξηενδιοςηεσετ'ηως
 ευτεκοραξοςνυγεκαιωνκυκνοιεινεριζοι
 καιγαλακιχροηνκαικυματοςακραϊατω
 κυσανεονφηπισσανεπιπτερονουλοοεξει
 αγγελιησεπιχειραταοιποτεφοιβοσοπασσει
 60 οπποτεμενφλεγυσσικορωνιδοςαμφιθυγατρος
 ισχυϊπληξιππωςπομενηςμιαροντεπυθηται
 τηνμεναρ'ωσφαμενηνυπνοςλαβητηνδαιουσαν
 καδδραθητηνδ'ουπολλονεπιχρορ[ο]γαυφαγαρηλθεν
 στιβηεισαγχουροσοτ'ουκετιχειρεσεπαγροι

65 φιλητεωνηδηγαρεωθιναλυχναφαινει
 αιιδεικαιπουτισανηρϋδατηγοσιμαιον
 εγρεικαιτιν'εχονταπαροπλοονοικιοναξων
 τετριγωσιπαμαξανανιαζουσιδεπυκνοι
 ωριχαλκηξεναυομενοι

1 At the beginning the remains are not quite enough to establish ολόκερως (M. L. West) as certain, but it corresponds to them very closely. *ἐτέρην* Pf. Read *ἕτερον*. For the square *omicron* cf. μέσφ' ὅτε, line 4 (see plate). *γαραπη*. These letters seem clear in spite of some confused and unexplained traces around the *rho*. ἀπηλοίηξ (Lloyd-Jones) would suit, though the last two letters seem to be completely destroyed. .ορ. . . . Before *ορ*, *α*, *κ*, *λ*, *μ* are possibilities. Because the surface has been badly abraded it is not even clear where the line ended. Some shadowy marks to the right of the proposed *κορύνη* might be ink, but could equally well be casual stains and scratches. 2 *ὑπέτρεισαν* (Go.) is possible; *τ* (or *τρ*) is a correction; no letters are entirely missing. The last four letters might be *ἔτλη*. Before that one must guess οὐδέ τις, though the remains are too faint to support it. 3 *αν. .αιδεσθαι*. After *nu* there is part of a very thick vertical, perhaps the result of a correction or cancellation, followed by a low descender. There are also signs of a crossbar. No letter is missing. *ἄντᾱ* over *ἄνδρᾱ* is a possibility. 9 μέγ. A correction from *μετά* rather than *μέγα*. 14] Tops only, and the wood is much discoloured along the edge.] *το* is possible. 16 No letters recognisable. Wear runs in deepish grooves right across the surface of the tablet beginning in col. i, line 2 *ad fin.* and ending on the extreme right. 17 *καί ρ' ὅτ' ἐποφ[.] ἐφ' ὃν ἄν τιν' ἕκαστοι* Pf. Apart from *καί ρ' ὅτ' ἐπ* the readings are very uncertain, more because of irregular writing than for lack of ink, but the received text is not satisfactory. 18 *Οὐρανίδαι. ἐπάγοιεν ἐμῷ πτ[ε]ρῷ, ἀλλά ἐ Παλλὰς* Pf. Part of *πτερόν* seems not unlikely but *ἐπάγοιεν, ἐμῷ, ἀλλά* do not satisfy the traces. 19 *τῆς μὲν ἕξω δηναιωνάφη δρ[ό]con* 'Ηφαίστειο Pf. *γῆς* was not written; in *ἕξω*, *χ* or *τ* is preferable to *ς*. *δρ[ό]con* 'Η. does not satisfy the traces. 20 *μξ. φ. οτε Κεκροπίδ* *επ. λ. αν* Pf. μέσφ' ὅτε is clear. At the end *τολμων*, presumably *τολμᾶν*, is a possibility. *Κεκροπίδηγιν* (Gumperz) might be possible. The letter after *δ* is completely ruined; next comes a rounded letter *θ*, *ρ*, *ς*, then an upright which could be *ι*, followed by a trace which could be the top of the right upright of *ν*. 22 *οὐτ' ἐδάην, φήμη δέ κατ' ὠγνίους (ωγαγίους P.) εφαν[.]υται* Pf. After the first *φ* traces are very scanty for the space of about eight letters. There is no hope of a

reading. *ωχαχιονς* I find very hard to believe but there are extensive remains of the letters and that is one way of taking them. The most certain letter is *α*; *ω* is very faint, *χ* could be *τ*, *χιον* could be *χην*, etc. Between *ε* and *νται* there are about four or five letters. Towards the end of the group there seems to be a correction or an insertion above the line. No letter is missing. For *αι* at the end *η*, *ας*, and *ις* are other possibilities.

23 *τέκεν αἰα* Pf. After *τέκε* a large *gamma* seems to have been written over the *nu*. 29 *κειτης* Go. Rather doubtful; *και* possible; final *c* very close to *η*, looking more like the crossbar of *τ*. *δεσματ'* unconfirmed.

30-33 Much rubbed. No recognisable letters. 34 *ad fin.* *Ἀθήνης* Go. -*ας*? Weinberger. Not confirmed; -*νας* or -*νης* as much as can be read. 35 *μοῦναι δὲ παραπτν.....κορώναι* Pf. *παραπτνόμεθα* Wessely. First *δ*, *α*, *θ*, Weinberger. Not confirmable. Space for six to eight letters rubbed very much. *ρυναί* clear; no trace of *μ*. *δέ* faint but credible. *παραπ* certain, *τ* possible next, but by no means certain because *π* is always followed by the ligature that here looks like the left part of *τ*'s crossbar. *ν* possible, no more; followed by six or seven very much rubbed letters. Of *κορώναι*, -*ρωναι* is clear, *κο* plausible.

36 *δαίμοσιν οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε τεόν ποτε, πότνια, θυ[μ]όν* Pf. *δαίμοσιν* is rubbed and unconfirmed except for *δ*. In *θυ.ον* a trace remains consistent with *μ*. 37 *ὅσα πολλά παραίεια μήποτ' ἑλαφροί* Pf. *ὅσα* unconfirmed. 38 .. *σομεν οἰωνοί, τότε δ' ὥφελον* Pf. The first six or seven letters are badly rubbed, .. *σομεν* might suit but is not confirmable. After *ὥφελον* the first letter is *ε*; traces of about ten more letters are likely, though so faint that the end of the line is not identifiable. 39 *οὕτως ἡμετέρην μὲν ἀπέπτυσεν, οὐδὲ γενέθλην* Pf. Almost none of this is confirmable. After the alleged *ἀπέπτυσεν*, of which I can see *απε...εν*, there are the remains of only about seven letters, though it may be that the end of the line is rubbed away entirely. 40 *ἀλλὰ πέσοιο* Pf. At the beginning *ἡμετέρην ἐ καλεῖν* Go., *ἡμετέρην ἔκλεινε* Barber, *CQ* n.s. 2 (1952) 92. At the end there are no traces to be seen after -*οι*, though something may have been rubbed away. Before and after *λλ*, *ο*'s perhaps better than *α*'s; before *ε*, *π* or *ν* are possibilities; between *ε* and *ο*, *ς* or *ζ* likewise. No meaningful or metrical possibility has occurred to me. 41 *μηδέ ποτ' ἐκ θυμοῖο βαρὺς χόλος αἰέν Ἀθήνης* Pf. *ἐκθύσεται*? Go. Though consistent with the traces the first half of the line remains doubtful. 42 *αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τυτθὸς παρέ[ην γ]όνος* [*δ*]*γδ[ο]άτ[η] γάρ* Pf. After *παρε* an upright, *η* one of many possibilities; then one letter, or two, rubbed away; after the gap an isolated upright without a trace of a crossbar to confirm *γ*. *ογο* seems good. After that

apart from a *delta* and γάρ at the end the traces are too slight to hazard anything.

43 ἤδη μοι γενεή πέλ[εται], δεκάτη δὲ τοκεῦσι Pf. πέλ[εται] does not suit. No letters are missing, and the word may begin πλο- or παρ- rather than πελ-. The combinations δε and εϋ may be present in the following traces, but not at the proper intervals for δεκάτη δὲ τοκεῦσι.

43A A few traces from the end of this line are visible on the tablet. Pfeiffer does not refer to them, and Gomperz offered no readings. There are perhaps tops of five letters, of which the penultimate may be *epsilon*.

43B Fr. 346. Here begins *P. Oxy.* 2398 (beginnings of 43B-58) and *P. Oxy.* 2437 (middles of 43B-47).

44 Here begins *P. Oxy.* 2217 (parts of 44-58); the half bracket shows the extent of 2217 in 44-47, where 2217 and 2437 partly coincide.

47 Mr. Lobel is now of the opinion that the trace before μ is closer to μ (*P. Oxy.* 2398, lines 2, 5, and 6), than to α (lines 3 and 4) or λ (line 3). However the hand is not regular enough to allow a definite choice from among these possibilities.

53-54 At the top of *Tab. Vindob.* col. iv there are very scanty remains of two lines presumably to be equated with these, but I have not succeeded in reading anything of them. The text of *Tab. Vindob.* iv begins effectively with 55.

55-58 The text given is from *Tab. Vindob.* iv. Parts of the same lines survive also in *P. Oxy.* 2217 and 2398.

55 [...]ελος *Tab. Vindob.* iv, apparently with room for [δι] only; *P. Oxy.* 2398 has δ] `ε'ιελος.

57 ακρωι. Iota adscript is probably present in *Tab. Vindob.* iv, as in *P. Oxy.* 2217.

αωτω. Apparently without iota adscript.

59-69 Sole text *Tab. Vindob.* iv.

61 σπομενης. ζ is an alteration written over a ς. μ. .ρον. Rubbed; no need to prefer μιερόν to μιρόν.

68 πυκνοι. The dark mark after ι appears not to be ink.

69 δμῶοι χαλκῆες κωφώμενοι ἐνδὸν ἀκουήν Pf. Only the tops of the letters are preserved in this line. Before ωοι there seem to be traces enough for about four letters. χαλκῆες seems justified. ἐναυόμενοι is clear. After this tops of about ten letters; πυρρός following ἐναυόμενοι would be possible, but the second letter after that appears to be α and the end -ην, which is metrically impossible, since we need ~| - - or the equivalent.

II

TEXT

Column I

οἱόκρωτος· ἕτερον γὰρ ἀπηλοίησε κορύνη.

ὡς ἴδον, ὡ[ς] ἄμα πάντες ὑπέτρεσαν, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη

- ἄνδρα μέγαν καὶ θῆρα πελώριον ἄντα ἰδέσθαι,
 μέσφ' ὅτε δὴ Θησεύς φιν ἀπόπροθι μακρὸν αὔσει·
 5 'μίμνετε θαρσύνετε, ἐμῶι δέ τις Αἰγείῃ πατρί
 νεύμενος ὅς τ' ὤκιτος ἐς ἄστυρον ἀγγελιώτης
 ὦδ' ἐρέποι — πολέων κεν ἀναβύξειε μεριμνέων —
 Θησεὺς οὐχ ἑκάς οὗτος, ἀπ' εὐύδρου Μαραθῶνος
 ζῶν ἄγων τὸν ταῦρον.' ὁ μὲν φάτο, τοὶ δ' αἶοντες
 10 πάντες ἰὴ παιῆον ἀνέκλαγον, αὖθι δὲ μίμνον.
 οὐχὶ νότος τόσσην γε χύσιν κατεχεύατο φύλλων
 οὐ βορέης οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὅτ' ἔπλετο φυλλοχόος μ<ε>ίς,
 ὅσας τότε ἀγρῶσται περί τ' ἀμφί τε Θησεῖ βάλλον,
]...περιστατον, αἱ δὲ γυναικες
 15 ἐτόρνησιν ἀνέστεφον]

Column 2

- 16 καὶ ῥ' ὅτ' ἐπ...[.]...ιθυς...ε...νεκ...τοι
 οὐρανίδα...α.οιε...π...ρ...επαλλας
 τῆς μὲν ἐχὼ δην...δρ...ι.
 20 μέσφ' ὅτε Κεκροπίδ[η]σιν ἐπ...κατολ.αν
 λάθριον ἄρρητοι, γενεῇ δ' ὅθεν οὔτε νιν ἔγνω
 οὔτ' ἐδάην φ...ωγαχιουσε...υται
 οἰωνούς, ὡς δῆθεν ὑφ' Ἡφαίστω<ι> τέκε Γαῖα.
 τουτάκι δ' ἡ μὲν εἴς ἔρυμα χθονὸς ὄφρα βάλοιτο,
 25 τήν ῥα νέον ψήφωι τε Διὸς δυοκαίδεκά τ' ἄλλων
 ἀθανάτων ὄφιος τε κατέλλαβε μαρτυρίησιν,
 Πελλήνην ἐφίκανεν Ἀχαιῖδα· τόφρα δὲ κοῦραι
 αἱ φυλακοὶ κακὸν ἔργον ἐπεφράσσαντο τελέσαι
 κ.ιστη...[.]...ακαδ...ανεισαι

Column 3

30

-ν.ς
 35φυναὶ δὲ παραπ...κορώναι

- δ.ου γὰρ ἔγωγε τεὸν ποτε πότνια θυμὸν
πολλὰ παραίτια μήπο[τ]' ἑλᾶφροί
οἴωνοί, τότε δ' ὤφελον ε.
 .υτω. [..].τερην μέ[ν] ἀπε. . .εῖν.
 40 ἤμετερ[.] ἐκλείν. .ε. . . .λλ. .ε.οι
 μηδ[εῖ] ποτ' ἐκ θυμοῖο βαρὺς χόλος αἰὲν Ἀθήνης.
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τυτθὸς παρέη[ν] γόνο[ς]. .δ[.]. . . γὰρ
 ἦδη μοι γενεὴ π. . .δε. .[.].εῖν.
 43A] . . .ε.

Column 4

- 43B γαστέρι μ[οῦνον ἔ]χοιμι κ[ακῆς ἀλκτῆρια λιμοῦ
 43C .]δουμεχ[.]έχειδω[
 ἀ]λλ' Ἐκάλ[η . . .ε λιτὸν ἐδ.[
 45ακ[.]ινον πιαχ.[
 καὶ κ[ρῖμν]ον [κυκε]ῶνοιο ἀπ[οστάξαντος ἔραζε
 . .]λμης [. . . .ε. οὔτ]ις ἐπ[έσσεται]
]θων[. . . .]ν[ι] κακὰγγελον· εἴθε γὰρ [εἴης
 . .]ν[.] ζώουσα κατὰ χρόνον, ὅφρα [. . . .]ης
 50 ὥς Θρ[ιαὶ τήν] γρηῦ[ν] ἐπιπνέουσι κορών[ην].
 ναὶ μὰ τ[όν] — οὐ γάρ [π]ω πάντ' ἡματα — ναὶ [μ]ὰ τὸ ρικνὸν
 εὐφάρ ἐμόν, ναὶ το[ῦτ]ο τὸ δένδ[ρ]εον αὖτον ἐόν περ —
 οὐκ ἦδη ρύμόν τε κ[α]ὶ ἄξονα καυάξαντες
 ἦέλιοι δυ[ς]μέων εἴσω πόδα πάντες ἔχουσιν
 55 δ[ε] <ε>ίελος ἀλλ' ἢ νύξ ἢ ἐνδιος ἢ ἔσσετ' ἢ ὥς
 εὔτε κόρως, ὃς νῦν γε καὶ ἄν κύκνοις ἐρίζοι
 καὶ γάλακι χροίην καὶ κύματος ἄκρωι ἰώτῳ
 κυάνεον φῆ πίσσαν ἐπὶ πτερὸν οὐλοὸν ἔξει,
 ἀγγελίης ἐπίχειρα τά οἱ πότε Φοῖβος ὀπάσσει
 60 ὀππότε κεν Φλεγύας Κορωνίδος ἀμφὶ θυγατρὸς
 Ἰσχυὶ πληξίππῳ σπομένης μισρὸν τι πύθηται.
 τήν μὲν ἄρ' ὥς φασμένην ὕπνος λάβε, τήν δ' αἰτοῦσαν.
 καδδραθέτην δ' οὐ πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόν[ο]ν, αἶψα γὰρ ἦλθεν
 στιβήεις ἄγχαυρος, ὅτ' οὐκέτι χεῖρες ἔπαγροι
 65 φιλητέων· ἦδη γὰρ ἑωθινὰ λύχνα φαεῖνει,
 αἰεῖδει καὶ πού τις ἀνὴρ ὕδατηγὸς ἱμαῖον,
 ἔγρει καὶ τιν' ἔχοντα παρὰ πλόον οἰκίον ἄξων
 τετριγῶς ὑπ' ἄμαξαν, ἀνιάζουσι δὲ πυκνοὶ
ωοὶ χαλκῆες ἐνανύμενοι.

1 οἰόκερως M. L. West ἀπηλόγησε κορύνη Lloyd-Jones
 2 ὦ[c] Crusius alii οὐδέ τις ἔτλη Rea 6 ὅς τ' Gomperz:
 ωςτ' Π 7 ὦδ' Pfeiffer: ως Π 8 οὐχ ἑκάς Ellis alii: ουχ
 ἑκτάς Π 14 οἱ μιν ἐκυκλώσαν]το περισταδὸν Gomperz 15
 suppl. Gomperz e Suda s.v. στόρνησι· ζώναι· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες στόρνησιν
 ἀνέστεφον.' περὶ Θησέως. Post 15 desunt fere 22 vv. 23 Γαῖα
 Rea: τέκεν αἶα ceteri 29 ἀνείσαι prob. Post 29 desunt 22
 fere vv. 40 ἡμετέρην ἔκλεινε [τό]ς[ο]ν [θεό]ς Barber 41
 post θυμοῖο interpunxit Barber 42 παρέ[την γ]όνος Gomperz
 [ὁ]γδ[ο]άτ[η] γὰρ Gomperz Post 43A desunt 11 fere vv.
 43B-58 P. Oxy. 2398 (vol. 24 p. 97): 43B-47 P. Oxy. 2435 (vol. 25
 p. 123). 43B suppl. Lobel e fr. 346 Pf. 44-58 P. Oxy.
 2217, 1-15 44 λ[ε]ιπτον papyri 46 suppl. Lobel e fr. 205
 Schn. 47 fort. τό[λ]μης [ἄ]χάρις (post Pf. Lloyd-Jones)
 48 finem suppl. Pfeiffer 49 τ[ό]δ' εἰδ' ἦις 'sed longius spatio
 esse videtur' Pfeiffer; 'I should have looked for δαείης' Lobel
 50 suppl. Lobel e fr. anon. 325 Schn. 51 [π]ω Lloyd-Jones
 ap. Lobel (vol. 24 p. 98) 52 suppl. Lobel e fr. 49 Schn.
 61 μισρόν Rea: μισρόν ceteri 63 suppl. Gomperz
 64 ἄγχαυρος Pfeiffer: αγχουρος Π 67 παρὰ πλόον Gomperz:
 παροπλοον Π: περίπλοον Σ Ap. Rhod. 3.1150 69 δμῶοι
 Gomperz ἐναυόμενοι Rea: κωφάμενοι ἐγδον ἀκουήν ceteri.

COMMENTARY

1 οἰόκερως occurs at Oppian, *Cyn.* 2.96, of bulls; μονόκερως is found at Orph. fr. 273 Kern, Aristotle *hist. anim.* 499b19, and Plutarch *Pericles* 6 (cf. Hesych. s.v.). With ἕτερον following οἰόκερως, κέρασ is easily supplied; see Kühner-Gerth, vol. 2 pp. 564-565. M. L. West made the conjecture after R. A. Coles had read the traces in a manner which further examination has confirmed.

It is well known that Heracles in his battle with Achelous in the form of a bull broke off one of his adversary's horns. But he was usually thought to have done so not with his club, but with his hand; see Σ on *Iliad* 21.194 and Ovid *Metam.* 9.85f. The standard position adopted by heroes fighting a bull, which involves grasping a horn with one hand, makes this seem natural; see the evidence assembled by Pfeiffer on fr. 258 and Gow on Theocritus 25.145. Up to now, it has not been

supposed that Theseus used his club,¹ nor that he broke off a horn. In quoting fr. 258

θηρὸς ἐρωήσας ὀλοὸν κέρα

the *Suda* explains ἐρωήσας as meaning μειώσας, κατάξας (corr. Pfeiffer: κατεάξας codd.). ἐρωέω can hardly mean "break," and Pfeiffer rightly takes it to mean that Theseus pressed down the horn. But we happen to have good reason for thinking that he also broke it, and broke it with his club.

Michael Choniates, sometimes called Acominatus, the pupil of Eustathius, who was Archbishop of Athens just before the Frankish conquest, had a complete copy of the *Hecale* and often mentions and even paraphrases it; see Pfeiffer, vol. 2 pp. xxxii ff, and *Kallimachos-Studien* (1922) p. 114. At 2.345.4 Michael writes

καὶ πού τις ταῦρος ἀποθηριωθείς καὶ πρὸς συμβολὴν κονισάμενος ἀμήχανόν τι δεινὸν καὶ ἀτεχνῶς τερμέρειον, ὅποῖος καὶ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι τετράπολιν ἀναστατῶν ἐκίνητο, ἕως ὃ Θησεὺς οὐχ ἥττονα τοῦτον ἀνύσας ἄεθλον ἢ ὅτε Πιτυοκάμπταις ἢ Προκρούσταις συνεπέπλεκτο κορύνῃ θάτερον κεράτων ἡλόησεν.

Ida Kapp in commenting on fr. 258 Pfeiffer (fr. 56 in her separate edition of the *Hecale*, Diss. Berlin 1915) supposes that the final words of this passage are bound up with the wrong interpretation of that fragment in the *Suda* that we have already noticed; Theseus, she supposes, must have tackled the bull in the standard position described above, with hand grasping one horn. But Michael as a source of information about the *Hecale* cannot be disregarded, and his use of the words κορύνῃ and ἡλόησεν² ought to have aroused the suspicion that he was paraphrasing Callimachus. We had already arrived at the reading printed in the text before discovering the passage of Michael, which seems to us strongly to confirm it.

¹ Theseus had a famous club which he took from Periphetes; see Plutarch, *Theseus* 8, and other evidence given by Höfer in Roscher's *Lexikon* s.v. Periphetes, pp. 1972f. On a bowl from Caere in Vienna he is shown threatening the bull with it; on a bowl from Chiusi in Bologna, he is threatening the bull with a hammer (see Steuding in Roscher s.v. Theseus, p. 689).

² This verb is used, perhaps in reference to the same occasion, in a corrupt fragment of Sophocles' *Aegeus* (fr. 20 Pearson):

κέστραι σιδηρᾷ πλευρᾷ καὶ κατὰ ῥάχιν
†ἡλοῖσθαι πλεῖον†.

Pearson should not have put his conjecture παίων ἀπηλόησε into the text, but it is much likelier than those attempts at emendation which have not used part of the verb ἄλοαν.

It is possible that κορύνη<ι> should be read, Theseus being supplied as subject from whatever went before, but to us the nominative seems more in keeping with the poet's style. W. Bühler on Moschus *Europa* 74 remarks that of all the instances of ὤς . . . ὤς . . . which he quotes, this alone stands in a context which is not erotic.

2 οὐδέ τις ἔτλη occurs nine times in Homer, always at the end of the hexameter; see C. E. Schmidt, *Parallel-Homer* (Göttingen 1885) p. 170. Note in particular *Iliad* 19.14-15:

Μυρμιδόνας δ' ὅμα πάντας ἔλε τρόμος, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη
ἀντην εἰσιδέειν, ἀλλ' ἔτρεσαν.

Pfeiffer *ad loc.* cites *Odyssey* 11.143-144:

οὐδ' ἐὼν υἷον
ἔτλη ἐσάντα ἰδεῖν.

4 On φιν see Pfeiffer on fr. 287.

6 The Rev. A. E. Harvey draws our attention to a series of resemblances between this passage and Sappho's poem on the wedding of Hector and Andromache (fr. 44 Lobel-Page) that may perhaps not be accidental:

| Sappho | | Callimachus | |
|--------|---|-------------|---|
| 3 | τάχυς ἄγγελος | 6 | ὅς τ' ὤκιςτος . . . ἄγγελιώτης |
| 6 | Θήβας ἐξ ἱέρας Πλακίας τ' . . . ³ | 8 | ἀπ' εὐύδρου Μαραθῶνος |
| 11 | πάτηρ φίλος | 5 | ἐμῶι . . . πατρί |
| 31 | γύναικες δ' ἐλέλυδον | 14 | αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες |
| 32-33 | πάντες δ' ἄνδρες . . . ἱαχον ... Πάον' ὀνκαλέοντες | 9-10 | τοὶ δ' . . . πάντες [ἰ]ὴ παιῶν ἀνέκλαγον |

13 Cf. Pindar *Pyth.* 9.124 and many vases; R. W. B. Burton, *Pindar's Pythian Odes*, p. 59, mentions the vase by Oltos illustrated by Richter, *Attic Red-Figured Vases*, fig. 35.

14 M. L. West compares Theocritus 4.35-37; a captive bull is produced, ταὶ δὲ γυναῖκες / μακρὸν ἀνέκυσαν.

³ See Harvey, *CQ* n.s. 7 (1957) 209 n. 4.

15 Cf. Eratosthenes ap. Σ ad Eurip. *Hec.* 573 (after the description of the φυλλοβολία): <ὥς> καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπιφανῶς ἀγωνιζομένοις προβάλλουσι ζώνας, πετάκους, χιτωνίσκους, κρηπῖδας.

17-19 What has stood in the text of all editions so far is almost complete nonsense, and no one ought to regret its disappearance. What can be read with safety is not enough to warrant any attempts at restoration, though in the age we live in this warning will doubtless go unheeded. Still, it may be remarked that line 17 may have contained part of the verb αἰθύσσω, which occurs in the *Hecale* at fr. 241; for other instances in early poetry see Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* p. 37, and note Apollonius 2.1253 and Aratus 1034; this verb and its compounds are frequent in Nonnus.

18-19 Athene must have been mentioned somewhere in this neighbourhood, as line 23 shows, but we cannot be sure that ε Παλλάς is the right articulation. If it is, and if ἐγὼ is right in line 19, the sense may have been, "Her did I serve for a long while . . ." δην, if right, can hardly have been the adverb, because of Hilberg's Law (Maas, *Greek Metre*, sect. 92).

21 λάθριον is used of Erechtheus (=Erichthonius) by Nonnus at *Dionys.* 27.113, at the beginning of the hexameter.

22 Doubtless the sense was very like that which Pfeiffer's text would yield, but restoration would be hazardous.

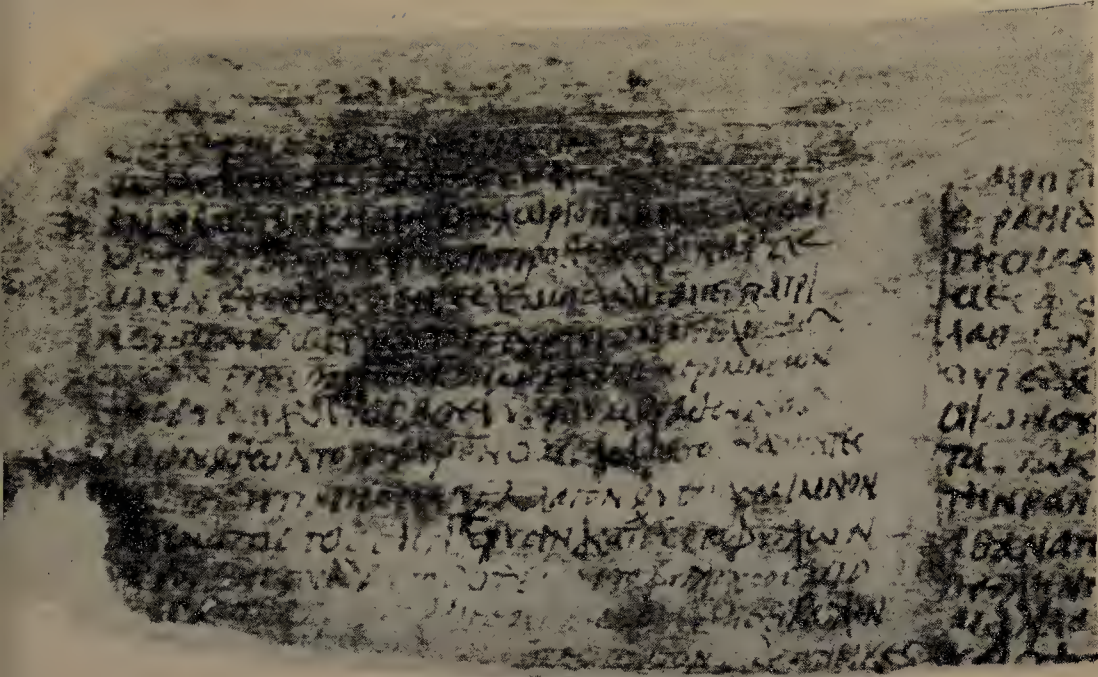
23 Γαῖα is welcome; the form αἶα seems not to be used where the Earth is personified, as the choice of the verb τέκε shows that she is here and as she often is in this story. Cf. Nonnus *Dionys.* 41.63-64:

οὐ τύπον ἄγριον εἶχον Ἐρεχθέος, ὃν τέκε Γαῖα
αὔλακι νυμφεύσας γαμήην Ἥφαιστος ἐέρσην.

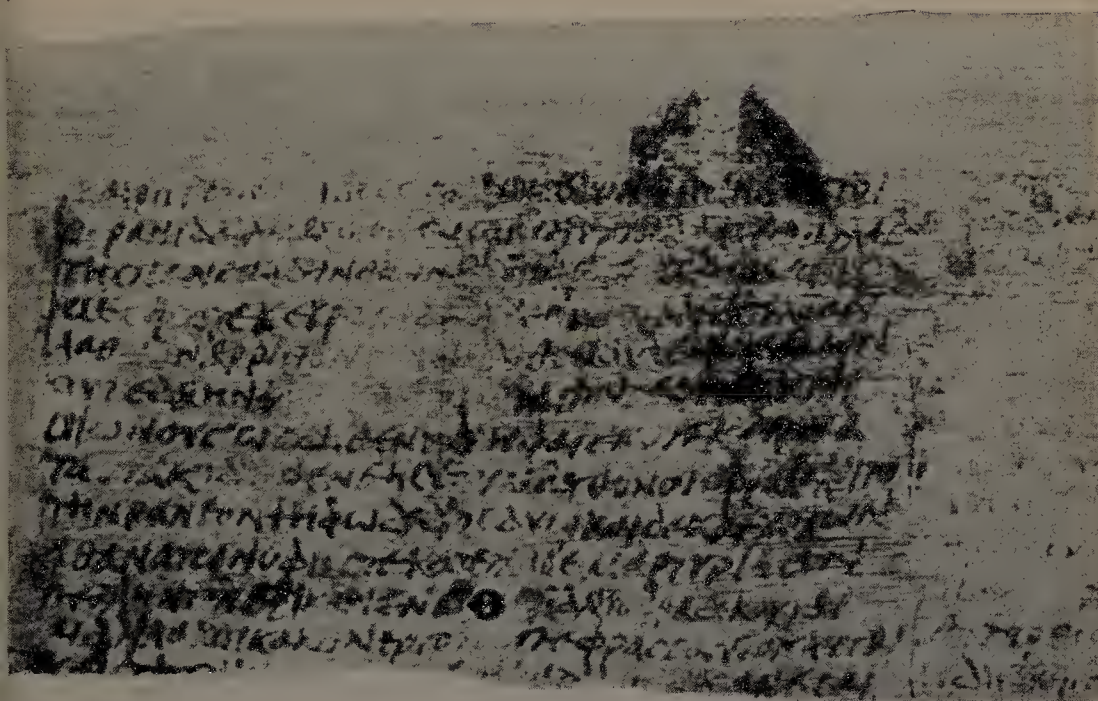
The suggestion that there is a lacuna after 63 and the conjecture Γαῖα are new (Lloyd-Jones); Keydell deals with the difficulty by emending Γαίη to Γαίης (Graefe). He might cite in his favour 32.72:

Κενταύρους ἐφύτευα βαλὼν σπορὸν αὔλακι γαίης

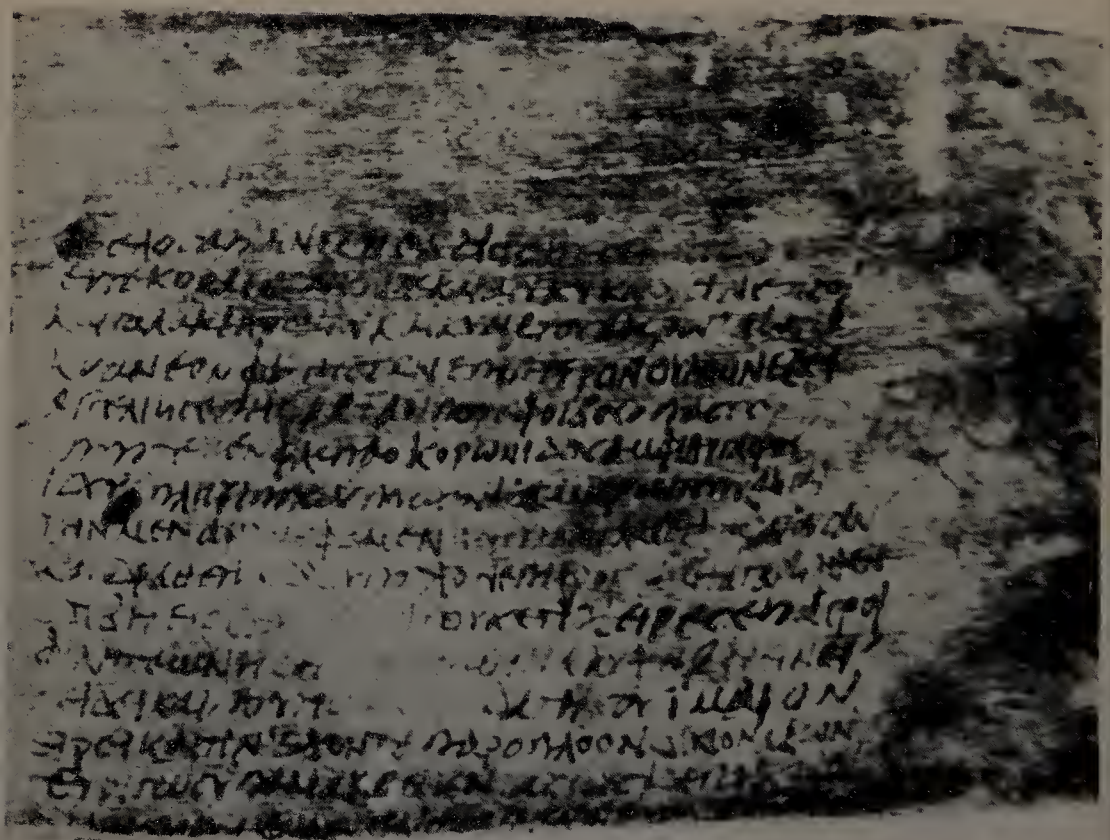
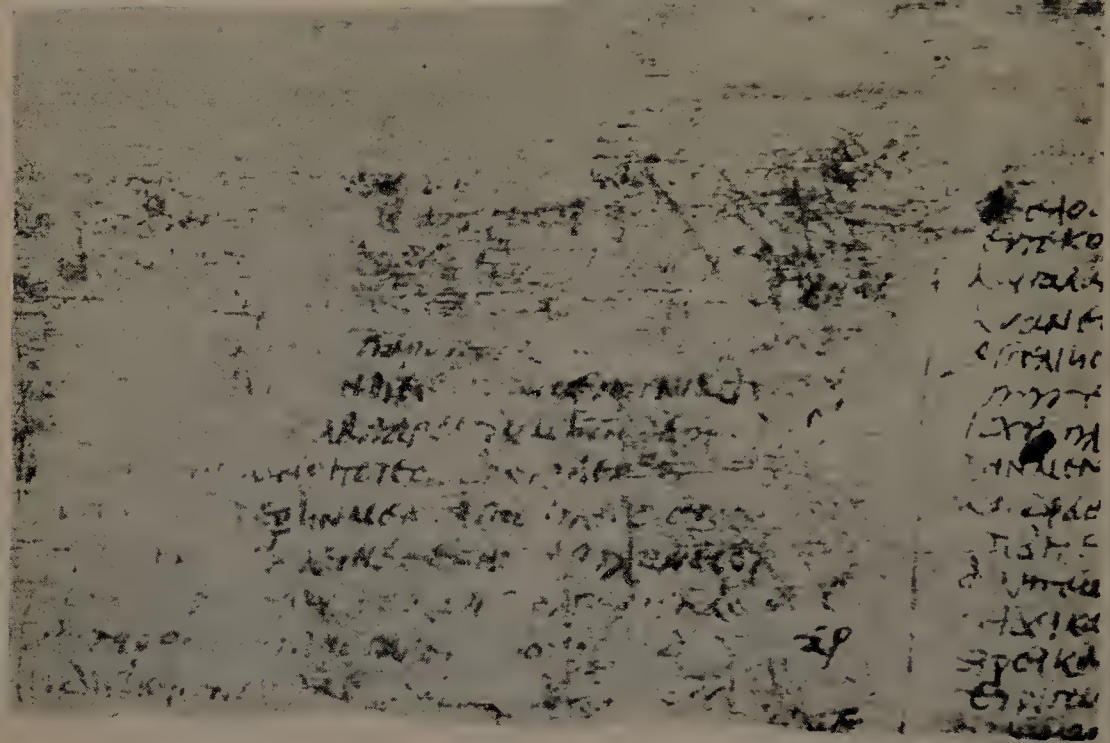
but νυμφεύσας as an equivalent of βαλὼν σπορὸν is not easy. Nonnus may well have Callimachus in mind, as he often has in his many allusions in the *Dionysiaca* to the birth legend of the eponymous



Column 1 with beginning of column 2.



Column 2 with beginning of column 3.



ancestor of that Erechtheus who was one of the most trusted commanders of Dionysus during his Indian expedition (13.171-179; 27.112-117 and 317-323; 29.334-339; 41.63-64; 48.956).

27ff Amelesagoras (see Pfeiffer *ad loc.*) is no. 330 in *FGH* (III b i, pp. 598f; III b ii, pp. 487f). Ida Kapp (p. 45 n. 1; see above, n. to line 1) thought that it was Amelesagoras who followed Callimachus, apparently because the poetical word $\epsilon\rho\nu\mu\alpha$ occurs in both narratives; but Jacoby (III b i, p. 602) gives good reasons for thinking it likelier that Callimachus followed Amelesagoras.

27 At first sight it seems evident that Pellene in Achaea is the place meant; but there are difficulties. If Athene, returning from the northern Peloponnese, dropped the rock she was carrying where Lycabettus now stands, as we know she did, she must have overshot her mark by a considerable distance before she let it go. Jacoby noticed this (*FGH* III b i, p. 602), and guessed that in the original form of the legend Athene had been returning not from Pellene in Achaea, but from Pallene in Chalcidice.

This Pallene is near the Phlegraean Fields, the scene of that battle of the Gods and Giants in which Athene won one of the greatest of her triumphs (see F. Vian, *La Guerre des Géants* [Paris 1952] 189f). The place is closely associated with the goddess; it is one of those from which the Aeschylean Orestes (*Eum.* 295-296) imagines that she may hear his prayer; and Pellene in Achaea, despite the temple of Athene which Pausanias (see Pfeiffer on line 27) tells us it contained, can hardly equal its connections with her. Further, there is no other locality in which she would be likelier to look for large rocks; such rocks lie about there in large numbers, as Solinus 9.7 remarks, being of course missiles left over from the famous battle (see Vian [as above] pp. 225-227). True, the place in Chalcidice is usually referred to as Pallene, that in Achaea as Pellene; but the two names are used almost indifferently, as Ernst Meyer (*RE* XIX i 355) clearly shows. For instance, a lyric poet quoted by Hippolytus (*lyr. fr. adesp.* 67 in Page, *PMG*) spells the place in Chalcidice with an *epsilon*. Hesychius' explanation of $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\alpha$ as equivalent to $\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ (cf. the proper names $\Pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\alpha$ and $\Phi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$, and see Frisk, *GEW* p. 499) indicates the probable reason why the name was borne by several places where large stones were found.

In 1854 Theodor Bergk (*Rh. Mus.* 9, 138f = *Kl. Schr.* II 198f) set out to show that Pallene in Chalcidice was the place intended. He started by considering fr. 261 Pf., which must have belonged, as Ida Kapp (pp.

45-46; see above, n. to line 1) first saw, to the part of the crow's narrative that followed line 29 below. It reads in Pfeiffer's text:

ἡ μὲν ἀερτάζουσα μέγα τρύφος ὑψίζωνος
 ἄστυρον εἰσανέβαινε, ἐγὼ δ' ἤντησα Λυκείου
 καλὸν αἰεὶ λιπόωντα κατὰ δρόμον Ἀπόλλωνος.

In line 1 Pfeiffer quotes the manuscripts of *Et. Gen.* and *Et. Magn.* as reading Ὑψιζώνου (with one exception, which will be noticed presently). This was emended by Bentley (on his fr. 19) to ὑψίζωνος; this he takes to mean "alte cincta," quoting Phaedrus 2.5.11 *ex alte cinctis unus atriensibus*. It would greatly surprise us to hear of any ancient work of art or literature in which Athene, however arduous the task she might have in hand, felt obliged to adopt a fashion of dress congenial to her sister Artemis but highly uncharacteristic of herself. But Bentley's conjecture can be refuted without one's having to press home this argument.

The codex Dorvilliensis of *Et. Magn.* has Ὑψιζώρου, and Bergk drew attention to Pliny, *nat. hist.* 4.36, where a list of mountains near Pallene and Phlegra includes *Hypsizorus*. At least, this appeared in all editions as the sole reading of all manuscripts until quite a recent date. In the *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien* (1874) 662-663 W. Tomaschek argued that *Hypsizorus* in Pliny must be emended to *Hypsizonus*, which he took to be the correct form of the mountain's name, preserved by the manuscripts of the *Etymologica*. Why, he asked, should we expect a Paeonian name like Ἀζωρος or Γάζωρος? Ὑψίζωνος, the reading of "die meisten und besten Handschriften der Et. Magn.," would mean "mons cuius vertex corona arborum cinctus est" and would be highly suitable. This convinced Detlefsen, who in his text of 1861 had read *Hypsizorus*, but now in his separate edition of the geographical books of 1904 (in Sieglin's *Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie*) put *Hypsizonus* in the text as Tomaschek's conjecture. Mayhoff in the first volume of his Teubner *Pliny*, which appeared two years later, found *Hypsizonus* to be read by the second hand in D (cod. Vatic. Latin. 3861), which he believed to preserve the readings of a lost independent source. H. Rackham in vol. 2 of the Loeb *Pliny* prints *Hypsizonus* without warning the reader that any other reading exists. We shall see presently that it is almost certainly wrong.

Pfeiffer (on fr. 261) rejects Bergk's Ὑψιζώρου on the ground that the present passage (line 27) explicitly attests that the Achaean Pellene, and not Pallene in Chalcidice, is the place from which Athene was returning; Jacoby, as we have seen, tried to reconcile the data by supposing that in

the earliest version of the story Pallene in Chalcidice had indeed been the place in question. But now that we have learned privately from Professor Jean-Marie Jacques that both cod. A and cod. B of *Et. Gen.* have in fact 'Υψιζώρου — Pfeiffer was excusably misled by the carelessness of Miller (*Mélanges* p. 49) — it becomes necessary to ask if Bergk and Schneider, who followed him at *Callimachea* p. 129, were not right after all.

The locus classicus for the foundation legend of Pallene in Chalcidice is Thucydides 4.120: *φὰὶ δὲ οἱ Ἰκιωνάιοι Πέλληνης μὲν εἶναι ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πλέοντας δ' ἀπὸ Τροίας σφῶν τοὺς πρῶτους κατενεχθῆναι ἐς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο τῷ χειμῶνι ὧι ἐχρήσαντο Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ αὐτοῦ οἰκῆσαι.* The same story is told by Polyaeus 7.47; Pseudo-Scymnus 638 (see C. Müller *ad loc.*); Mela 2.33; Conon 13; Strabo 7.330.25; Stephanus of Byzantium s.v.

Several of these authors add that the Achaeans in question were forced to settle there because some captive Trojan women burned their ships. That is the kind of story that interested Callimachus, and in all probability the epithet Ἀχαιῖδα in line 27 did not specify the Achaean Pellene, but subtly alluded to the foundation story of the Chalcidian Pallene. Compare, for example, the way in which Callimachus evokes a complicated chain of recollection by attaching to the name Θήρηι the epithet Λακωνίδι (fr. 7.23). "Achaean Pellene" occurs in the more obvious sense in Apollonius' catalogue of the Argonauts (1.176-178):

Ἀστέριος δὲ καὶ Ἀμφίων, Ὑπεραίου υἱες,
Πελλήνης ἄφ' ἱκανὸν Ἀχαιῖδος, ἣν ποτε Πέλλης
πατροπᾶτωρ ἐπόλιςεν ἐπ' ὀφρύσιν Αἰγαλιόῳ.

It is like Apollonius to use a combination of name and epithet used by Callimachus, but to attach to them a foundation story far less widely known than that to which Callimachus had made them allude. Callimachus and Amelesagoras, like the anonymous lyric poet quoted earlier, both write the name with epsilon instead of alpha; perhaps the poets at least did so in order to recall the foundation legend of the place.

Tomaschek was of course unreasonable in demanding that the name of the mountain should be wholly Greek, though its last two syllables may well have been doctored to make the name sound more Greek than it originally was. Several Thracian proper names contain the element -cουρα, -sura, -sure, -ζουρα, -ζουρη: D. Detschew (*Die thrakischen Sprachreste* [Vienna 1957] 470) observes, "Meines Erachtens enthalten all diese Namen die Schwundstufe von idg. *ser-*, 'strömen', in ai. *sirā*, 'Ström, Rinnsal.'" For the prefix, compare the name of the Odrysian

tribe Hypsalti (Pliny, *nat. hist.* 4.40) or 'Υψηλῖται (Steph. Byz. 653.19), whose first half, according to Detschew (p. 532), "ist augenscheinlich an gr. ὕψος, ὑψηλός angeglichen."

35 Gomperz' μοῦναι may well be right; Wessely's παραπτνόμεθα is not likely to be, for as Pfeiffer points out the upsilon would normally be long.

36-38 Not even the general sense can be guessed at with any degree of probability; those who think they can make it out should try to think how many possibilities there are before putting their speculations into print. With ἐλαφροὶ . . . οἰωνοί compare Sophocles *Ant.* 342-343 κουφονόων . . . φῦλον ὀρνίθων, Theognis 580 μικρῆς ὀρνιθος κοῦφον ἔχουσα νόον, Aristophanes, *Av.* 169, etc.

38-40 At the beginning Gomperz' οὕτως seems possible. After that [. . .] .τερην με., coming not long before ἡμετέρ[ην] ἐκκλιν., suggests ὑμετέρην μεν followed by an adversative such as ἀλλά later in line 39; ὑμετέρ[ην] μέν would stand in antithesis to ἡμετέρ[ην]. Barber in *CQ* n.s. 2 (1952) 92 suggested ἐκκλινε, which would accord well with this notion. Suppose line 39 ended with something like, for example, ἀλλὰ γενέθλην, the sense might be "Your race she exalted, mine she depressed"; for the word in a comparable antithesis, compare Sophocles *Ajax* 131-132:

ὥς ἡμέρα κλίνει τε κἀνάγει πάλιν
ἅπαντα τὰνθρώπεια.

In line 40, Barber suggested [τό]ς[ο]ν [θεό]ς; θ]ε[ὰ τόσον] would suit the traces better.

If this line of attack could be known to be correct, we should have good reason to believe that the crow was addressing a bird of a different species which had profited by the crow's loss of Athene's favour. In that episode of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* which is beyond question influenced by this passage of the *Hecale*, the crow complains of having been supplanted in Athene's favour by the owl (564, 590-591); on the enmity between crow and owl, see Pfeiffer on fr. 326. The owl was certainly mentioned in the *Hecale*; see frs. 326, 519, 608, 803. All these considerations would seem to support the suggestion of Wilamowitz (*GGN* [1893] 73f = *Kl. Schr.* II 34f) that the owl was the bird the crow was talking with (see also G. Coppola, *Cyrene e il nuovo Callimaco* [1934] 108; for another view, see A. Barigazzi, *Hermes* 82 [1954] 324 n. 2). But un-

fortunately the considerations we have advanced are nothing like decisive.

At the end of line 40, ἀλλὰ πέροι[τε] would suit the traces and would yield good sense. Pfeiffer, Addenda to vol. 2, 120, rightly approved Barber's colon after θυμοῖο. βαρὺς χόλος αἶέν 'Αθήνης reads well as a sentence on its own. Ellipse of the verb "to be" is not uncommon with this adjective (cf., e.g., Aeschylus *P.V.* 17 and 77 and Eur. *Hipp.* 201, which means, "It is distasteful to me to have a headdress for my head"; it is wrong to take βαρὺ to have its literal sense of "heavy"); for ἐκ θυμοῦ πίπτειν, Pfeiffer quotes *Iliad* 23.594.

At the end of line 42 Pfeiffer prints Wessely's δεκάτη δὲ τοκεῦσι, but in the apparatus criticus he describes it as "vix credibile," and we are well rid of it.

43B Crows are notoriously omnivorous and were noted for greed, as well as for begging; barley (see line 46) is asked for by the begging κορωνισταί in Phoenix fr. 2 Knox and Powell. Either the optative in 43B expresses a wish or else a word like ἴνα will have come before it. In the former case, the crow is probably quoting a direct appeal made in the past.

43C Maas ap. Lloyd-Jones, *CR* n.s. 11 (1961) 21, essayed a supplement, but it does not convince; neither does the supplement in 44 there offered by Lloyd-Jones suit the last trace visible, which as Lobel says (*P. Oxy.* XXV, p. 123) is "not ε, perhaps a damaged ο or ω." There is too little left of 43C, 44, and 45 to make it worth while to attempt supplements, as we have regretfully concluded after protracted efforts. In general, 43B-46 look as if the crow were referring to her own begging; can she be telling how Hecale used to feed her in the past?

47 Consider the problem of the beginning with Buck and Petersen's *Reverse Index* in hand, and you will find it hard to find any word to fit except τό[λμης]. Pfeiffer has suggested that the likeliest subject for the verb ἐπέccεται is χάρις: he quotes *Iliad* 9.316 οὐκ ἄρα τις χάρις ἦεν and *Odyssey* 22.319 οὐκ ἔστι χάρις μετόπισθ' εὐεργέων. Having regard to what is preserved in 48, we think of τό[λμης] [ἂ χάρις [οὔ τ]ις ἐπ[έccεται]; for ἂ, cf. *hy.* 3.255; fr. 1.33; fr. 195.30; fr. 736.

It seems that in 47-48 the crow is warning someone against the consequences of bringing bad news. Now in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (2.531f) the raven is about to fly to Apollo to report the guilt of Coronis, and the crow, wishing to deter him, tells how she herself once lost the favour of

Athene by reporting to her the guilt of the daughters of Cecrops. Just so, it seems, in the *Hecale* the crow warns her interlocutor against bringing bad news, and supports her warning first by telling how she herself once lost Athene's favour and secondly by prophesying how the raven will lose Apollo's favour in the future. In that case the story in Ovid will be just like enough to its original to allow for the subtle and individual mode of adaptation which we should expect to find. It would be natural for the crow to address a warning against the dangers of bringing bad news to another bird who had supplanted her in Athene's favour; we need not assume that they are not on speaking terms.

But what bad news could a speaker at this stage in the action be proposing to report? Only a short way back, Theseus had triumphed over the bull; what sad event can have happened in the meantime? Bruno Gentili (*Gnomon* 33 [1961] 342; cf. Webster, *Hellenistic Poetry and Art* [1964] p. 117) has already made the obvious observation that one thinks first of Hecale's death. After his victory over the bull, Theseus returned to the cottage to find her dead (see the Diegesis, Pfeiffer vol. 1 p. 227). If Gentili is right, the person whom the crow is addressing has presumably thought of reporting Hecale's death; Hecale has no surviving relations, so that the person to whom such a report would be made would presumably be Theseus. The owl, as the sacred bird of the patroness of Athens — in fr. 326 she calls herself the messenger of Pallas — might well feel a duty to carry such a message to the heir of Aegeus. The crow who deterred her was probably one who had often profited from the dead woman's celebrated hospitality, and who between her two warning narratives described Hecale's kindness to herself (43B-46).

If this theory is correct, everything from 16 to 61 comes from a long speech by the crow, a bird no less noted for loquacity than for greed or begging. At this point we must pause to consider the view that we have here a dialogue not between two birds, but between a crow and Hecale herself. This theory was first suggested by Ernst Maass in his review of the editio princeps of the Vienna tablets in *DLZ* for 1893, 1035; it has lately been revived by F. Krafft, *Hermes* 86 (1958) 473f (who thinks the problem is a simple one) and with more caution by C. A. Trypanis on the page inserted between pages vi and vii of his Loeb edition of the fragments (1958). In his "revised" edition of Koerte's *Hellenistische Dichtung* (dealt with at *CR* n.s. 12 [1962] 245), Paul Händel informs us that a new discovery shows this view to be certainly correct.

It is true that a specious argument can be constructed for assigning the prophecy at 51f to Hecale herself. The word *κύφαρ* is applied by

Sophron fr. 55 Kaibel to the withered skin of a human being. Lycophron 793 uses it to describe the aged Odysseus with what Aeschylus (fr. 478.4 Mette) calls his *παλαιὸν δέρμα καὶ τριχορρυές*. LSJ, by the way, should not say that Lycophron here uses the word as an adjective; it is rather a noun used predicatively (*vid. loc.*). It is used in the Nicander scholia (on *Alex.* 91) of the “skin” on milk and by Lucian *Herm.* 79 and in a scholion on Lycophron (*l.c.*) of the slough of a snake, but we do not find it applied to an animal or a bird; and that may be held to indicate that it here refers to Hecale. Similarly the “dry tree” of 52 might be the staff Hecale walks with (cf. fr. 355), as Ruhnken suggests at *Ep. Crit.* p. 222; the great oath of Achilles at *Iliad* 1.234, which the oath here recalls, is sworn by the *κηπτρον* which he holds and which was once a tree, as he remembers. Further, the *Suda* in quoting the words *ναὶ μὰ τόν* (line 51 = fr. 351 Pf.) prefixes them with *καὶ Ἐκάλῃ εἶπε*. Since we know that the *Suda* took its excerpts from the commentary by Salustius, the apparent statement that Hecale was the speaker seems formidable.

However, the difficulties in the way of this theory are not so easily disposed of. Whoever swears the oath of 51f is clearly the same person who has just claimed to possess prophetic powers given by the Thriai (49–50), and has referred to herself as “the old crow.” Crows were commonly reputed to possess the gift of prophecy;⁴ Hecale, so far as we know, did not. She might conceivably have claimed prophetic powers; but if, as Maass and Krafft both suppose, she was addressing a real crow, it would be most odd of her to call herself a crow. Further, Ovid’s narrative shows that the warning to the would-be reporter of bad news suits the crow very much better than it does Hecale.

These considerations show that it is much easier to reconcile the data we possess if the crow, and not Hecale, swears the oath, even suppose we leave altogether out of account the attempt to guess the drift of 43B–48 which has been offered above. It is therefore satisfying to find that on close inspection the three arguments that have been adduced to prove Hecale to be the speaker prove singularly feeble.

First, the etymology of *cūphēp* is obscure (see Johansson, *Idg. Forsch.* 3 [1894] 237f), but the apparent connection with *suber*, the Latin word for the bark of a tree, seems to indicate that it could be used of any vaguely similar outer surface. In any case, we have no positive reason to deny that it could be used of an aged bird as well as of an aged human. Next, the “dry tree” might indeed be Hecale’s staff; it might also be a withered tree on which the birds are perched. Finally, *καὶ Ἐκάλῃ εἶπε* is

⁴ Cf. Apollonius 3.927f; Nonnus, *Dionys.* 3.97f; Gossen-Steier in *RE* XI 1664.

an unique way for a quotation to be introduced. First, it is not the custom of the *Suda* nor of the *Etymologica* to attribute a quotation to the character in the work it comes from who happens to speak the words in question. Also, this form of quotation is very unlike the usual form. At fr. 386 we find ὡς Καλλ. 'Εκάληι, at fr. 342 Καλλ. 'Εκάληι, at fr. 307 Καλλίμαχος 'Εκάληι, at 326 Καλλ. ἐν 'Εκάληι λέγει περὶ αὐτῆς, at 349 (of Marathon) τοῦτον Καλλ. ἐνότιον λέγει. Webster (p. 117; see above, p. 142) has already suggested that καὶ 'Εκάληι εἶπε is corrupt; can we doubt that it is corrupt for Καλλ. 'Εκάλη<ι> εἶπε? For the frequency of corruptions of this kind, see *Glotta* 41 (1963) 68f (on fr. 30). The argument that Hecale is the speaker has little to be said for it.

51f ναὶ μὰ . . . refers to the positive asseveration that begins in 55; "the sentiment 'time has not yet come to an end' is first inserted parenthetically between the oaths, then in 53-4 repeated more elaborately, only this time not in parenthesis but as part of the main statement, with the substantive part added to it adversatively," says Barrett in *Gnomon* 33 (1961) 691. The parenthetical insertion between the oaths is an instance of aposiopesis, for after οὐ γάρ [π]ω πάντ' ἡμᾶτα we should expect a verb meaning "are at an end" to follow. Anyone who has doubts about the supplement [π]ω should ask himself what other letter he imagines could have stood in place of *pi*.

58 οὐλοὸν is puzzling (see Pfeiffer's note), but seems to be protected by Nonnus *Dionys.* 15.88-89:

τόφρα δὲ νήδυμος Ὕπνος ἐὼν πτερόν οὐλον ἐλίξας
ἀκλινέων σφαλεροῖσιν ἐπέχραεν ὄμμασιν Ἰνδῶν.

(*Hy.* 4.234 and the imitations at Nonnus *Dionys.* 7.141, 40.438, 48.622 seem not to help.) By writing ἐπιπτερον without accent Lobel (*P. Oxy.* XIX, p. 45) seems to imply that we must reckon with the possibility that ἐπίπτερον may be correct, but this word seems not to be attested in the sense of "wing surface" which it would presumably have here. It seems likelier that ἐπὶ πτερόν . . . ἔξει means "will have on him a wing"; see LSJ s.v. ἐπί E, not that any exact parallel is to be found there.

61 The form μιερός might exist (see Schwyzer, *Gr. Gramm.* I 243, 482). But it is not in fact attested, for at *CIG* II 3588 (= Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 336 = Peek, *Gr. Versinschr.* 1098) the stone has *MIHPAN*. If it did exist, it would presumably be a koine form, and therefore highly unlikely to be met with in Callimachean epic verse.

66f The lamented Vittorio Bartoletti in a learned and ingenious article (*Stud. It.* 33 [1961] 161f) argued that the noises here described are all city noises, and that the two sleepers must therefore have woken in a city, in his view Athens. But the water-carrier's chant (on which see Karl Bücher, *Arbeit und Rhythmus* [Leipzig 1899] 52f, 106f), the wagon that awakens a dweller by the road and — as we now realise — the sounds made by people asking the blacksmith for a light might all be heard in the remotest country village. In the famous description of night at *Argonautica* 3.744f, Apollonius mentions first ships at sea, then the wayfarer and the gatekeeper, lastly the mother mourning for her children. Clearly the ships are far away, and the traveller is not in the city but on the road; only with the words “Nor did dogs bark any longer *in the city*” do we draw near to the sleepless Medea. The description is not of night in Colchis, but of night over all the world; and so here also. We are not convinced by Bartoletti's attempt to show that the conversation of the birds took place in Athens, but think it likelier that it happened near Hecale's dwelling.

68–69 It is sad that Rudolf Kassel's brilliant explanation of the old reading *κωφώμενοι ἔνδον ἀκουήν* (*Rh. Mus.* 106 [1963] 301–302) is now seen to have been in vain. To give a light to anyone who asked for it was a solemn obligation in ancient times, as now; the fact is fully illustrated by Schulze in the third of his celebrated *Beiträge zur Wort- und Sittengeschichte* (Bezzzenberger's *Beiträge* [1918] 769f = *Kl. Schr.*² 189f). Note as an example of the kind of thing envisaged Lysias 1.14: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦν πρὸς ἡμέραν, ἦκεν ἐκείνη καὶ τὴν θύραν ἀνέωξεν. ἐρομένου δέ μου τί αἱ θύραι νύκτωρ ψοφοῖεν, ἔφασκε τὸν λύχνον ἀποσβεσθῆναι τὸν παρὰ τῷ παιδίῳ, εἴτα ἐκ τῶν γειτόνων ἐνάψασθαι (ἐναύσασθαι? Schulze, p. 189 n. 9).

Other people are likelier to trouble smiths for a light than smiths are to trouble them, so that we have to consider the possibility that *χαλκῆας* and not *χαλκῆες* is correct, all the more since *alpha* and *eta* in this hand are easily confused (cf. 61). But it is not impossible that smiths may have been asking for a light, and if *χαλκῆες* is kept, it is somewhat easier to imagine what may have stood at the beginning of the line. One thinks of compounds ending with *-ζωοι*, such as *δύσζωοι*, which is found in an anonymous epigram at *A.P.* 9.574.

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE APPLE IN GREEK AND ROMAN LITERATURE

A. R. LITTLEWOOD

IN the year 1899 B. O. Foster published in these *Studies* an article entitled *Notes on the Symbolism of the Apple in Classical Antiquity*, in which he diligently traces the connection of the fruit with Aphrodite, and expresses the hope that he has made "a complete collection of the allusions to the thing in literature." Since his successors (see *Bibliography*, pp. 177ff), dealing with specific aspects of the symbolism, have adduced few further instances, Foster's article has consequently remained the standard work.

I have recently been working on some progymnasmata by Ioannes Geometres that treat of the apple,¹ and I was thus led to put together my own collection of references that I now offer as an *index locorum* of this subject. Making a wider cast I have fished also in Byzantine waters with a mesh fine enough, I hope, to catch most specimens of interest.

Because this article is in the nature of an appendix to Foster's, the notes are intended merely to supplement his, not to provide a comprehensive commentary. All his references, however, are included, being indicated by an asterisk (*).

N.B. "Apple" (μήλον) is used throughout as a generic term to cover the apricot (Ἀρμενιάκόν), quince (Κυδώνιον), citron (Μηδικόν), peach

¹ Ioannes Geometres, a Byzantine writer of the tenth century with a not inconsiderable reputation for his poetry, wrote four encomia, one on the oak and three on the apple, that are preserved (with two descriptions of his garden) in *Cod. Baroccianus* 25, foll. 287^r-295^r in the Bodleian Library. The first of the three pieces in praise of the apple occurs also in a ms. at Madrid (*Ms. griego* 4614, foll. 22^v-24^v) in the hand of Constantinos Lascaris: this was published in 1769 by J. Iriarte (*Regiae Bibliothecae Matritensis Codices Graeci*, pp. 301ff), but is more easily accessible in Migne, PG 106.847ff, although it has been completely overlooked by all writers on the apple. A glance at this article will show Geometres' importance for this study: we owe to his first encomium a myth otherwise unknown, and to his other two some aspects of the symbolism of the fruit rare or unique. Since my projected edition of his progymnasmata is not yet ready for publication, all references are to the folio and line numbers of the Barocci ms.

(Περσικόν), and most other fruits, except nuts, in addition to the genuine apple.

ORIGIN

(i) Gift at the Nuptials of Zeus and Hera:

Pherecyd. frag. 33 (Mueller, *FHG* 1. pp. 78f) apud Schol. in
A.R. 4.1396 et al.

*Eratosth. *Cat.* 3.

*Asclep. Mend. frag. 1 (Mueller, *FHG* 3. p. 306) apud Athen.
3.83C.

Apollod. 2.5.11.

Tzetz. *Chil.* 2.355ff.

Pediasim. 28f.

*Hyg. *Astr.* 2.3.

Schol. in Caes. Germ. *Aratea* (Eyssenhardt, *Martianus Capella*,
pp. 382f).

*Serv. Auct. in Verg. *Aen.* 4.484.

Prim. Myth. Vat. 106 (Bode, *Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum*
Latini, 1. p. 34).

Sec. Myth. Vat. 161 (Bode, 1. p. 130).

In Pediasimus and Tzetzes, contrary to the usual tradition, it is not Ge who presents the apples, but Hera to Zeus, and, perhaps,² Zeus to Hera respectively.

(ii) Created by Dionysus:

Neoptol. Par. frag. 1 (Powell) apud Athen. 3.82D (q.v.).
(See xxi below.)

(iii) Metamorphosis of Melus:

*Serv. Auct. in Verg. *Ecl.* 8.37.

*Melus quidam, in Delo insula ortus, relictā patriā fugit ad insulam
Cyprum, in qua eo tempore Cinyras regnabat, habens filium Adonem. hic
Melum sociatum Adoni filio iussit esse, cumque eum videret esse indolis
bonae, propinquam suam, dicatam et ipsam Veneri, quae Pelia dicebatur,
Melo coniunxit. ex quibus nascitur Melus, quem Venus propterea quod
Adonis amore teneretur, tamquam amati filium inter aras praecepit nutrirī.*

² The lines in question are (358f), **Ἡρας τὰ μῆλα τὰ χρυσᾶ, Ζεὺς ἅπερ γάμοις
ἔσχε | ἐπὶ τῆς Ἡρας γαμικὸν κάλλιστον ἔδνον εἶναι*. Kiessling, rightly suspecting
ἐπὶ, suggests παρὰ, an attractive emendation despite the difficulty of the
meaning of ἔδνον.

sed postquam Adonis apri ictu extinctus est, senex Melus cum dolore mortis Adonis ferre non posset, laqueo se ad arborem suspendens vitam finit: ex cuius nomine melus appellata est. Pelia autem coniux eius in ea arbore se adpendens necata est. Venus misericordia eorum mortis ducta, Adoni luctum continuum praestitit, Melum in pomum sui nominis vertit, Peliam coniugem eius in columbam mutavit, Melum autem puerum, qui de Cinyrae genere solus supererat, cum adultum vidisset, collecta manu redire ad Delum praecepit. qui cum ad insulam pervenisset et rerum ibi esset potitus, Melon condidit civitatem: et cum primus oves tonderi et vestem de lanis fieri instituisset, meruit ut eius nomine oves μήλα vocarentur; graece enim oves μήλα appellantur.

Although the apple is here connected with Aphrodite, the myth is clearly etymological and of little symbolic importance.

(iv) Metamorphosis of a Maiden:

Geom. 291^v 34ff.

εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ μύθου μνησθῆναι, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀηδὲς παιδίας καὶ ψυχαγωγίας ἄφασθαι πρὸς ἄνδρα πολλάκις καὶ αὐτὸν τὰ Μουσῶν χορεύσαντα, ἄλλως θ' ὅτε καὶ τὸν μῦθον κοσμεῖ σωφροσύνη. φασὶν ὡς κόρη τις ἦν πάλαι καλὴ καὶ παρθενική, τοῦ δὲ κάλλους ἐρασταὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐρωτικοί. σωφρονοῦσα δὲ καὶ μὴ προδιδούσα τὴν ὥραν ἔτι μᾶλλον δυσέρωτας ἐποίει τοὺς ἐραστάς· οἱ δὲ τέως μὲν ἥρων ὡς ἐρασταὶ καὶ ἡμιλλῶντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἔπειτα οἰνωθέντες ἀλλήλους φονεύουσιν ὡς ἀντερασταί. ἐφίσταται ἡ παρθενική καὶ ἔλεει μὲν ἐκείνους, αἰδεῖται δὲ τοὺς ζῶντας, δακρύει δὲ ἑαυτήν· καὶ γίνεται δι' εὐχῆς φυτόν, καλὸν ὡς καλή, λευκὸν ὡς λευκή, ὡς αἰδουμένη δὲ πορφυροῦν. The context is an encomium on the apple.

EROTIC SYMBOLISM

(v) Apple of Discord and Judgement of Paris:³

(a) Apple of Discord and Judgement of Paris combined:

Apollod. *Ep.* 3.1f.

*Luc. *Dial. Mar.* 5.

³ These related myths are rationalized by Fulgentius (2.1:3.7) and the Second Vatican Mythographer (from whom the citations are made). They say that since a union of Jupiter (fire) with Thetis (water) would have extinguished the former, Thetis was joined in marriage with Peleus (πῆλός), because *terram aqua mixtam volunt hominem procreasse*. Different gods contributed various gifts to the union, *Discordia autem sola in coniunctione aquae et terrae . . . non intromittitur. Discordia aureum malum, id est cupiditatem, dicitur iniicisse: nam in aureo malo est quod*

- *Philostr. *Ep.* 62 (Kayser).
- Sallust. *De Diis et Mundo* 4.
- *Coluth. 59ff.
- Tzetz. in *Lyc.* 93.
- Niket. Choniat. (Bonn, p. 856).
- Ioann. Eugen. *Reg. in Parad.* (Boissonade, *Anecd. Nov.* p. 344).
- *Hyg. *Fab.* 92.
- Fulgent. 3.7.
- Prim. *Myth. Vat.* 208 (Bode, 1. pp. 65f).
- Sec. *Myth. Vat.* 205f (Bode, 1. pp. 142ff).
- Tert. *Myth. Vat.* 11. 20ff (Bode, 1. pp. 240f).
- Guido de Columnis *Hist. Destruct. Troiae* (Griffin, p. 62).

(b) Apple of Discord alone:

- *Luc. *Symp.* 35.
- Justin. 12.15.⁴
- **Anth. Lat.* 1.135 (1.140).⁵

(c) Judgement of Paris alone:

- *Schol. in Eur. *Andr.* 276.
- Luc. *Dial. Deor.* 20.
- Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2.32.9.
- Long. 3.34.
- Aristaenet. 1.1.
- *Damoch. (*Anth. Pal.* 9.633).
- Anth. Pal.* 9.637.
- Ioann. Malal. (Bonn, p. 92).
- Geom. 293^v 3ff.
- *Apul. *Met.* 10.30ff.
- *Serv. Auct. in Verg. *Aen.* 1.27.
- Symphosius *Aenigm.* 84 (*Anth. Lat.* 1.286 [1.242]).

videas, non quod comedas. This is then linked thus to the Judgement of Paris: *tripartitum autem humanitatis, id est theoricæ, practicæ, philargicæ, modum considerantes poetae, proponunt certamina trium dearum, de formæ qualitate certantium. Minerva enim theoricam, id est contemplativam; Juno practicam, id est activam; Venus philargicam, id est voluptariam designat.* Since Jupiter did not dare to venture a decision between them, he delegated his duty to a mortal, who by giving the apple to Venus chose *libido*.

⁴ Alexander the Great's refusal to name his successor is likened to the Apple of Discord, *hac voce veluti bellicum inter amicos cecinisset, aut malum discordiæ misisset, ita omnes in æmulationem consurgunt, et ambitione vulgi tacitum favorem militum quaerunt.* For a further figurative use, see Lucian *Symp.* 35.

⁵ All references to the *Anthologia Latina* are to the volume and poem numbers followed by the fascicle and page numbers in parentheses of Buecheler's and Riese's second edition.

**Anth. Lat.* 1.133f (1.139):*1.165f (1.149): 1.863^a (2.313f).
PLM (Baehrens) 5.77.81ff.

Despite the dearth of early literary evidence, this legend is one of the oldest attested themes in this study, since the crucial scene is depicted by a relief on an ivory comb found in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta and dated from its presence among Proto-Corinthian pottery to c. 700 B.C.⁶ It shows a bearded man seated on a low throne and holding out with an elongated left arm a large, spotted sphere to three female figures, who may be identified by their accoutrements or accompanying birds as Aphrodite, Athene, and Hera.⁷

(vi) Achilles and Briseïs:⁸

*Hes. frag. 85 (Rzach) apud Schol. Ven. A. in Hom. *Il.* 6.35.
Anth. Lat. 1.135 (1.140).

According to this story (quoted by Foster, p. 50), when the Greeks were about to raise the siege of a town in the vicinity of Troy, a maiden threw an apple to Achilles bearing the message that through lack of water the town could not hold out for long and, presumably, the implication that a private surrender also was greatly desired. The scholiast does not mention the maiden's name, but his comment on the town, τὴν πόλιν μὲν Μονηναίαν, νῦν δὲ Πηλεάσων καλουμένην, enables the identification to be made, for on a lament of Achilles over the loss of Briseïs whom he had won by sacking a city (Hom. *Il.* 16.57) Schol. T.

⁶ "So far as we know, the apple in this story is, as I have said, a late invention. It is so familiar a tale, that we can hardly realize that the classic poets of Greece did not know it at all, but this seems to be the truth" (Foster, *HSCP* 10[1899] 44). Despite the discovery that this aspect of the story is in fact early, if not widespread, Foster's caution is seasonable.

⁷ For a description and drawing of the comb, see p. 223 and pl. CXXVII of *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*, edited by R. M. Dawkins (*JHS*, Supplementary Paper no. 5, London 1929). A photograph can be found on pl. X of *JHS* 68 (1948).

⁸ The scholiast on Homer ascribes this story Δημητρίῳ καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ, but I have reservations about the second name chiefly for the subjective reason that to me such a tale does not sound "Hesiodic" (this is a dangerous argument: before 1913 it would not have seemed outrageous with reference to the apples that lured Atalanta from her path [see n. 11]), but also because it is strange that Hesiod is not mentioned first. Dilthey (*De Callimachi Cydippa*, p. 113) thinks that there is an allusion to this story in Philostratus (*Ep.* 62, Kayser), where the writer sends his mistress not the Apple of Discord, but one of Love, and begs her not to throw it away or eat it, for οὐδὲ ἐν πολέμῳ πρεσβευτῆς παρανομεῖται. I find the allusion unlikely.

has πόλιν εὐτείχεα πέρσας] τὴν Πήδασον οἱ τῶν Κυπρίων ποιηταί, αὐτὸς δὲ Λυρνησσόν (e.g. *Il.* 2.690).⁹ Corroborative evidence is afforded by a distich on the apple in the *Codex Salmasianus*,

*His contempta deum tenuit Discordia mensam,
prodidit atque urbem his Briseïda suam.*¹⁰

(vii) Atalanta and Hippomenes or Melanion:¹¹

Hes. frag. 21(b) (Rzach, pp. 269ff).

*Diodorus, apud Schol. in Theoc. 2.120 (vid. Call. frag. 412 [Pfeiffer]).

*Philet. frag. 18 (Powell) apud Schol. in Theoc. 2.120.

*Theoc. 3.40ff et Schol. ad loc.

Apollod. 3.9.2.

Plut. *Prov.* 44 (Crusius, p. 21).

Diogenian. 3.63.

Lib. 8.54 (Foerster).

Nonn. *D.* 12.87ff.

*Arab. (*Anth. Plan.* 144).

Tzetz. *Chil.* 12.934ff.

Apostol. 4.87.

Catull. 2b.

Verg. *Cat.* 9.25f: *Ecl.* 6.61 et Serv., Iun. Philarg., Prob. ad loc.

Hyg. *Fab.* 185.

Ov. *Her.* 21.123f: **Met.* 10.560ff: *Ib.* 371f et Scholl. ad loc.

Claud. 30.169f.

Lact. *Plac. Arg. Ov. Met.* 10.11.

*Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3.113.

Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 2.494ff: 5.167ff: 14.13ff.

Priap. 16 (Cazzaniga).

Prim. *Myth. Vat.* 39 (Bode, 1. p. 14).

Sec. *Myth. Vat.* 47 (Bode, 1. p. 91).

Anth. Lat. 1.133 (1.139): 1.169 (1.150): 2.343 (1.164).

The apples that distract Atalanta may be a later accretion to a very early legend of exogamy, beena marriage, and female kinship, unless

⁹ Could Monenia hide an adjective formed from Mynes, whom we know to have been king of Lyrnessus (Horn. *Il.* 2.691f: 19.295f)?

¹⁰ Foster refers (p. 44) to this distich in a footnote to the Apple of Discord, but inexplicably ignores it in this connection.

¹¹ Foster describes in detail (p. 42) a Greek *crater* of the mid-fifth century that used to be the only evidence for the existence of apples in the myth before Alexandrian authors. The welcome find of a papyrus has now established the literary antiquity of the apples, that are not mentioned in the fragments of the "Hesiodic" corpus known before.

their mythological function here is a survival of their fructifying ritual use (see xii and pp. 180f below).

(viii) Acontius and Cydippe:

Dieg. ad Call. *Aet.* 3 frag. 67 (Pfeiffer).

Aristaenet. 1.10.

Max. Plan. *Metaphr. Ov. Her.* 20f (Dilthey, *De Callimachi Cydippa*, pp. 157ff).

*Ov. *Her.* 20f: *A.A.* 1.457f: *Tr.* 3.10.73f.

Priap. 16 (Cazzaniga).

(ix) Hermochares and Ctesylla:

Nic. frag. 50 (Schneider) apud Athen. 3.82A.¹²

*Anton. Lib. 1.

This is basically the same story as viii with a change of names.

(x) Gift as Symbol of Affection:¹³

Clearch. frag. 39 (Mueller, *FHG* 2. pp. 315f) apud Athen. 12.553Eff.

*Theoc. 2.120: * 3.10f: * 11.10.

*Luc. *Tox.* 13: 15.

*Philostr. *Ep.* 62 (Kayser).

Long. 1.15: * 3.25: * 3.33f.

*Alciph. 3.26.2 (Schepers).

*Nonn. *D.* 42.312ff.

*Paul. Silent. (*Anth. Pal.* 5.290f).

**Anth. Pal.* 11.417.

Geom. 292^r 17ff.

Niket. Choniat. (Bonn, p. 192).

*Catull. 65.19ff.

*Verg. *Ecl.* 2.51: * 3.70f.¹⁴

¹² The only two lines preserved are, ἀντίχ' ὃ γ' ἡ Σιδόεντος ἢ Πλείστου ἀπὸ κήπων / μῆλα ταμῶν χροάοντα τύπους ἐνεμάσσετο Κέδμον. Their attribution to the tale of Hermochares and Ctesylla rests upon the mention of writing on an apple, and the heading to the version of Antoninus Liberalis, Ἱστορεῖ Νίκανδρος Ἑτεροουμένων γ'.

¹³ Cf. *Lucr. 5.963ff, conciliabat enim vel mutua quamque cupido / vel violenta viri vis atque impensa libido / vel pretium, glandes atque arbita vel pira lecta (from the description of primitive man).

¹⁴ Iunius Philargyrius (ad loc.: cf. id. in *Ecl.* 2.51) believes that the ten apples symbolize the ten eclogues, a notion that Servius (ad loc.) rightly treats with disdain, quod superfluum est: quae enim necessitas hoc loco allegoriae?

Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.77f.

*Prop. 1.3.24ff: 2.34.69ff: * 3.13.27.

*Petr. (*Anth. Lat.* 1.218 [1.185]).

*Mart. 7.91.

Alcimus (*Anth. Lat.* 1.715 [2.178]).

A famous historical example of this is
The Disgrace of Eudokia:

Theophan. *Chron.* (Bonn, p. 153).

Kedren. (Bonn, pp. 59of).

Zonar. (Bonn, 3. p. 110).

Mich. Glyk. (Bonn, p. 484).

Chron. Pasch. (Bonn, 1. p. 584).

Theodosios II (408–450) bought at great expense a magnificent apple, and gave it to his wife Eudokia Augusta as a token of his affection. She sent it as a gift to the sickbed of Paulinos, a close friend of the imperial pair and, as scandal reported, her lover: he unfortunately deemed it a present worthy of his Emperor. In the ensuing confrontation between husband and wife, Eudokia imprudently claimed that she had eaten the apple, when challenged to produce it by her lord, who thereupon added to her discomfort by banishing Paulinos to Cappadocia, where he was put to death. Unable to dispel Theodosios' distrust and wrath, which his elder sister Pulcheria jealously encouraged, Eudokia eventually obtained permission to retire to Jerusalem, where she, the quondam Athenaïs, pagan daughter of a Greek philosopher, died eighteen years later, a Christian mystic renowned for her pious works. Despite Gibbon's derisive dismissal of the tale "as fit only for the Arabian Nights," it is not necessarily implausible.

(xi) Throwing of an Apple as Symbol of Affection:¹⁵

*Ar. *Nub.* 997 et * Schol. ad loc.

*Plat. (*Anth. Pal.* 5.78f).

*Theoc. 5.88f: * 6.6f et * Scholl. ad locc.

¹⁵ The word *μηλοβολεῖν* is attested by a scholiast on Aristophanes *Nub.* 997. Usually the boy throws an apple at the girl. In Theocritus, however, Clearista pelts a goatherd, and Galatea Polyphernus (wherein Vergil and Niketas Eugenianos follow the Alexandrian poet): Daphnis and Chloë throw apples to each other in Longus: Philostratus describes two *ἔρωτες* kissing an apple which they toss back and forth: Lucian adds the refinement of biting a piece out of an apple to cast into the bosom of the girl, a game that is imitated very closely by Aristaenetos (for both Lucian [*Tox.* 13] and Alciphron [3.26.2, Schepers] *στέφανοι ἡμιμάραντοι καὶ μῆλά τινα ἀποδεδηγμένα* are a lover's gifts).

- Plut. *Prov.* 44 (Crusius, p. 21).
 Diogenian. 3.63: 6.63: *Cod. Vind.* 3.27.
 *Luc. *Dial. Mer.* 12.1.
 *Philostr. *Imagg.* 1.6.
 Heliod. 3.3.8.
 *Long. 1.24.
 *Aristaenet. 1.25.
 *Hesych. s.v. μήλω βαλεῖν.
 Phot. s.v. μήλω βαλεῖν.
 *Suda, s.v. βάλλειν μήλοις: μήλοις βάλλειν: μήλω βληθῆναι.
 Geom. 292^F 19ff.
 Niket. Eugenian. 6.463ff.
 Eustath. 1572.48f (in Hom. *Od.* 7.115).
 Mich. Akominat. (Lambros, 2. p. 18).
 Niket. Choniat. (Bonn, p. 857).
 Greg. Cypr. 1.72 (*Cod. Leid.*).
 Apostol. 4.87.
 *Verg. *Ecl.* 3.64.¹⁶
 Ov. *Her.* 20.9f.
 Epig. Bobiens. 32.

(xii) Relating to Marriage:

- *Stesich. frag. 10 (Page) apud Athen. 3.81D.
 *Sapph. frag. 105 (Lobel et Page) apud Syrian. in Hermog. π. 28. α
 (Rabe, 1. p. 15), et Schol. in Theoc. 11.38f.
 Strab. 15.3.17.
 *Plut. *Con. Praec.* 1 (*Mor.* 138D): * *Quaest. Rom.* 65 (*Mor.* 279F):
Sol. 20.4.
 Long. 1.19.
 Nonn. *D.* 13.351ff.
 *Arab. (*Anth. Plan.* 144).

Stesichorus relates that at the marriage of Menelaus and Helen quinces were thrown at the chariot, a custom that originally was perhaps believed to encourage fecundity through sympathetic magic. When such a belief had been eradicated in the course of religious evolution, the custom could be extended to courting, as in xi above, where the fruit would appear to be symbolic of love generally.

The other instances under this heading are of widely differing

¹⁶ On *malo* Philargyrius (ad loc.) gives the fatuous interpretation *idest omni hora*.

importance: Sappho compares a bride¹⁷ to an apple blushing on a tree-top out of the pickers' reach: Strabo gives the information that amongst the Persians a girl on her wedding day was allowed to eat nothing but apples and a camel's marrow: Solon decreed, according to Plutarch, that on the night of their marriage the husband should give his wife a quince to eat to ensure that thereafter all her words to him would be as sweet:¹⁸ Longus makes Dorco, yearning for Chloë as his wife, propose *inter alia* fifty apple trees as payment to her father (I doubt that any symbolism is intended here, despite Longus' predilection for it): at the nuptials of Cadmus and Harmonia, as Nonnus would have us believe, Aphrodite and the Loves hung about the bridal chamber golden fruit brought by the nymphs of the Hesperides from their garden as *νύμφης ἔδνον ἔρωτος ἐπάξιον*, leaves of which the enamoured pair entwined in their hair in place of the traditional roses: Arabius Scholasticus considers that the apples which Hippomenes threw near Atalanta were not only a device whereby he could win the race, but also a wedding present, being *ζυγίης σύμβολον Παφίης*.

The Byzantine historians again give an example:
Theophilos' Choice of Bride:¹⁹

Georg. Hamart. (Muralt, p. 700).

Sym. Mag. (Bonn, pp. 624f).

Leo Gramm. (Bonn, pp. 213f).

Zonar. (Bonn, 3. pp. 401f).

Mich. Glyk. (Bonn, pp. 535f).

Theodos. Melit. (Tafel, p. 177).

Chron. Pop. (Psichari, "Cassia et la pomme d'or," *Annuaire de l'École pratique* 1910/1911, pp. 24ff).

Chron. Pop. (Polites, "Κασία," *Laographia* 6 [1917] 359ff).

Euphrosyne, the stepmother of the Emperor Theophilos (829-842), gathered together in the palace many beautiful maidens so that he could choose his wife, a custom said to have been observed also by Michael III

¹⁷ The information that the girl is a bride we owe to Himerius (*Or.* 9.16, Colonna), whose explanation of the passage is quoted by Foster (p. 47 n. 2). Sappho's picture may be the inspiration behind Herodas' statue (4.27ff) and Longus' description (3.33f) of the lovely apple that Daphnis picked from the top of the tree for Chloë.

¹⁸ See, however, E. S. McCartney, "How the Apple Became the Token of Love," *TAPA* 56 (1925) 81 n. 77.

¹⁹ The chronological difficulties of this tale, derived from Simeon the Logothete, have been adequately expressed by E. W. Brooks ("The Marriage of the Emperor Theophilos," *BZ* 10 [1901] 540ff).

and Leo VI and, at the Russian court, by Ivan IV ("The Terrible").²⁰ In this instance alone the Emperor held a golden apple which he was to give to the favoured damsel. Although he was greatly attracted by one Eikasia, he said to her, (Leo Gramm.) διὰ γυναικὸς ἐρρήνῃ τὰ φαῦλα, but her pert reply, ἀλλὰ διὰ γυναικὸς πηγάζει τὰ κρείττονα,²¹ so put him aback that he turned aside and proffered the apple to Theodora the Paphlagonian.

(xiii) Symbolizing a Woman's Breasts:

*Crat. frag. 40 (Kock, *CAF* 1. p. 142) apud Athen. 2.50E et Eustath. 1633.56f (in Hom. *Od.* 9.359).

*Canth. frag. 6 (Kock, *CAF* 1. p. 765) apud Athen. 3.81D.

*Ar. *Ach.* 1199: * *Eccl.* 903: * *Lys.* 155 et * Scholl. ad locc.

*Theoc. 27.49f.

*Leon. Tar. (*Anth. Pal.* 6.211: * *Anth. Plan.* 182).

Aristaenet. 1.1: 1.3.

Nonn. *D.* 35.33f.

Paul. Silent. (*Anth. Pal.* 5.258: * 290f).

*Rufin. (*Anth. Pal.* 5.60).

**Anth. Pal.* 11.417.

Suda, s.v. μῆλα.

Niket. Eugen. 4.276.

Auct. *Carm. ad Lydiam*, 18 (Wernsdorf, *PLM* 3. p. 400).

Here, where Leonidas of Tarentum coins the word *μολοῦχος* (*strophium*), there is a combination of erotic symbolism and similarity of shape: for other aspects of the latter see xxxvi-xxxix and xlv-li.

(xiv) Game with Pips:²²

Poll. 9.128

*Hor. *Serm.* 2.3.272f et Acr., * Porph., Schol. ad loc.

²⁰ "He (Ivan) made an unexpected and apposite quotation from the saints and explained that he had discarded the idea of a foreign match, because mixed marriages did not turn out well. The young ladies of the realm were paraded and John (Ivan) made a wise choice" (B. Pares, *A History of Russia*³ [New York 1937] p. 100). This was Ivan's first marriage: his other seven were less successful. For the continuation of the tradition in Russia until the seventeenth century, see the references given by Brooks (p. 543; above, n. 19).

²¹ Some accounts explain Eikasia's retort as a reference to the Virgin Mary having given birth to Christ, an appropriate thought for a devout young Christian. It is tempting, but completely unjustifiable, to invest both her remarks and 'Theophilus' with the symbolism of xxviii.

²² Lovers' games of divination by apples are common even today: examples are given in most of the works mentioned in the Bibliography (to these may be added Sir J. G. Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful*, I. pp. 237f).

This game of attempting to hit the ceiling with pips as an augury of success both in love and generally is compared by Pollux with the "cottabos."

(xv) Use of Pips in an Aphrodisiac:²³

P. Griffith-Thompson, col. 15, p. 105.

In this recipe, some details of which are not certain, nine pips from an apple are to be pounded with such potent ingredients as "a little shaving from the head of a man who has died a violent death," "seven grains of barley that has been buried in a grave," the blood of a worm, of a black dog, and of the second finger of your left hand, and some of your semen. When this mixture has been added to a cup of wine, "you make the woman drink it."

(xvi) Miscellaneous Erotic:²⁴

Ibyc. frag. 5 (Page) apud Athen. 13.601B.

Ar. *Lys.* 857f.

Plat. (*Anth. Plan.* 210).

Clearch. frag. 39 (Mueller, *FHG* 2. pp. 315f) apud Athen. 12.553Eff.

Theoc. 7.117: * 11.39: * 14.38 et Scholl. ad locc.

Mosch. 4.56f.

Herod. 4.27ff.

Antig. Caryst. apud Athen. 3.82B.

Archyt. Amphiss. frag. 2 (Powell) aut Euphor. frag. 11 (Powell) apud Athen. 3.82A.

D.S. 4.26.2.

Ael. *H.A.* 9.39.²⁵

²³ See A. Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei* (Giessen 1908) pp. 317ff.

²⁴ The following verses from *Canticles* are worthy of comparison: "As the apple tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons. I sat down under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit was sweet to my taste" (2.3): "Stay me with flagons, comfort me with apples: for I am sick of love" (2.5): "Thy temples are like a piece of a pomegranate within thy locks" (4.3 = 6.7): "Now also thy breasts shall be as clusters of the vine, and the smell of thy nose like apples" (7.8). Upon the imagined symbolism of these passages Gregory of Nyssa discourses at great length (Jaeger, vol. 6). The apple is used figuratively also in *Proverbs*, "A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver" (25.11).

²⁵ Aelian tells a tale that even he does not believe: *τίκτει (δέ) τι καὶ ἡ μηλέα· καὶ διαφθείρει μὲν τοῦτο πολλάκις τὸν καρπὸν τοῦ φυτοῦ τοῦδε, ταῖς δὲ ἔτι τοῦ τίκτειν ἐχούσαις ὤραν γένοιτο ἂν καὶ ἐς κύησιν ἀγαθόν. καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐρεῖ ἄλλος*. The nearest parallel to

- Artemid. 1.73.
 *Philostr. *Imagg.* 1.6: 1.15.3: *Ep.* 27 (Kayser).
 Long. 1.23.
 Metrod. (*Anth. Pal.* 14.117).
 Lib. 8.275f (Foerster).
 Alciphr. 4.13.15 (Schepers).
 Aristaenet. 1.12.
 Geom. 292ff.
 Dig. *Akrit.* 7.1991 (*Cod. Treb.*).
 Theodor. Prodrom. 6.298ff.
 Ioann. Eugen. *Reg. in Parad.* (Boissonade, *Anecd. Nov.* p. 346).
 Plaut. *Amphit.* 723f (cf. n. 25).
 Tib. 3.4.30ff.
 Ov. *Met.* 3.482ff: 4.329ff.
 Florus (*Anth. Lat.* 1.248 [1.201]).²⁶
 Priap. 38: 58 (Cazzaniga).
 Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 11.67.²⁷

CONNECTED WITH GODS AND HEROES

(xvii) With Aphrodite:

- *Paus. 2.10.5.
 *Hesych. s.v. 'Ραμνουσία Νέμεσις.
 *Phot. s.v. 'Ραμνουσία Νέμεσις.
 *Suda, s.v. 'Ραμνουσία Νέμεσις.

References here are too numerous to warrant inclusion, but note particularly those above (Pausanias says that Canachus' statue of

this that I can find anywhere is the fact gleaned by Frazer (*The Magic Art*, 2. p. 57, quoted by Foster, p. 39) that "among the Kara-Kirghiz barren women roll themselves on the ground under a solitary apple-tree in order to obtain offspring." In Greek and Roman literature we find only that an apple may afford slight relief to a woman in travail (Sor. *Gyn.* 4.7.6: cf. Plaut. *Amphit.* 723f).

²⁶ *Quando ponebam novellas arbores mali et piri,
 cortici summae notavi nomen ardoris mei.
 nulla fuit exinde finis vel quies cupidinis:
 crescit arbor, gliscit ardor: animus implet litteras.*

This rather pleasant little poem is, I believe, the only instance in classical literature of the apple tree being chosen for this purpose.

²⁷ In an epithalamium Cupid reports to his mother that he has inflamed Ruricius, for whom various heroines of mythology would have given their most prized possessions or most famous attributes (e.g. Ariadne the thread for the labyrinth, Alcestis her life, Atalanta her feet). Amongst these appears Calypso with her *poma*. I take the meaning to be no more than that the goddess would have been willing to give Ruricius her lovely home on Ogygia: any erotic symbolism, although possible, is doubtful.

Aphrodite at Sicyon held a poppy in one hand and an apple in the other, the lexicographers agree that the Rhamnusian Nemesis, modelled on Aphrodite, held an apple bough). The confusion of contradictory accounts that mysteriously enshrouds the discovery of the "Venus de Milo" is notorious, but it is worth remarking that according to some the statue originally held an apple in one hand (authorities differ over which).²⁸

(xviii) With Apollo:²⁹

Hellanic. frag. 117 (Mueller, *FHG* 1. p. 60) apud Steph. Byz. sub *Μαλόεις*.

Thuc. 3.3.3 et Schol. ad loc.

Mnesith. Ath. apud Athen. 3.80E.

Call. frag. 485 (Pfeiffer) apud Choerob. *In Theod.* 3 (Hilgard, 1. p. 152.13ff).

Luc. *Anach.* 9.

Inscr. Gr. ins. 2.484.18ff.

Hesych. s.v. *Μαλ[λ]όεις*.

Geom. 291^r 16ff.

The cult of Apollo *Μαλόεις* is explained by an aetiological myth mentioned by Hellanicus, and preserved more fully in the Patmian scholia on Thucydides: *Μαλόεις* Ἀπόλλων. οὗτος παρὰ Μιτυληναίοις ἐτιμᾶτο, ἀπὸ τοιαύτης δέ τινος αἰτίας. Μαντῶ ἡ Τειρεσίου θυγάτηρ περὶ τοὺς τύπους χορεύουσα τοίτους, μῆλον χρυσοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ περιδεραίου ἀπώλεσεν· εὗξατο οὖν, εἰ εὖροι, ἱερὸν ἰδρύσειν τῷ θεῷ. εὗρουσα δὲ τὸ μῆλον, τὸ ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο, καὶ *Μαλόεις* Ἀπόλλων ἐντεῦθεν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐτιμᾶτο. Geometres says that while other trees were attributed to Aphrodite or Dionysus, the apple, palm, and bay alone were consecrated to Apollo. His belief may be founded merely on the use of the apple as a prize at the Pythian Games (see xxxi b below), a fact of which he was aware.

²⁸ One of the earliest witnesses, and perhaps the most reliable, is the young naval ensign D. d'Urville, who records (*Annales maritimes* [Bajot 1821] p. 150) that he saw the left arm raised and holding an apple. For Aphrodite's cult titles as a goddess of fruits, see Foster (p. 41).

²⁹ The astonishing thesis that Apollo was originally an "apple-deity" has been argued to the satisfaction of some by J. Rendel Harris ("The Origin of the Cult of Apollo," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, January to March 1916). His evidence, both summarized and expanded by A. B. Cook in a lengthy footnote (*Zeus*, 2. pp. 487ff), does not appear convincing to me, since it is usually not hard to find objections to or alternative explanations of his several points.

(xix) With Athene:

Apollod. 2.5.11.

Pediasim. 29.

Apart from frequent reference to the goddess in the Judgement of Paris, she is connected with the fruit in that she conveyed to the Garden of the Hesperides for safekeeping the apples that Heracles had stolen, according to Apollodorus and his imitator.

(xx) With Demeter:

Paus. 1.44.3.

Pausanias tells of a sanctuary in Nisaea of Demeter *Μαλοφόρος*: of the explanations of this title the only one that he thinks fit to mention is that those who first tended sheep in the area called her this. "Apple-bearing" or "fruit-bearing," however, seems a more fitting epithet of Demeter.³⁰

(xxi) With Dionysus:

*Philet. frag. 18 (Powell) apud Schol. in Theoc. 2.120.

*Call. frag. 412 (Pfeiffer) apud Schol. in Theoc. 2.120.

*Theoc. 2.120.

Neoptol. Par. frag. 1 (Powell) apud Athen. 3.82D (q.v.).

*Nonn. D. 42.307ff.

The connection of the apple with Dionysus is tenuous: as a god of vegetation he sometimes wore a garland from the tree (Philetas and Callimachus): in Nonnus the god, a lover himself, covertly refers to the fruit's erotic symbolism. There remains the statement of Athenaeus that Dionysus was the *εὐρετής τῶν μήλων*, to prove which he adduces Theocritus, who merely mentions "apples of Dionysus" as a lover's gift, and Neoptolemus of Parium, who does indeed say that the apple's *εὐρετής* was Dionysus but destroys any particular significance by adding *καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκροδρύων*.³¹

(xxii) With Eris or Ares:

Artemid. 1.73.

Lib. 8.274 (bis) (Foerster).

³⁰ See Cook (above, n. 29) 2. pp. 488f.

³¹ For Dionysus as a god of trees in general, see Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, 1. pp. 3f.

These references are in addition to the Apple of Discord (see v above) thrown onto the table at the marriage feast of Peleus and Thetis by Eris. Libanius makes the apple sacred to Ares without further comment, and Artemidorus believes that to dream of sour apples, sacred to Eris, bodes quarrels (see xxxiii below).

(xxiii) With Eros:

Plat. (*Anth. Plan.* 210).

Theoc. 7.117.

*Philostr. *Imagg.* 1.6.

Niket. Choniat. (Bonn, p. 857).

Plato describes Eros lying in a shady wood πορφυρέοις μήλοισιν ἐοικότα, and Theocritus in imitation likens "Ερωτες to μάλοισιν ἐρευθομένοισιν. Philostratus has an elaborate portrait of "Ερωτες harvesting apples. Some hang their quivers on the branches and fly up to the fruit, others enjoy eating them, two kiss an apple which they throw to each other, an indication that they are falling in love, another is pelted with apples by spectators for biting the ear of his opponent in a wrestling match, others again chase the hare that eats the fallen apples, and finally some gather around Aphrodite with the first fruits of their harvesting. Similarly Niketas mentions sculptured "Ερωτες quivering with sweet laughter as they hurl apples at each other.

(xxiv) With Priapus:³²

Nemesian. *Ecl.* 2.51.

Priap. 16: 38: 42: 53: 60f: 71f (Cazzaniga).

Anth. Lat. 1.885 (2.332).

"Poma" were naturally offered to Priapus to encourage him in his duty of promoting and protecting crops. An image of the god himself could be made of apple wood (*Priap.* 61).

(xxv) With Zeus:

Georn. 293^v 26ff.

Meliteniotes *Paradis.* 1548f.³³

³² Amongst the *apophoreta* produced by Trimalchio at his dinner party we find (Petr. *Sat.* 56) "*serisapia et contumelia*"; *xerophagi ex sapa datae sunt et contus cum malo*. T. Studer (*Gymn. Bernensis Ann. lect.* 1839) sees in the words *contus cum malo*, besides the obvious paronomasia, an ithyphallic significance, but H. D. Rankin (*Rh. Mus.* 107 [1964] 361ff) rightly concludes that he adduces insufficient evidence.

³³ This allegorical poem on Paradise is published in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale* 19.2 (Paris) pp. 1-138, edited by M. Miller.

Both these authors describe Zeus holding an orb, called an apple, that represents power (on which see xxxix below).

(xxvi) With Heracles:

(a) Apples of the Hesperides:³⁴

- Pherecyd. frag. 33 (Mueller, *FHG* 1. pp. 78ff) apud Schol. in A.R. 4.1396 et al.
 Schol. in Hes. *Theog.* 215.
 Soph. *Trach.* 1099f.
 Eur. *H.F.* 394ff.
 Schol. in Eur. *Hipp.* 742.
 Isoc. *Hel.* 24.
 A.R. 4.1396ff.
 Eratosth. *Cat.* 3.
 D.S. 4.26.2ff.
 Iuba, frag. 24 (Mueller, *FHG* 3. p. 472) apud Athen. 3.83Bf.
 Agroetas, frag. 3 (Mueller, *FHG* 4. p. 295) apud Schol. in A.R. 4.1396.
 Strab. 3.2.13: 4.1.7.
 Apollod. 2.5.11.
 Palaeph. 18.
 Phil. (*Anth. Plan.* 93).
 Paus. 2.13.8: 5.11.6: 5.18.4: 6.19.8.
 Q.S. 6.256ff.
 Nonn. *D.* 25.247f.

³⁴ In mythology the Apples of the Hesperides, most famous for their theft by Heracles, were originally those presented by Ge at the nuptials of Zeus and Hera, but they became common stock for most legends concerning the fruit, and later were used to describe any unusually beautiful specimens. Thus Juvenal could believe that the apples eaten by Virro and his friends were *subrepta sororibus Afris*, whilst to the downtrodden *clientes* was served rotten fruit fit to be gnawed by a performing monkey. I append a list of references to the Apples of the Hesperides, by name or by periphrasis, that contain no mention of their connection with Heracles: it is, I am sure, very incomplete.

Hes. *Theog.* 215f: *ibid.* 333ff: Orph. frag. 34 (Kern, p. 110) apud Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2.17.2ff et Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* 2.3.23: Eur. *Hipp.* 742: Antiph. frag. 58 (Kock, *CAF* 2. pp. 35f) apud Athen. 3.84Af: Eriph. frag. 2 (Kock, *CAF* 2. p. 429) apud Athen. 3.84B: Call. *Cer.* 11: Timachidas et Pamphilus apud Athen. 3.82Df: Aristocrat. frag. 1 (Mueller, *FHG* 4. p. 332) apud Athen. 3.82E: Poll. 6.47: Philostr. *Imagg.* 2.17.6: Nonn. *D.* 13.351ff: Hesych. s.v. 'Εσπερίδων μήλα: Coluth. 59: Heraclit. *Incred.* 20: Verg. *Cat.* 9.25: *id.* *Ecl.* 6.61 et Philarg., Prob. ad loc.: *id.* *Aen.* 4.484f: Hyg. *Fab.* 151: Ov. *Met.* 9.190: *ibid.* 11.114: Scholl. in Ov. *Ib.* 371: Sil. Ital. 3.283ff: *id.* 4.636f: Mart. 10.94.1: *id.* 13.37.2: Juv. 5.152: Claud. 30.177: Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3.113: *Priap.* 16: *Anth. Lat.* 1.169 (1.150): *ibid.* 1.885 (2.332): Prim. Myth. Vat. 39 (Bode, 1. p. 14): Sec. Myth. Vat. 114 (Bode, 1. p. 113).

- Epigr. Gr.* 1082.13f (Kaibel).
 Eudok. Aug. *Violar.* 356: 436 (Flach, pp. 277f: 347).
 Christodorus (*Anth. Pal.* 2.25).
Anth. Plan. 92.
 Geom. 293^r 33ff.
 Tzetz. *Chil.* 2.355ff.
 Eustath. 1572.43ff (in Hom. *Od.* 7.1115): *Ep.* 1 (Tafel, *Eustath. Opusc.* p. 308).
 Pediasim. 28f.
 Meliteniotes *Paradis.* 2064ff.
 Apostol. 11.57.
 Varro *R.R.* 2.1.6.
 Lucr. 5.32ff.
 Prop. 2.24.26: 3.22.10.
 Hyg. *Fab.* 30: *Astr.* 2.3.
 Schol. in Caes. Germ. *Aratea* (Eyssenhardt, *Martianus Capella*, pp. 382f).
 Ov. *Met.* 4.637ff: *Nux* 111f.
 Sen. *Ag.* 852ff: *H.F.* 239f: 530ff: *H.O.* 18: *Ph.* 316f.
 Luc. 9.357f.
 Sil. Ital. 6.183f.
 Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.158f.
 Mart. 9.101.4.
 Solin. 24.4f.
 Auson. *Ecl.* 25 (Peiper, p. 107).
 Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 4.484.
 Serv. Auct. in Verg. *Aen.* 4.246: 484: 8.299.
 Fulg. *Verg. Cont.* 739: 755 (Helm, pp. 84: 97).
 Maximian. 1.189f.
 Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 9.97: 13.12: 15.143.
 Albric. 22.
 Hilasius (*Anth. Lat.* 1.627 [2.95f]).
Anth. Lat. 1.134 (1.139).
 Prim. Myth. Vat. 38: 106 (Bode, 1. pp. 13f: 34).
 Sec. Myth. Vat. 161 (Bode, 1. p. 130).
 Tert. Myth. Vat. 13.5 (Bode, 1. p. 248).

Some ancient writers³⁵ rationalized this difficult myth by making the

³⁵ D.S. 4.26.2f: Agroetas, frag. 3 (Mueller, *FHG* 4. p. 295) apud Schol. in A.R. 4.1396: Palaeph. 18: Apostol. 11.57: Varro *R.R.* 2.1.6: Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 4.484: Prim. Myth. Vat. 38 (Bode, 1. pp. 13f: 34): Sec. Myth. Vat. 161 (Bode, 1. p. 130): Tert. Myth. Vat. 13.5 (Bode, 1. p. 248). If this explanation were right, the myth could be considered to duplicate that of the stealing of the kine of Geryon, especially since the two labours are often consecutive in accounts, both took place in the far West (the Hesperides are, however, sometimes placed

nymphs of the Hesperides shepherdesses keeping watch over their sheep (μῆλα), an explanation tempting for its simplicity, but almost certainly wrong. For some modern theories see Bibliography iii, vii, ix, and xi.

(b) The Sacrifice of Apples:

Poll. 1.30f.

Zenob. 5.22.

Hesych. s.v. Μήλων Ἡρακλῆς.

Suda, s.v. Μήλειος Ἡρακλῆς.

Proverb. Coislinian. 338 (Leutsch et Schneidewin, *Append. Prov.* 3.93, *Corp. Paroem. Graec.* 1. p. 434).

Since the flood waters of the Asopus delayed the arrival of the sacrificial animal (either a sheep or an ox), some children for fun made an animal out of an apple with little sticks for legs and horns. The unwitting Heracles was pleased by this sacrifice, and therefore the rite was continued in this form amongst the Boeotians.³⁶

For further, although tenuous, connections between Heracles and the apple see xxxiv–xxxvi and xxxix below.

(xxvii) With Alexander the Great:

Chares, frag. 4 (Mueller, *SRAM* p. 115) apud Athen. 7.277A.

Dorotheus, frag. 1 (Mueller, *SRAM* p. 155) apud Athen. 7.276F.

Geom. 293^v 23ff.

Eustath. 1572.45ff (in Hom. *Od.* 7.115).

Ioann. Hildersheim, *Hist. Trium Regum* 22. p. 239.³⁷

Alexander and his father were both φιλόμηλοι (Dorotheus and Eustathius), the latter even having apples named after him (Eustathius). Chares records the following curious story (also in Eustathius): κάλλιστα μῆλα εὐρών ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος περὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν χώραν τούτων τε πληρώσας τὰ σκάφη μελομαχίαν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἐποιήσατο, ὡς τὴν θέαν

among the Hyperboreans), and under μῆλα the lexicographers give πάντα τὰ τετρόποδα. Geometres (293^r 22ff) deliberately considers the two words one merely that he can bring in a quotation from Hesiod (*Op.* 161ff) in his comprehensive praise of the fruit. For further etymological confusion, see iii and xxvi b, and, for the allegory of the apples as stars, see xxxvi.

³⁶ A very similar tale is mentioned by Zenobius (5.5) about the Locrians, who sacrificed an "ox" that they had made by inserting sticks into gourds.

³⁷ The references are to the numbers of the chapters and pages of *Three Kings of Cologne*, edited by C. Horstmann (*Early English Text Society*, no. 85, London 1886), where the Latin text of *Ms Brandenburg* 1.1.176 is printed after two English translations. For Alexander's connection here with the apple, see xxix.

ἡδίστην γενέσθαι, behaviour a little hard to imagine on the part of the historical Alexander. Geometres mentions an apple representing dominion (for which see xxxix below) in the hand of Μηλοφόρος Ἀλέξανδρος, but whether this is a painting by Apelles or a statue by Lysippus he does not know.

(xxviii) With the Virgin Mary:

The origins of the "Virgin with Apple," a not uncommon mediaeval motif, probably go back to the Greek prototypes such as the statue of Aphrodite at Sicyon mentioned by Pausanias (2.10.5). To this, however, Christians added their own symbolism, for, just as Eve touched the forbidden fruit, so Mary bore a better fruit, as is shown by the hymn of St Fortunatus,

*Quod Eva tristis abstulit,
tu reddis almo germine.*

The pun in Latin naturally fosters this imagery, as can be seen in the distich that accompanies a statue of the Virgin at Benoîte-Vaux, in Lorraine,

*Laeua gerit natum, gestat tua dextera malum;
mali per natum tollitur omne malum.*³⁸

A further connection of the Virgin with the apple is given by a mediaeval tale of an assassin who was being carried away by fiends after his death, because he had neither made confession nor received the sacraments. Since, however, during his life *valde honorabat beatam Virginem*, she interceded at his judgement and successfully claimed him as her own, in token of which she gave him a golden apple to hold in his hand. This apple, the tale continues, is still to be seen in St Peter's at Rome to bear witness to the fact.³⁹

(xxix) With Christ:

Geom. 294^r 7ff.

Ioann. Hildersheim, *Hist. Trium Regum*, 22f. pp. 238ff (cf. n. 37).

³⁸ Both these examples are given by Mgr Barbier de Montault (*Revue de l'Art Chrétien* [1889] 25), and are discussed by Gaidoz, "La réquisition d'amour et le symbolisme de la pomme," *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études* (1902) 22ff.

³⁹ Gaidoz' reference is Th. Wright, *Latin Stories* (London 1842) no. 145, pp. 130f.

The Three Kings of Cologne by John of Hildersheim (a very popular work in England, to judge from the large number of mss. of translations into the vernacular) contains the following interesting story: when the Magi made their offerings, *Malchiar xxx denarios aureos et pomum aureum paruum sicut manu concludi potuit, optulit Jhesu*. This apple (p. 239) *quondam fuit Allexandri magni et totaliter potuit manu concludi, mundum significans, quod ex minimis particulis tributorum omnium prouinciarum conflari fecit, et ipsum semper manu portauit et uelud sua potencia totum mundum manu conclusit; quod pomum in India remansit quando de Persyde reuersus fuit. ipsius autem pomi rotunditas, que neque principium habet neque finem, significat illum qui uniuersum mundum, celum uidelicet et terram, sue potencie uirtute circumdat*. However (p. 240), *Christus tunc de uirgine natus, qui deponit potentes de sede et exaltat humiles, pomum, quod uniuersum mundum significauit, sua humilitate in potencie magnitudine in momento contriuit et ad nichilum redegit*. For the history of the orb, with and without a cross, that Christ is often depicted holding in his hand, see xxxix below.

In Geometres the rhetorician overcomes the priest, for as Christ is the spiritual panacea, so is the apple the physical.⁴⁰ Even more strangely he connects the apple with Cherubim and Seraphim (293^v 38ff) and, as it appears, the Trinity (294^r 3).

MISCELLANEOUS

(xxx) Inscriptions upon Apples:⁴¹

*Hes. frag. 85 (Rzach) apud Schol. Ven. A. in Hom. II. 6.35.

⁴⁰ A full list of the ancient medicinal uses of apples (nowadays valued chiefly as a laxative and as a source of vitamin C) is out of place here, but it could be mentioned that they were eaten raw, baked, boiled, and compounded in recipes with dates, honey, meal, suet etc., and in drinks made from the flesh, core, and pips, although the superior nutritional value of the last does not seem to have been known. The different sorts of "apples" were used primarily as both astringents and diuretics of varying strengths, and thus were considered a cure for any sort of bellyache, but also their odour prevented vomiting, their juice was recommended for orthopnoea, they were one ingredient in a poultice for cardiac diseases, some were classed as *ψυκτήρια* and were consequently used in combating fevers, whilst others warmed the body, they helped to relieve arthritis and sciatica, and were beneficial in the diet of a man suffering from cholera, diabetes, and many diseases of the pulmonary, biliary, and urinary systems. Since from them even a woman in travail could gain some alleviation of her pains, and since they were considered to be also an antidote to poisons, the ancients fully believed the English adage.

⁴¹ For a possible inscription on the apple in the hand of the equestrian statue of Justinian in Constantinople, see xxxix.

- Dieg. ad Call. *Aet.* 3 frag. 67 (Pfeiffer).
 Nic. frag. 50 (Schneider) apud Athen. 3.82A (cf. n. 12).
 *Luc. *Dial. Mar.* 5.
 *Philostr. *Ep.* 62 (Kayser).
 *Anton. Lib. 1.
 Aristaenet. 1.10.
 Max. Plan. *Metaphr. Ov. Her.* 20f (Dilthey, *De Callimachi Cydippa*, pp. 157ff).
Kallimachos et Chrysorrhoe, 1206ff.⁴²
 *Ov. *Her.* 20f: *A.A.* 1.457f: *Tr.* 3.10.73f.
 Florus (*Anth. Lat.* 1.248 [1.201]) (cf. n. 26).
 Prim. Myth. Vat. 208 (Bode, 1. pp. 65f).
 Sec. Myth. Vat. 205f (Bode, 1. pp. 142ff).
 Tert. Myth. Vat. 11.20ff (Bode, 1. pp. 240f).

The apple that Eris threw before the gods has some such inscription as ἡ καλὴ λαβέτω (Lucian), Acontius' reads *Μὰ τὴν Ἀρτεμιν, Ἀκοντίῳ γαμοῦμαι* (Aristaenetus), and Briseïs writes *Μὴ σπεῦδ', Ἀχιλλεῦ, πρὶν Μοιρηΐαν ἐλεῖν ὕδωρ γὰρ οὐκ ἔνεστι διψῶσιν κακῶς*. The apple used by Philostratus as a love letter is suitably inscribed *Εὐρίππη, φιλῶ σε*, but the wench was requested to add the words *Κάγώ σέ*.

(xxxi) Use as Garland or Prize of Victory:

(a) Use as garland alone:

- Hippon. frag. 57 (Diehl) apud Athen. 2.49E.⁴³
 *Philet. frag. 18 (Powell) apud Schol. in Theoc. 2.120.
 *Call. frag. 412 (Pfeiffer) apud Schol. in Theoc. 2.120.
 Mel. (*Anth. Pal.* 4.1.27).⁴⁴
 Arist. Iud. *Ep. ad Philocr.* 6.63 (Pelletier).⁴⁵

(b) Use as Prize of Victory:⁴⁶

- Luc. *Anach.* 9.
 Phleg. frag. 1 (Mueller, *FHG* 3. pp. 603f).
 Max. Tyr. *Diss.* 5.8: 7.4 (Duebner).

⁴² For the two inscriptions on this magic apple, see xliii.

⁴³ *στέφανον εἶχον κοκκημήλων καὶ μίνθης*.

⁴⁴ A garland from the apple tree is chosen by Meleager to honour Diotimus, on the problems of whose identity see A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology, Hellenistic Epigrams*, 2. pp. 270f.

⁴⁵ On a table is carved in relief a *στέφανον πάγκαρπον* that includes *μήλα*.

⁴⁶ Athenaeus writes (3.80E), *Μῆλα ταῦτα Μνησίθεος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐδεστών μῆλα Δελφικὰ καλεῖ*: this may be relevant to the use of apples at the Pythian Games. Possible numismatic evidence can be found in Cook (above, n. 29) 2. pp. 490ff.

Lib. 8.277 (Foerster).
Anth. Pal. 9.357.
Epigr. Gr. 931.1f (Kaibel).
 Geom. 292^r 9ff: 293^v 15.
 Auson. *Ecl.* 20 (Peiper).

Although the garland of victory at the Pythian Games was generally of bay, there is not inconsiderable evidence amongst later writers that the apple also, despite its apparent unsuitability, was used.⁴⁷ The following epigram from the *Greek Anthology* was sufficiently well known to be translated by Ausonius:

Τέσσαρες εἰσιν ἀγῶνες ἀν' Ἑλλάδα, τέσσαρες ἱροί,
 οἱ δύο μὲν θνητῶν, οἱ δύο δ' ἀθανάτων·
 Ζηνός, Αἰητοῖδαο, Παλαίμονος, Ἀρχεμόροιο.
 ἄθλα δὲ τῶν, κότινος, μῆλα, σέλινα, πίτυς.

The only authority given above who does not state that the apple tree provided the garland at the Pythian Games perhaps implies it, for in his long account of the reinstitution of the Olympic Games Phlegon of Tralles says that, after the first five celebrations had passed without the victors being awarded a symbol of their prowess, the Eleans sent a deputation to Delphi to enquire about the matter. The Pythian priestess suggested the wild olive, but first deemed it necessary to intone, "Ἴφιτε, μήλειον καρπὸν μὴ θῆς ἐπὶ νίκῃ.

(xxxii) King of Trees:

Geom. 293^r 13ff: 293^v 16.⁴⁸

(xxxiii) Symbolism in Dreams:

Artemid. 1.66: 73.
 Geom. 292^r 8f.

According to Artemidorus, to look at and taste sweet apples (1.73), that are sacred to Aphrodite, is good, πολλήν γὰρ ἐπαφροδισίαν σημαίνει μάλιστα τοῖς περὶ γυναικὸς ἢ ἐρωμένης φροντίζουσιν, but sour apples στάσεις καὶ φιλονεικίας σημαίνει· ἔστι γὰρ Ἔριδος, and to drink μελίμηλον

⁴⁷ Ovid was aware of garlands from different trees, since in his description of the first Pythian Games (*Met.* 1.446ff) the victors are honoured with a crown of oak, for Apollo himself, before the existence of the bay tree, used to wreath his temples with foliage *de qualibet arbore*.

⁴⁸ With greater justification and support from other authorities Geometres (287^r 36f) makes this claim also for the oak tree.

(1.66) is good for the rich, but bad for the poor. Geometres says merely that the apple, as opposed to the fig, is *εὐάγγελον* in dreams.

(xxxiv) Symbolic of Virtues:

Meliteniotes *Paradis*. 2064ff.

This comes from a description of a statue of Heracles in Paradise:

καὶ οὕτως ἀφελόμενος ταῦτα τὰ τρία μῆλα,
ἤγουν τὰς τρεῖς περιφονεῖς ἀρετὰς καὶ μεγάλας,
τὸ μὴ ὀργίζεσθαι καπὰρ κατὰ τινος εὐκόλως,
τὸ μὴ ποσῶς φιλαργυρεῖν ἐν ἀκορέστῳ γνώμῃ,
καὶ τὸ μὴ πάνυ ταῖς τρυφαῖς φιληδονεῖν τοῦ βίου.

(xxxv) Symbolic of Past, Present, and Future etc.:

Ioann. Lyd. *De Mensibus* 4.46.

John the Lydian says that the third day of April is sacred to Heracles, briefly describes the festival, and adds, *τρία δὲ αὐτῷ μῆλα ἐν τῇ λαίᾳ ταῖν χεροῖν, τῆς χρόνου δι' αὐτοῦ ἀναμερίσεως σύμβολον· μῆλον μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν αὐτοῦ συμπάθειαν, ἀρχὴ δὲ χρόνου ἐαρινῇ τροπῇ. καὶ ἄλλως δὲ τρία, ὅτι τριμερὴς ὁ χρόνος. ἀνάγειν δὲ λέγεται τὸν κύνα τὸν τρικέφαλον ἐκ τοῦ Ἀιδου, ὅτι φρουρητικὸς καὶ λυμαντικὸς ὁ χρόνος, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ ὁ κύων· τρεῖς δὲ αὐτῷ κεφαλαί, ὃ τε παρελθὼν καὶ ὁ ἐνεστὼς καὶ ὁ μέλλων καιρὸς. καὶ ἄλλως δὲ τὰ τρία μῆλα ληπτέον ἐπὶ Ἡρακλέους κατὰ φιλόσοφον δόγμα, ὅτι τὰς τρεῖς περιόδους ὁ ἥρως ἀνύσας τοῦ πρακτικοῦ βίου τέλειος εἶναι δοκεῖ. ταύτῃ καὶ τριέσπερος λέγεται κατὰ Λυκόφωνα, φησὶ γάρ· Τριεσπέρου λέοντος, ὃν ποτε γνάθοις | Τρίτωνος ἡμάλαψε κάρχαρος κύων' (Lyc. 33f). τὸ γὰρ τρισὶ νυξὶν ἐσπάρθαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα μυθικόν ἐστιν.*

(xxxvi) Likened to the Stars:

Schol. in Hes. *Theog.* 215.

Eudok. Aug. *Violar.* 356 (Flach, pp. 277f).

Geom. 293^r 29f: 293^v 13.

Eustath. 1572.45 (in Hom. *Od.* 7.115).

Geometres calls the apple *καὶ γῆς ἄστρον καὶ ἀστέρων σύμβολον* and *ἀστέρων μίμημα* simply because it is both round and shining like the stars, but the other authorities relate the following absurd allegory of the apples of the Hesperides (I quote the version of Eudokia): *ἡ δὲ ἀλληγορία τὰς Ἑσπερίδας ἐσπερινὰς ὥρας λαμβάνει, μῆλα δὲ χρυσᾶ*

τὰ ἄστρον, Ἡρακλέα δὲ τὸν ἥλιον. παρερχομένου γὰρ τοῦ ἡλίου, τὰ ἄστρον οὐκ ἔτι φαίνονται, ὃ ἔστι τὸ τρυγῆσαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὰ μήλα.

(xxxvii) Likened to the Sun:

Anaxag. apud Geom. 293^r 27ff (cf. id. 293^v 13).

Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ μήλω καὶ τὸν ἥλιον αὐτὸν εἰκάζει· καὶ ὁ λόγος αἰρεῖ, ὃ γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα σφαιρικόν, τῷ κύκλῳ δὲ φλογερόν, τίνι ἂν ἄλλῳ εἰκασθείη δικαίως ἢ μήλω πάντως παντόθεν ἐρυθρῷ;

There are six authorities for Anaxagoras' belief that the sun is *μύδρος*,⁴⁹ whilst Josephus alone records *μύλος*.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, in Geometres there can be no doubt that the true reading is *μήλω* since any other word would be irrelevant in the context, and in the peroration of this encomium the apple is apostrophized as being *inter alia* ἡλίου εἰκῶν. It is possible that Anaxagoras did compare the sun with an apple in shape and colour, the two features emphasized here (this is not necessarily incompatible with his view that the sun is larger than the Peloponnese⁵¹), but it is far more likely that Geometres either saw a corrupt ms. or "corrected" *μύλος*.⁵²

Although classical literature cannot, it seems, offer even a remote parallel to this, mention may be made of an ancient Roumanian folk tale that has been illogically Christianized: in order to quieten her crying babe, the Virgin Mother gave him two apples, which he petulantly tossed away to the skies: there they became the sun and the moon.⁵³

(xxxviii) Likened to the Universe:

Geom. 292^r 6f: 293^v 14.

Geometres, concerned with shape alone, says καὶ σχῆμα τῷ μήλῳ τὸ τοῦ παντός ἐστι μίμημα, and later in his description of the apple he calls it σχῆμα τῶν ὄντων.

⁴⁹ Schol. in Pind. (A 20a): Schol. in Eur. *Or.* (A 20a): Olymp. in Arist. *Met.* (A 19): Aët. (A 72): Harp. (A 2): D.L. (A 1). This belief is ascribed also to Democritus (A 87) and Gorgias (B 31). (All references are to the numbers of the fragments of the respective philosophers in Diels, *Vorsokr.*¹⁰)

⁵⁰ A 19.

⁵¹ Aët. (A 72): D.L. (A 1): Hippol. *Haer.* (A 42).

⁵² Had Geometres by some chance come across an imperial copper coin of Clazomenae (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia*, p. 33, pl. 7.9, whereon see Cook [above, n. 29] 1. p. 51) that depicts Anaxagoras holding a small orb in his outstretched right hand, he would probably have called it an "apple," since it is in the artistic tradition of the Orb of Dominion (see xxxix), an example of which he could see daily in Constantinople in the equestrian statue of Justinian.

⁵³ See P. Gordon, *L'Image du Monde dans l'Antiquité*, p. 91.

(xxxix) The Orb of Dominion:⁵⁴

Geom. 293^v 19ff.

Kedren. (Bonn, I. pp. 656f).

Meliteniotes *Paradis*. 1548f.

Ioann. Hildersheim, *Hist. Trium Regum*, 22f. pp. 238ff: 41. pp. 273f.

Gotefridus Viterbiensis (apud Du Cange, *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat.* [ed. 1886] sub *palla*).

In Constantinople there was a very famous equestrian statue of Justinian that has been described in detail by historians,⁵⁵ and mentioned by foreign travellers.⁵⁶ The Emperor's right hand was raised against the Persians in the East, and in his left hand he held an orb, surmounted by a cross, which, as the Arab Qazwini reports, some thought to have been inscribed with the words, "I own the world as long as this ball is in my hand." The fact that Kedrenos in his description of the statue calls this very orb *μῆλον* we could attribute to individual whim, were it not for the following supporting evidence:

(a) John of Hildersheim says of the same statue, *habet pomum aureum rotundum more imperiali in sinistra*.

(b) The orb that Alexander the Great had made from the tribute of the provinces in his empire and that Melchior gave to Christ (see xxix above) is always called *pomum* by John of Hildersheim. Moreover, he says that *uniuersum mundum significauit*.

(c) Geometres calls the apple *εὐγενείας ἄμα καὶ βασιλείας σύμβολον*, and says that for this reason it was held in the hand by Heracles, Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, and Zeus.⁵⁷

(d) Meliteniotes' description of the statue of Zeus in Paradise contains

⁵⁴ *μῆλον* is twice used of an orb without any connotation of dominion: these instances are given in li.

⁵⁵ Procop. *De Aedif.* 1.2: Suda, s.v. *Ιουστινιανός*: Leo Gramm. (Bonn, p. 227): Kedren. (Bonn, I. pp. 656f): Mich. Glyk. (Bonn, p. 505): Kōdin. (Bonn, p. 29). It is mentioned, but not described, also by Theophanes (Bonn, I. p. 347). An old drawing of the statue is reproduced in *REG* 9 (1896) 84.

⁵⁶ Qazwini (J. Marquart, *Osteurop. und ostasiatische Streifzüge* [1903] p. 221): Harun ibn Yahya (ibid. p. 220): Bertrand de la Broquière (*Le Voyage d'Outremer* [1892] p. 159). I am indebted for these references to a very interesting paper by R. M. Dawkins entitled "Ancient Statues in Mediaeval Constantinople" (*Folklore* 35 [1924] 209ff).

⁵⁷ Geometres (293^v 18f) thinks that the butts, or *μῆλα*, of the spears of the Persian *μηλοφόροι*, the king's bodyguard, also signify power; but he is carried away by his quest for virtues of the apple. (Gordon [above, n. 53], p. 93, bluntly states that from them we can understand "une ancienne confrérie d'initiés.")

the words, τὰ τρία δὲ σφαιροειδῆ μῆλα τὰ ἐν τῷ σκήπτρῳ | αἰνίττονται τῶν οὐρανῶν δεσπότην καὶ τοῦ κόσμου.

(e) Gotefridus Viterbiensis calls the orb an apple, *Aureus ille Globus Pomum vel Palla vocatur, | quando coronatur, Palla ferenda datur.*

(f) The following lines occur in the *Chanson de Roland* (29.386ff):

En sa main tint une vermeille pume:

"Tenez, bel sire," dist Rollant a sun uncle,

"De trestuz reis vos present les curunes."

(g) There exists in German the word "Reichsapfel," best known in connection with the imperial orb of Charlemagne in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

The earlier existence of the orb of dominion is attested by many coins of Imperial Rome which portray Jupiter presenting an orb to the Emperor, and especially by one whereon Trajan offers the symbol to his successor Hadrian.⁵⁸ A. B. Cook propounds the theory that this orb, essentially the same as that sometimes placed by Jupiter's throne or used as a footstool, is derived from the ball upon a square pedestal that was both a grave stele and a boundary stone of the Etruscans.⁵⁹ It is, however, no flight of fancy to believe more simply that an orb in the hand is the most natural way in which an artist could indicate dominion over the world.

The Christians quickly adopted the symbol,⁶⁰ to which they added the cross to denote that empire was dependent upon their faith. Nevertheless, a French glass of the thirteenth century on which the Virgin is depicted giving her son an orb,⁶¹ and various statues of Christ holding an orb alone show the survival of the classical prototypes.

⁵⁸ Rasche, *Lex. Num.* 3.15.1464: an illustration is given by Cook (above, n. 29) 1. p. 47. fig. 19.

⁵⁹ 1. pp. 41ff (above, n. 29). Justice cannot be given to his argument in a short compass: it is basically dependent upon a reconstruction of the appearance of Apollonius' statue of Jupiter Capitolinus that places an orb by his throne, and the fact that his first temple was largely Etruscan and built on a site already sacred to Terminus.

⁶⁰ Two of the earliest examples are an orb beneath the foot of Christ on a piece of gilded glass, found in a catacomb, of the fourth century (see F. Buonarruoti, *Osservazioni sopra alcuni frammenti di vasi antichi di vetro* [Firenze 1716] pp. 110ff. pl. 17.1), and God seated upon an orb in the right lateral apse of the Mausoleo di S. Costanza, both of which are very similar to representations of Jupiter. Illustrations of these two works are to be found in Cook (above, n. 29) 1. pp. 49f. figg. 22f, where they are discussed.

⁶¹ Described by De Marsy, *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France* (1876) p. 200.

Finally it can be remarked that the orb of the British sovereign is divided into three parts, the upper two symbolizing Europe and Asia, the lower one Africa. The word "apple," however, in this connection the Germans alone retain.⁶²

(xl) Not to be eaten at the Eleusinian Mysteries:

Porph. *De Abst.* 4.16.

Jul. *Or.* 5.174B.

This prohibition is clearly connected with Persephone's eating of pomegranate seeds in Hades. Since the authorities above specify both pomegranates and μήλα, it is likely that any food with pips or seeds was forbidden at the Mysteries as too grim a reminder of the great tragedy.

(xli) Use in Ritual of the Dead:

*Hyg. *Fab.* 104.

(xlii) Symbolic of the Passing of Life:

PLM (Baehrens) 6. p. 405.

*Poma ut in arboribus, pendent sic corpora nostra:
aut matura cadunt aut cito acerba ruunt.*⁶³

(xliii) The Apple of Life and Death:

Kallimachos et Chrysorrhoeë, 1206ff.

The crone γράμμασι κακομαγικοῖς καὶ λόγοις μαντευμάτων / ἐπέδενσεν, ἐδέσμευσεν a beautiful golden apple which she inscribes with this double charm:

“ἂν ἄνθρωπος εἰς κόρπον τοῦ τὸ μήλον τοῦτο βάλη,
νεκρὸς ὥς κεῖται παρενθὺς, ἄπνους εὐθὺς ὥς ἐνι·
ἂν δέ τις εἰς τὴν μύτην τοῦ τοῦ νεκρωμένου πάλιν
θήσῃ τὸ μήλον τὸ χρυσοῦν, ζήτω καὶ μὲ τοὺς ζῶντας
ἰχνεύειν καὶ περιπατεῖν καὶ κόσμον περιτρέχειν.”

⁶² For the connection between the Byzantine Apple of Dominion and the Turks' belief in the "Red Apple" and the mysterious "Land of the Red Apple-Tree," see R. M. Dawkins' paper in *Ἐπιτύμβιον Χρήστου Τσουντα* (Athens 1941) 401ff.

⁶³ This seems to be a variation on the theme of Homer's famous lines in the *Iliad* (6.146ff). W. Mannhardt relates (*Baumkultus*, p. 412) that in Nuremberg girls used to carry an apple on a branch from a beech: this represented Death.

Under the pretence of rewarding the hero for slaying the dragon, she presents him with this apple, which he places in his bosom; he consequently expires immediately (1311). Meanwhile his brothers dream that danger threatens him (1329ff), search for, find, and lament him before discovering the apple that now reads (1407f),

“εἴ τις ἀνάσθητος νεκρὸς μυρίσεται τὸ μῆλον,
αἴσθησιν λάβη παρ’ αὐτοῦ, ἐξαναζήσει πάλιν.”

They promptly apply it to his nose, and he sits up completely restored.

Save for the strange story about Aristotle in the next section, this is unparalleled in classical literature. It is tempting to link this magic fruit with such myths as that of the golden apples in the guardianship of the goddess Iduna, that were regularly eaten for purposes of rejuvenation by the Nordic deities.⁶⁴

(xliv) Preserver of Life:

Arist. *Liber de Pomo*, pp. 44: 64 (Marianus Plezia, *Aristotelis qui ferebatur Liber de Pomo* [Acad. Scient. Polona]).

The relevant passages are (p. 44), *Aristotelis uero de ipsis fecit ridiculum dicens: Non cogitetis in cordibus uestris, quod ego letor, eo quod sperem euadere a nimia infirmitate, quam habeo; quoniam bene scio nunc me moriturum nec possum euadere, quia dolor multum excreuit; et nisi esset hoc pomum quod manu mea teneo et quod odor suus confortat et aliquantulum prolongat uitam meam, iam exspirassem. Set anima sensibilis, in qua communicamus cum bestiis, fouetur odore bono . . .* and (p. 64), *Et cum applicuisset sapiens ad finem horum sermonum, inceperunt manus sue titubare, a quibus pomum cecidit, quod tenebat. Et cum cepisset nigrescere facies, exspirauit.*⁶⁵

⁶⁴ The legend may be more familiar to some from Wagner's *Rheingold* (second scene): when Donner's hammer sinks and the gods grow old and grey, Loge sings, "Von Freias Frucht / genosset ihr heute noch nicht. / Die goldnen Äpfel / in ihrem Garten / sie machten euch tüchtig und jung, / asst ihr sie jeden Tag."

⁶⁵ The odour of the apple is emphasized here as in the previous tale, where the fruit has to be applied to the hero's nose to bring him back to life. That this is so is not very surprising when it is considered that the smell of "apples" is probably their most subtle and delicious feature. A few ancient aspects of this may be found of interest. Aristocratic Parthians ate the pips of the citron with their food so that their sweet fragrance would overcome the smell of wine (Verg. *Georg.* 2.134f; Plin. *N.H.* 11.115.278: *ibid.* 12.7.16), in the dearth of moth balls citrons were placed among clothes (Ar. *Vesp.* 1055f; Theophr. *H.P.* 4.4.2; Plin. *N.H.* 12.7.15; Macrobi. *Sat.* 3.19.4f), a practice, as I am assured by a colleague, still followed in some rural areas of Scotland with apples, and a perfume was made

APPENDIX

The following list of meanings of the word *μῆλον*, involving no symbolism, belongs solely to the realm of lexicography.⁶⁶

(xlv) Cheeks:⁶⁷

*Schol. in Ar. *Eccl.* 903.

Theoc. 26.1.⁶⁸

P. Petr. 3. p. 2 et al.

BGU 998.4 et al.

Zon. (*Anth. Pal.* 9.556).

Ruf. *Onom.* 35: 46⁶⁹ et Schol. ad loc.

Aret. 4.21 (Hude) et al.⁷⁰

Luc. *Imagg.* 6.

Epig. Gr. 243.12 (Kaibel).

Arch. Pap. 4.271.

Athanas. *De Virg.* 11 (Migne, *PG* 28.263).

(xlvi) Swelling under the Eye:

Hesych. s.v. *κύλα*.

(xlvii) Swelling of the Cornea of the Eye:⁷¹

from quinces (*μῆλινον μύρον*, described by Theophrastus, *Od.* 26: 28: 31). The fragrance of apples is, of course, mentioned in erotic contexts (e.g. Philostr. *Imagg.* 1.15.3: Aristaenet. 1.10: *ibid.* 12), and Digenes Akrites even calls his sweetheart (*Cod. Treb.* 7.1991) *ρόδον μου εὐθαλόφυτον, μῆλόν μου μυρισμένον* (cf. Geom. 291^v 31). Columella alone (12.44.8) sullies their bouquet, *Illud in totum maxime praecipimus, ne in eodem loco mala et uvae componantur, neve in vicino, unde odor malorum possit ad eas pervenire. Nam huius modi halitu celeriter acina corrumpuntur*.

⁶⁶ *LSJ* do not mention xlvii and li. For other objects called *μῆλα* through similarity of shape, see xiii, xxxvi-xxxix.

⁶⁷ Cf. Lat. *malum*. (*LSJ* quote the three papyrological references: I have not verified them.)

⁶⁸ Agave is called *μαλοπάρανος*: this may mean "white-cheeked" (see Gow ad loc.).

⁶⁹ *Μῆλα δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐξάρματα τοῦ προσώπου, ἃ δὴ καὶ αἰδουμένων ἡμῶν ἐρυθραίνεται. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν μῆλων αἱ παρειαί: καλοῦνται καὶ σιαγόνες, καὶ γνάθοι*. It appears, then, that Rufus understands by *μῆλον* the upper, rounded part of the cheek.

⁷⁰ *μῆλον* is Aretaeus' regular word for "cheek" (see Hude's *index verborum*).

⁷¹ The English expression "the apple of the eye" occurs first in the writings of King Alfred and in the West Saxon Psalter as a translation of *pupilla oculi* (cf. Germ. "Augapfel"). M. B. Ogle suggests (*TAPA* 73 [1942] 181ff) that it may have arisen from a misreading of *pupilla* as *pila*, "ball," an occasional meaning of "apple" in Anglo-Saxon literature. The later erotic connotation is due simply to the eye being "the most valuable and highly cherished human organ."

Alex. Trall. *Περὶ ὀφθαλμῶν* (Puschmann, p. 152).

καὶ τὸ καλούμενον μῆλον σταφυλώματος εἶδος ἐστὶν εὐμεγέθους οὕτως ὥς ὑπεραίρειν καὶ τὰ βλέφαρα, παρατριβόμενον δὲ ταῖς βλεφαρίσι παρενοχλεῖν ἀπάσαις.

(xlvi) Tonsil:

Ruf. *Onom.* 64.

(xlix) Seed-Vessel of the Rose:

Theophr. *H.P.* 6.6.6.

(l) Cup in Shape of Apple:⁷²

IG 11(2).161B41 et al.

(li) Orb:

Kodin. (Bonn, pp. 29f).

Script. Orig. Constantinopl. (Preger, 1. p. 94).

Besides references to the Orb of Dominion (see xxxix above), some spheres upon a cross are called *μῆλα* by Kodinos, and for the usual *σφαῖρα* above the baldachin some mss. of the anonymous description of the building of Hagia Sophia read *μῆλον*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Although many writers, following in the footsteps of Clearchus of Soli,⁷³ have touched upon this subject, a useful⁷⁴ bibliography need not include any material earlier than Dilthey's famous reconstruction of Callimachus' version of the tale of Acontius and Cydippe.

⁷² The diminutive *μυλίσκον* also is found (*IG* 11[2].162B32).

⁷³ Frag. 39 (Mueller, *FHG* 2. pp. 315f) apud Athen. 553E ff. In answer to his own question Clearchus first proposes that people carry in the hand apples, flowers, and similar objects because nature can thereby reveal those who have a love for beauty. He then suggests that they are a token to others of amorous propensities, or serve as a consolation for the absence of the beloved, but in his perplexity he eventually comes to the conclusion that the reason is simply the loveliness of fruit and flowers.

⁷⁴ Since some writers have to their disadvantage been unaware of work done by their predecessors, this bibliography and the references elsewhere in the notes to material on more restricted themes may be of some use. The search for these items (and for a few others that have been rejected as adding nothing of relevant interest) has not been easy, and consequently no claim is made for completeness.

- (i) C. Dilthey, *De Callimachi Cydippa* (Leipzig 1863).

A brief section (pp. 112ff) is devoted to the erotic symbolism of the apple in classical authors.

- (ii) M. Fränkel, "Zur Erklärung der Venus von Milo," *Arch. Zeit.* 31 (1874) pp. 36ff.

Examples of the erotic symbolism are gathered to support an interpretation of the apple that may once have been in the hand of the "Venus de Milo."

- (iii) R. Wende, *Quaestiones Mythologicae de Hesperidum Fabula* (Breslau 1875).

This dissertation, carefully surveying ancient sources and reviewing more modern theories, is essential for any further work on the myth. Wende himself suggests that there is an analogy between the Apples of the Hesperides and those in the keeping of Iduna.

- (iv) B. O. Foster, "Notes on the Symbolism of the Apple in Classical Antiquity," *HSCP* 10 (1899) pp. 39ff.

This "rich collection of material,"⁷⁵ the only attempt at a comprehensive study of the apple as a token of love, is the basis of other articles and the reference work of editors. It is, however, far from complete, and entirely ignores Byzantine literature and non-erotic aspects.

- (v) H. Gaidoz, "La Réquisition d'Amour et le Symbolisme de la Pomme," *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études* (1902) pp. 5ff.

There are five sections: "En Irlande" deals with an interesting Irish legend of an ever-renewed apple that a fairy gives Condla when she offers to lead him to the land of immortality: the principal value of "Chez les Grecs" is a description of many artistic representations of the apple being used as an erotic token: for "La Vierge à la Pomme" see xxviii above: in "Aux Antipodes" is related a custom from Tahiti of throwing a fruit similar to the apple: finally Gaidoz rhetorically dismisses symbolism in "Le Symbolisme de la Pomme" by concluding that fruits like the apple were used because they were easily available, and for the purely ballistic reason that they are convenient to throw.

- (vi) N. G. Polites, "Βυζαντινὰ Παράδοσεις, Γ', 'Κασία,'" *Laographia* 6 (1917) pp. 359ff.

In this note on the story of the marriage of Theophilos, the erotic symbolism of the apple in antiquity is briefly discussed, and a few

⁷⁵ McCartney (see viii below) p. 72.

references are added to Foster's collection. For further illustration parallels are drawn from the folklore of the Balkans, Georgia, etc.

(vii) J. Lajti, "The Apples of the Hesperides," *EPhK* 47 (1924) pp. 15ff.

This paper, which I have not seen, is in Hungarian. Marouzeau's summary is "le rite de la pomme avait pour but de conjurer pendant la nuit des noces les démons 'Hespérides' dont la tradition se rattache au culte d'Artémis."

(viii) E. S. McCartney, "How the Apple Became the Token of Love," *TAPA* 56 (1925) pp. 70ff.

The thesis is propounded that fruits "of the apple-kind" were chosen because their pips symbolized fecundity.⁷⁶ Support for this is provided by references to the fertile significance of other fruits and of vegetables that have seeds in folklore ancient and modern, European, Asian, and North American.

(ix) P. Gordon, *L'Image du Monde dans l'Antiquité* (Paris 1949).

In a chapter entitled "Le Pommier et les Pommes d'Or" (pp. 83ff) Gordon accepts the identification of Apollo as an "apple-deity" and imaginatively invests the Apples of the Hesperides with an initiatory significance, illustrated by an array of legends from various European and Near Eastern cultures.⁷⁷

(x) T. Smerdel, "Le Motif de la Pomme," *Živa Antika* 2 (1952) pp. 241ff.

This article, which is in Croatian with a French summary, consists principally of an analysis of epithets and imagery in passages connected with the apple in Sappho, Aristophanes, Longus, the Greek Anthology, Vergil, and Ovid, and of a comparison with some pieces of Yugoslavian poetry.⁷⁸

(xi) G. Martin, "Golden Apples and Golden Boughs," *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson*, vol. 2 (St. Louis 1953) pp. 1191ff.

⁷⁶ This idea is not new: H. F. Tozer writes, "The apple was used as a love-offering, not, I think, as resembling the breasts, but from its pips, as a sign of fecundity" (this is quoted without reference by R. Ellis in his note on Catullus 65.19).

⁷⁷ According to Gordon (p. 96) "le terme *mala* (=pommes) en était venu, nous dit Servius, à désigner les deux testicules," but, as usual, he gives no reference, and I can find no such passage in Servius.

⁷⁸ Smerdel has himself translated into Latin (*Živa Antika* 12.2 [1963] p. 386) two poems on the apple by Milan Begović and Dobriša Cesarić.

After a brief mention of the connection between the Apples of the Hesperides and love and marriage, the point is argued that in the original myth of Heracles' translation to Olympus the token of his acceptance there was these apples (compared with Vergil's Golden Bough), a trace of which idea is preserved by Diodorus Siculus (4.26.4), who gives this labour not as the penultimate, but as the last.⁷⁹

(xii) J. Trumpf, "Kydonische Äpfel," *Hermes* 88 (1960) pp. 14ff.

With a fragment of Ibycus (Page, 5) as starting point, the erotic symbolism of the apple and "der Wundergarten" are briefly discussed.

CONCLUSION

Of the forty-four facets into which the symbolism of the apple has been divided, many are easily explicable, being accidental, etymological, or due to similarity of shape, and need no further comment. Since, however, there is a difference of opinion over the reason why the fruit is a token of love, a few remarks on this aspect may not be superfluous.

Foster is right in rejecting the hypothesis that the likeness of an apple to a woman's breast gave rise to the phenomenon, for, as far as we know, that imagery was not used before the comic poets. Gaidoz' theory of the availability and convenience of the fruit is clearly a partial explanation, but the most important factor is, I believe, the fructifying significance of the pips, for which McCartney ably argues.⁸⁰ The apple is, after all, in our oldest sources connected rather with marriage,⁸¹ the especial occasion on which fertility is openly encouraged, than with flirtation. Apples are the wedding gift of Ge to Zeus and Hera, apples help Hippomenes to win his bride, apples are thrown at the chariot of Menelaus and Helen at their marriage, an apple correctly bestowed gains Helen for Paris, to an apple on a treetop is a bride likened by Sappho, and an apple, according to a law of Solon, must be eaten by a bride on the night of her wedding.

Nevertheless, this does not explain why the apple was chosen in preference to nuts, grain, vegetables, etc. McCartney, in quoting the eulogy of the fruit in Plutarch's *Symposiacs* (5.8.1), has the courage

⁷⁹ Cf. *Anth. Plan.* 92; *Epig. Gr.* 1082.13f (Kaibel); Hilar. (*Anth. Lat.* 1.627 [2.95f]).

⁸⁰ His general thesis is sound, and not invalidated by the suggestion that the nibbled apples sent by or to courtesans and meretricious wives in Lucian (see n. 15) are analogous to the seeds of fruits that when eaten, if we believe the folklore of many nations, promote fertility in men and women.

⁸¹ An exception is the tale of Achilles and Briseïs, if it is "Hesiodic" (see n. 8).

to follow Clearchus in making the naïve suggestion that the apple gained the distinction because of its beauty. The restriction of the fruit, however, in the ritual of marriage, to the apple is not likely to be fundamental. It is not unreasonable to suppose that when an original belief in the efficacy of throwing a seedbearing fruit to promote fecundity waned, the tradition was preserved partly because it was an amusing and pleasant spectacle. Then, the serious purpose being no longer dominant, attention could be bestowed upon the beauty of appearance, fragrance, taste, and touch. The choice of the apple was subsequently adopted by lovers for their own games, for what more lovely fruit of the earth could they bestow upon their beloved ones than the apple, a thing, in the neat phrase of Philostratus,⁸² *αὐτόματον καλόν*?

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⁸² *Ep.* 27 (Kayser).

A KING'S NOTEBOOKS

E. BADIAN

THE problems surrounding the character and aims of Alexander the Great do not stop with his death. One of those most abundantly discussed has been that of the *hypomnemata* that Perdiccas presented to the army after the King's death. Diodorus tells the story:¹ after Alexander's death, in the course of other events (see below), Perdiccas produced to the army at Babylon the *hypomnemata* of the dead King. These included — at least among other things: Diodorus is not very clear on this — written instructions allegedly given to Craterus by the King when, late in 324, he was sent home to take 10,000 discharged veterans to Macedon. The contents of the *hypomnemata* were in various ways so extravagant that Perdiccas preferred (apparently with the agreement of the other marshals at Babylon)² not to execute them; but in order not to be charged with arbitrarily diminishing the King's glory, he asked the army to decide on the matter,³ and the army duly decided that the plans should be ignored. This account (not found in any other source) is followed by the punishment of the leaders of sedition and of Meleager — told summarily, but in outline similar to the version of these events found in the epitome of Arrian's *Successors* and not far removed from the version of Curtius.⁴

Tarn rejected the story as a late invention.⁵ Admitting that most of Book 18 is from Hieronymus of Cardia and therefore acceptable, he tried to show that Diodorus starts using Hieronymus only with the beginning of chapter 5, while the story of the *hypomnemata*, with its whole context, is "patchwork," containing much that could not have

¹ Diodorus 18.4.

² Diodorus makes Perdiccas the main agent, but in his introduction to the whole story says τοῖς διαδόχοις ἔδοξε.

³ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων πλῆθος — i.e. the infantry.

⁴ Curtius 10.9. Diodorus does not mention the sham "lustration," while Arrian-Photius does not give the number of those executed. For the order of events, see n. 62.

⁵ After some earlier discussions, most recently *Alexander the Great* (1948) II 378f (with selected earlier bibliography).

been in Hieronymus. He came to the conclusion that, in order to evaluate the plans, we are "thrown back once again on an analysis of the actual plans." This led him to the view (p. 393) that the document was a Hellenistic composition, certainly not older than the second century B.C.

Since Tarn's last discussion there have been two major articles on the problem. First, Hampl,⁶ while ascribing no value to Tarn's arguments, which he regards as sufficiently refuted (in their earlier form, not substantially changed in *Alexander the Great*) by earlier scholars, accepted that the *hypomnemata* cannot be positively proved to go back to Hieronymus, since Diodorus does at times use subsidiary sources without noting the fact; and he agreed with Tarn that "die Frage der Echtheit der Hypomnemata nur aus diesen selbst zu beantworten ist." This investigation of the plans themselves led him to a conclusion not very different from Tarn's: he admits⁷ that the setting of the story may well be genuine: that *hypomnemata* were submitted by Perdikkas to the army and rejected; and he tends to regard only the actual details of their contents as a later invention, comparing the false documents in Demosthenic speeches.

In a postscript to his article Hampl noted Schachermeyr's book *Alexander der Grosse* and briefly rejected the author's attempt to defend the authenticity of the pyramid proposed for Aegae. In the following year Schachermeyr replied in a thorough survey of the whole question,⁸ defending his complete acceptance. He believes⁹ that this is the most important problem concerning the history of Alexander, since the view one takes of Alexander's alleged plans for the conquest of the world depends on it. Schachermeyr's is by far the most thorough investigation of the problem, commensurate with the importance he assigns to it. Unlike Hampl, he does not take the refutation of Tarn's arguments for granted, but proceeds to show their arbitrary and illogical nature in each individual case. Above all he is concerned with the view that Diodorus, in 18.2-4, cannot go back to Hieronymus, but is "patchwork." It can safely be said that he completely demolishes this view and shows that there is nothing in those chapters that is certainly *not* from Hieronymus as seen (and often, in his usual manner, muddled) by Diodorus. Parts of

⁶ *Robinson Studies* (1953) II 816f. [Now in Griffith (ed.), *Alexander the Great*, 308f. I cite the original page numbers, reproduced in the reprint.]

⁷ *Robinson Studies* II 827.

⁸ *JÖAI* 1954, 118f [now in Griffith (above, n. 6) 322f]. This article opens with a long and full bibliography, which should dispense anyone henceforth discussing the subject from repeating it.

⁹ *Ibid.* 119.

the argument might be further strengthened; but it can be left as it stands, entirely adequate for its purpose.

The only major exception he admits is the notice in 18.3.5 concerning the decision to take Alexander's body to the oasis of Ammon.¹⁰ He believes it certain that the body was in fact intended to be taken to Macedon and that Diodorus' statement is due to the "pro-Ptolemaic intermediate source" which appears in other parts of the book. However, he regards this as irrelevant, since the *hypomnemata* show no evidence of distortion due to Ptolemaic propaganda. Another apparent exception — the story that Alexander gave his ring to Perdiccas on the point of death — is merely Diodorus' own recollection of what he had written, from a different source, a little earlier.¹¹

On the latter point, Schachermeyr is certainly right in pointing out that a reminiscence by Diodorus — a frequent device of that author in tying his shapeless work together — suffices to explain the insertion. Whether the ring was, in fact, mentioned by Hieronymus (and, for that matter, whether the story is true) is another question, to us quite unanswerable. Hieronymus certainly stressed Perdiccas' "legitimacy" as regent, and the story — whether true, as it quite possibly was, or Perdiccan propaganda, perhaps thought up by Hieronymus' patron Eumenes, who later proved himself an adept at exploiting Alexander's name for his purposes — would not by any means be out of place in Hieronymus. The story of the ring no more "disproves" Hieronymus' origin here than it "proves" it.¹²

The sole point conceded by Schachermeyr — the story that Arrhidaeus was to take Alexander's body to the oasis of Ammon — is more interesting still; and though discussion must naturally not hope for an incontrovertible result, it is worth undertaking. The "Streit um Alexanders

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 122f.

¹¹ Diod. 18.2.4 — cf. 17.117.3.

¹² For a suggestion on this story, see at the end of this article. That it apparently also appeared in Clitarchus (hence, indirectly, Diodorus' first reference and Curtius) is no argument either for or against its authenticity (real, or as proclaimed by Perdiccas). Nor, of course, is the fact that it is not in Arrian (stressed, e.g., by Fontana, *Le Lotte per la Successione* [1960] 177) relevant to either its truth or its being in Hieronymus. In the *Anabasis* he was probably not using Hieronymus; and, as is known, his silence is by no means a positive argument in other cases; while in the *Successors* Photius' scrappy epitome, which is all we have at this point, gives us no detailed idea of Arrian's account. The *Heidelberg Epitome* (*FgrHist* 155, F 1.2), despite extreme compression, mentions the ring — and the relation of this particular source to Hieronymus is stressed by Jacoby. It is more likely than not that Hieronymus had the story. T. S. Brown (*AHR* 1946/1947, 684f) does not investigate this question.

Leiche" was treated by Schubert in an acutely argued chapter,¹³ which for the first time showed the importance of possessing the King's body and of the commission to bury it. Schubert's view (cited and accepted without discussion by Schachermeyr) was that Arrhidaeus had been instructed by Perdikkas to take the body to Aegae, but that, planning all the time to take it to Ptolemy, and keeping his plan secret for as long as he could, he turned off his assigned route towards Damascus and there met Ptolemy's envoys.¹⁴ Aegae, in fact, is mentioned by Pausanias.¹⁵ Arrian, as far as preserved, states that Arrhidaeus, in charge of the body, handed it over to Ptolemy against Perdikkas' will;¹⁶ and Diodorus and the *Heidelberg Epitome* incidentally confirm this.¹⁷ But the building of the magnificent chariot and accoutrements, described at length by Diodorus, took nearly two years from the initial order: the affair of the body-snatching must belong to early 321.¹⁸ Diodorus gives us the initial order, probably a mere matter of days after Alexander's death.¹⁹ A great deal had happened in those two years. Curtius²⁰ tells us that Alexander had asked to be buried in the oasis — a story he links closely with the transfer of the ring to Perdikkas. We have seen that there is no objection to believing that the story of the ring was in Hieronymus (whether or not it was true) — perhaps there is even some support for such a view. The same must apply to Alexander's last wish for burial with his "father" Ammon. Despite Tarn's attempt to deny it, the reverence in which Alexander held Ammon in the last months of his life is obvious. It appears in the letter referring to Philip as his "so-called father,"²¹ and above all (and quite undeniably) in the embassy consulting Ammon over the honours to be paid to Hephaestion after his death.²² If Alexander could speak at all, just before his death, it is likely enough that he uttered this wish. If he could not, it would

¹³ *Quellen zur Geschichte der Diadochenzeit* (1914) chap. 13.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 182f.

¹⁵ Paus. 1.6.3.

¹⁶ Arr. *succ.* 25; cf. *pal. Vat.* (*FgrHist* 156, F 10) 1.

¹⁷ Diod. 18.36.7; *FgrHist* 155, F 2.

¹⁸ For the chariot and other equipment, see Diod. 18.26f (the time taken 18.28.2); cf. Athen. 5.40.206e.

¹⁹ Diod. 18.3.5. Justin 13.4.6 agrees with Diodorus: he puts the appointment precisely before the punishment of the mutineers (cf. n. 62) and, characteristically, confuses Arrhidaeus with the new King!

²⁰ Curtius 10.5.4.

²¹ On this letter (Plut. *Alex.* 28) see Hamilton, *CQ* 1953, 151f [= Griffith (ed.), *Alexander the Great*, 235f].

²² Plut. *Alex.* 72; Arr. *anab.* 7.14.7 (a *logos* that the god had been asked to allow deification, but had refused); 7.23.6 (agreed fact of the return of Alexander's envoys with the god's permission for a hero cult).

easily be believed that he had. Again, we have no reason for denying (whether or not it is true in fact) that Hieronymus reported it.

We can easily see what happened.²³ We need not doubt the last wish of the dying King. Even if not uttered with his last breath, it would be well known from previous conversation. Hence it is unreasonable to doubt Perdiccas' order that it should be fulfilled: fulfilled, moreover, as we know and as Hieronymus told at great length, in a manner fit for the Great King who had shown even in the case of a mere subject — his friend Hephaestion — what was appropriate for such ceremonies.²⁴ At that time, Ptolemy was an ally, and the ruler of Macedon — was it Antipater or Craterus?²⁵ — a potential enemy. What more unthinkable (we need only remember Schubert's discussion of the importance of these things) than to entrust the King's burial to him of all men? Diodorus' report of Siwah as the chosen site must stand, even on purely political grounds, whatever the truth of the story about the King's last words.

Of course, nearly two years later things were very different. Early in 321, Ptolemy was no longer a friend: he had done away with Cleomenes who was loyal to Perdiccas and no doubt intended by the latter as a watchdog — a King's Eye — within the great and impregnable satrapy of Egypt. That his execution was due to his loyalty to Perdiccas is explicitly stated by a good source²⁶ and, were it not, would have to be imagined: Eumenes is the perfect demonstration of the qualities that an obscure Greek would have to show in order to have a hope of success in the world of the Macedonian marshals. By the time the preparations were finished and Arrhidaeus was on the point of leaving, the destination had been changed: it was now Aegae, the only possible alternative — and one of which (it might be thought) no true Macedonian could disapprove. Moreover, Antipater was a friend: it was in the early spring of 321 that his daughter Nicaea arrived (by previous arrangement) in Asia, to become the regent's bride. Aegae would be as safe as anywhere.²⁷

²³ Cf. Fontana (above, n. 12) 171, with references — rejecting any such possibility without discussion.

²⁴ On Hephaestion, see especially Schachermeyr (above, n. 8) 127f.

²⁵ See my discussion in *Gnomon* 1962, 383f and cf. further below. Ptolemy, while waiting for his satrapal appointment, was one of Perdiccas' chief allies (see, e.g., Curt. 10.7.16).

²⁶ Paus. 1.6.3 — ultimately (as is generally admitted) from Hieronymus.

²⁷ This is not the place to consider the complicated story of the marshals' dynastic marriages. For the chronology, especially of this particular one, see the convincing account by Fontana (above, n. 12) 54 and 60f (following the careful researches of Manni). She does not, however, analyse the story of Alexander's body, which (despite Schubert's work) failed to attract her attention.

This may not be the end of the story; though the evidence hardly permits us to be sure. The alliance with Antipater did not last long — whether because of Perdiccas' ambitions or because of his enemies' machinations.²⁸ By late spring 321 it was in ruins. Now, we cannot be sure precisely when, after "nearly two years" of preparations, the royal body left Babylon. Photius' epitome of Arrian mentions this incident straight after Antigonus' flight to Macedonia and his revelation of Perdiccas' ambitions to Antipater.²⁹ In part, at least, the events must have overlapped. This would explain why Aegae also now appeared no longer safe: it would be best to keep the King's body in Babylon, under Perdiccas' own control. This, at least, is Arrian's version. As summarised by Photius — and there is no reason why Photius should not have understood what he read here — he says that Arrhidaeus took the body against Perdiccas' will and went from Babylon via Damascus to Egypt.³⁰ This was long ago recognised by Droysen; it is strange that scholars unable to make sense of it have tried to distort the plain meaning to fit in with their preconceived notions.³¹ What is more: it is confirmed by the beginning of the Vatican palimpsest of Arrian,³² where one objective of Perdiccas' Egyptian expedition is said to have been to regain possession of Alexander's body — not to bury it at Aegae!

Perdiccas could not prevent Arrhidaeus' departure. It had been arranged between Arrhidaeus and Ptolemy, who was now preparing his offensive against Perdiccas and, in fact, was probably already negotiating with other dissatisfied marshals. Possession of the body would be an asset of immeasurable value in any future negotiations — or in action: the idea of Ptolemy as the lawful successor may already have been forming in that ambitious and farsighted mind.³³ Perdiccas, at the time, was in Asia Minor. All he could do was to send Polemo and Attalus, no

²⁸ For the evidence and discussion see Fontana, *ibid.*

²⁹ Arr. *succ.* 24-25.

³⁰ Arr. *succ.* 25: καὶ Ἀρριδαῖος δὲ ὁ τὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου σῶμα φυλάσσειν, παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ Περδίκκου λαβὼν, πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον παραγίνεται τὸν Λάγον, ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος διὰ Δαμασκοῦ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐλαύνων.

³¹ Thus Schubert (above, n. 13) 182 (citing Droysen): Hieronymus meant that Perdiccas distrusted Arrhidaeus from the start and had opposed his being appointed to take charge of the body! On this, see Diod. 18.3.5, giving Arrhidaeus' appointment to this task among Perdiccas' own arrangements (in consultation with the other marshals).

³² *FgrHist* 156, F 10.1: τοῦ σώματος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου κρατῆσαι.

³³ Ptolemy's enticement of Arrhidaeus is well attested, most clearly by Paus. 1.6.3. On Ptolemy's ambitions (often misunderstood, and perhaps shedding light on his *History of Alexander*), see (e.g.) Diod. 20.37, and cf. (briefly) *Gnomon* 1961, 665f. More study of this is needed.

doubt with a small force, to stop the self-willed Arrhidaeus.³⁴ But the latter somehow extricated himself — perhaps by pretending (as Pausanias might suggest) that he was obeying Perdiccas' own order in taking the body to Aegae — and managed to reach Ptolemy safely. Ptolemy, well knowing what was afoot, had crossed into Syria with a military force, on pretence of providing an escort of honour for the dead King. In the circumstances, Polemo and Attalus could hardly prevail against the well-planned move.³⁵

II

Long investigation has been necessary to show that Schachermeyr's apparent exceptions to the trustworthiness of the early chapters of Diodorus 18 need not be recognised as such. There is no reason to think that the story of Perdiccas' receipt of Alexander's ring is false — or at least that it was not represented as true, for obvious political purposes; and the story of the King's body, far from being what it was for Schubert, a mere exercise in the dissection of history into sources, turns out to be a coherent and totally credible account (though unfortunately surviving only in wretchedly fragmentary condition) of an important issue in the ill-attested period of the first years of the Successors. It is the frequent penalty of excessive concentration on *Quellenforschung* — the importance of which study, of course, no one will deny — that it can become the aim of scholarship to find out what was said by whom rather than what in fact happened. The reasonable connections of attested events that form

³⁴ Polemo and Attalus: Arrian (*FgrHist* 156) F 10.1. Photius (*Arr. succ.* 25) mentions only Polemo and suggests military action on his part. Perdiccas, at the time, had to deal with unsettled conditions in Asia Minor (for the chronology, see references n. 27) and could clearly not send a large force. Perhaps, by the time he heard of what was happening, it was too late to equip one. Though the poor state of the evidence makes certainty impossible, the outlines are clear enough. Attalus and Polemo, mentioned together here, must surely be the sons of Andromenes (Berve, *Alexanderreich* II, nos. 181 and 644). Attalus was married to Perdiccas' sister and was later in charge of the fleet supporting Perdiccas' attempted invasion of Egypt (Diod. 18.37.2). Their choice for this mission confirms the importance that Perdiccas attached to it.

³⁵ Diod. 18.38 mentions Ptolemy's advance to "escort" the body — and has usually been disbelieved, since Schubert (above, n. 13) 186f, who objected that such a move on Ptolemy's part would be illegal! Discussing the mission of Polemo and Attalus in a totally different connection, he states (p. 183) that they failed to catch up with Arrhidaeus — which plainly contradicts the account in Arrian-Photius and is not based on anything in any source. So much for *Quellenforschung*.

the web of history can disintegrate into a bundle of arbitrarily selected threads. The case of the dead King's body is a warning example.

We can now see that Schachermeyr, though in general undoubtedly right as against Tarn, was too modest. Were he right in conceding a major exception, it would follow that the early chapters of Diodorus 18 are — for whatever reason — not trustworthy; and whether they are based on Hieronymus or not is, in comparison, a minor consideration. The point about Schubert's "Ptolemaic source" — a thesis that it is not our purpose to investigate here — is not that it is not Hieronymus, but that it cannot be believed. It should now be clear that the early chapters that we are considering (the chapters that provide the context for the *hypomnemata*) are in fact trustworthy. Schachermeyr's demonstration need not admit of exceptions.

Of course, it does not follow that these chapters are necessarily from Hieronymus. Not even if we had Arrian's whole account in the *Successors* and if that were demonstrably based on Hieronymus — not even then could we be quite sure of this. For Diodorus, particularly in introductory and concluding sections, in which he establishes his framework, is given to summarising and chopping about and at times introducing the fruits of his own reflections, in a manner that makes it far from easy (and perhaps not very important) to be sure of his precise source. The outline of the account we have been considering agrees as well as we might expect (in view of the poor knowledge that we have of what Hieronymus actually wrote) with other accounts that have apparently been derived, through other lines of descent, from Hieronymus. There is certainly no reason to assume that, in the context of the *hypomnemata* taken at its widest, Diodorus has *added* any material from other sources — whatever he may have (unskilfully as so often) subtracted. If we want to insist on strict *Quellenforschung*, it is up to those who want to deny the derivation of the *hypomnemata* in their context from Hieronymus to prove their point — not (as, e.g., Hampl would maintain) for those who accept it to prove theirs. But this can only be a means to an end. We may like to have Hieronymus' name as a guarantee of good faith and reliable reporting. But what we really want to know is whether the report is *true*. And we can now say that Diodorus' account, in outline (though not necessarily in detail), is wholly credible: it ties in with information apparently not considered by Diodorus (if known to him), to produce an intelligible picture that could not be produced in any other way and that, in fact, has noticeably not been produced by those who have rejected Diodorus. Since this can be established, it becomes probable that the story of the *hypomnemata* is also true, at least

in outline, even though we may well find that Diodorus has misunderstood or distorted some details. At least, the onus for proving the opposite is entirely on those who would do so.

This might seem to bring us back to the conclusion — the only major conclusion on which those scholars agree — of Tarn, Hampl, and Schachermeyr: that the *hypomnemata* must be examined only in themselves, without regard to source or context. We shall return to a basic fallacy in that conclusion before long. But it is obviously necessary to examine the *hypomnemata* in themselves: both their plausibility as plans of Alexander's and their plausibility as a document of that particular time have been frequently attacked, and attention to these points, though not (as we shall see) an end in itself, is a necessary beginning.

The task has been made much shorter and easier by Schachermeyr's competent and detailed survey. The contents of the *hypomnemata* (i.e., those that Diodorus gives us, asserting that they were the "most important and noteworthy") are best listed.

(1) The construction of 1,000 warships greater than triremes for a campaign against the Carthaginians and the other inhabitants of the western Mediterranean littoral; the building of harbours and dockyards for this fleet and of a road along the North African coast up to the Straits of Gibraltar.³⁶

Tarn argued that these ships greater than triremes are really a further elaboration of the "700 septiremes" reported by Curtius in connection with a rather different plan for a western expedition: the Diodorus story must be later than the one in Curtius, since "in the growth of a story numbers grow but never diminish." It is odd that Tarn did not see that one might equally stipulate that in the growth of a story *the sizes of ships* grow but never diminish: if so, the Curtius story is an elaboration of the one in Diodorus! These *a priori* arguments are, in fact, quite useless, and the exact connection between the accounts concerned (very different in detail as they are) simply cannot be established. We must take the Diodorus story as we find it — bearing in mind that the figure for the warships is practically confirmed by Aristobulus. Tarn raised a difficulty about the septireme, which was first used several years after Alexander's death. But Schachermeyr demonstrated, from a passage of Pliny overlooked by Tarn, that in ancient tradition the idea of the septireme derived from Alexander himself.³⁷ However, as we have

³⁶ The question of the transposition of lines, noted by Wilcken, does not matter here: these plans obviously belong together.

³⁷ Tarn, *Alex.* II 387f (Curtius 10.1.19); Schachermeyr (above, n. 8) 133: Pliny, *n.h.* 7.208. For the 1,000 warships, see Arr. *anab.* 7.19.4.

seen, the whole question of the septireme is a red herring. It is found only in Curtius' account, which, while obviously somehow connected with Diodorus', does not give anything like the same information and can almost certainly not come from the same immediate source. As far as Diodorus is concerned, quadriremes and quinqueremes were well known by 323; and not only to Alexander: the Athenian navy was supplied with them even a little earlier.³⁸ As for the size of the projected fleet: Aristobulus' agreement is strong evidence; and indeed, Schachermeyr's calculations make it clear that a size well within the range of what is transmitted would be a real necessity if the fleet was to be superior to those of the other great naval powers of the time: Athens (by no means friendly, just before Alexander's death), Carthage, Syracuse, and the Etruscans.

One should also here consider the passage of Arrian's *Anabasis* in which he shows some acquaintance with the story of this particular plan (though not with the other items in the *hypomnemata*).³⁹ It is, of course, not Arrian's business, in that particular context (or indeed in that work as a whole), to discuss Alexander's abortive plans. Mention of this story is, in a way, accidental. Arrian, arriving at the last book of his account of Alexander, thought it fitting to introduce that book by means of a *prooemium* of philosophical reflection. He raises the connected questions of whether Alexander's restless activity in the end did any good, since he remained a mortal man in spite of it, and whether human greatness can in fact be shown in other ways, by means rooted in a man's character. Being a historian and not primarily a philosopher, Arrian does not give us a philosophical disquisition and indeed does not force any conclusion on the reader. He treats the questions concretely, through historical illustrations, and in the end leaves the reader to make up his own mind, after expressing his personal preference for the "philosophical" answer, mixed with admiration for the "practical." With the skill at construction characteristic of Arrian as an artist, he centres the discussion on the "Indian sophists" (the *gymnosophists*): their recorded meeting with Alexander sets out the first part of the problem, and the suicide of Calanus (their most eminent representative) the second. We are not here concerned with Arrian's technique, except to the limited extent that it explains his reference to the "last plans" at this point. The meeting with the *gymnosophists* has—deliberately, it is clear—been postponed from its chronological place to this effective context, where it was to pose the philosophical problem and lead up to the death of Calanus. But how

³⁸ Arr. *anab.* 7.19.3; *IG* II² 1629, 808f; 1631, 172f.

³⁹ Arr. *anab.* 7.1.2f.

was a proper connection to be established? Alexander's vast plans (real or imputed) for further conquest provide the bridge by which we can reach the gymnosophists' indictment of him as *polypragmon* and *atasthalos*. The "last plans" again, of course, are not in their chronological context here and have to be made relevant by a connection with the time and place Arrian has reached. This is done by introducing Alexander's "desire" (*pothos*) to sail down the great rivers into the Persian Gulf: Alexander has just reached Persis (at the end of Book 6) and this desire is in its right place. It is from this that we go on to consider his later vast plans for expeditions, his meeting with the gymnosophists and finally the death of Calanus, which artfully brings us both to the end of the long philosophical *prooemium* and (not by mere coincidence!) back to the scene of the historical account: we are now ready to start on the last stage of Alexander's life and deeds.

Arrian's artistic technique is worth studying in itself, for the student of Alexander as well as for the student of historiography. Here a short excursus on it has been essential to explain the setting of Arrian's reference to the "last plans." It is placed not in the course of his historical narrative (where he knew that, being abortive, they did not concern him), but merely in passing, in a bridge passage leading to the main point of a philosophical *prooemium* that was fittingly to introduce the last book of his work. The treatment is accordingly vague and cursory. After mentioning the "desire" to see the Persian Gulf, which is his starting point, Arrian continues to report the circumnavigation of Arabia (not in our *hypomnemata*) and other such plans, including an expedition to subdue Carthage and reach the Pillars, one to the Black Sea and Sea of Azov in order to attack the Scythians, and one to Sicily and Italy, directed against Rome. It is clear that this is a completely unsorted ragbag of recollected reports in various authors (quoted, at intervals, as "some" and "others"), which Arrian has here thrown together without much concern for their historical truth. Very probably, all that they have in common is that they were not in Ptolemy and Aristobulus: had he found them there, we should certainly have expected him to tell us. Since, however, they were not, and since their truth or falsehood was in any case unimportant here, Arrian merely reports them as he had found them. He goes on to say that he himself cannot tell what was in Alexander's mind, but he is sure that it was nothing mean, and that Alexander would never have rested, no matter how much he conquered. This can lead straight to the meeting with the gymnosophists.

Thus, in spite of the fact that there is some connection between this passage and our *hypomnemata*, the passage in Arrian is little help. We

cannot tell whether any of the sources he read had the plans in precisely the form in which Diodorus reports them, since Arrian gives us a mixture of versions, none of them even very near that of Diodorus. If indeed he did read the same source, among others, we cannot tell whether it was Hieronymus (who, in the *Anabasis*, would only rate as a *logos*), nor indeed whether he believed it: he tells us that he cannot decide and does not want to guess. All we can say with certainty is that numerous authors had embroidered the "last plans," producing (what with Scythians and the power of Rome) versions which were clearly absurd and which enhance, by contrast, the plausibility of the account in Diodorus; and that (as we might in any case expect) none of these versions stood in Ptolemy or Aristobulus.

So much for the fleet and planned conquest. Tarn also denies that Alexander would ever have planned to build a road, since no one between the Persians and the Romans did. Schachermeyr rightly replied that the numerous city foundations make no sense if there were not to be roads to link them. One might add that the Gedrosian disaster would surely have taught even a commander much less quick to learn than Alexander that a parallel movement by a fleet and an army could not succeed unless there was a coastal road. If we accept the rest, the road follows.

(2) Six splendid temples, each costing 1500 talents, to be built in Greece and Macedonia, and a specially splendid one to Athena at Ilium.

The foundation of the latter was actually promised, as we happen to know.⁴⁰ As for the others, Tarn's feeble argument that temples already existed on the sites named was properly demolished by Schachermeyr: this would be no bar to royal munificence.

(3) Synoecisms of cities, and transportation of human beings from Asia to Europe and vice versa, to establish concord by intermarriage.⁴¹

Synoecisms are unexceptionable, where that great founder of cities is concerned. This even Tarn admitted. So is the idea of establishing concord by intermarriage. (The details of the wording do not matter,

⁴⁰ Strabo 13.26.593C, mentioning a letter to the city. It was Lysimachus who actually took the work in hand.

⁴¹ Schachermeyr attacks Tarn's attempt to show that Diodorus' wording of the reasons for these measures shows the influence of philosophical common-places developed by Peripatetics after Alexander's death. But since the reasons were surely not given (or even alleged to be given) in Alexander's document, but must be explanatory additions either by Diodorus himself or by his source (writing well after Alexander's death, even if it was Hieronymus), Tarn's argument is futile and no attack on it is needed.

since they are as likely to be Diodorus' own as those of his source.) The Susa marriages are a shining example, as are, on a lower level, the wedding presents to Macedonian soldiers who had "married" Asiatic wives. In Alexander's last year, it was obviously one of the best known of his ideas, absence of which would in itself arouse suspicion. Transportation of human beings (there is no real reason to accept Schachermeyr's suggestion that slaves are meant, since they are irrelevant to the larger question of concord among the races, which is here in point) had hitherto been only one way: we remember the mercenaries settled in Bactria. This again, at that very time, was a topical instance: the mercenaries were in revolt, trying to leave their stations. Settlement of Asiatics in Europe is not attested, as carried out or (apart from this passage) even as intended. One can only say that, fully in line with Alexander's large-scale and perhaps megalomaniac ideas that are attested in his last year of life, it might not seem utterly incredible as a further development. We shall see the importance of this later. In any case, there is certainly no reason why a late romancer should first have attributed it to Alexander.

(4) A pyramid in memory of his father Philip, equal to the largest of the Egyptian pyramids, to be built we are not told where.

Schachermeyr pointed out that the wording must again not be taken as necessarily that of the original document. Here as elsewhere, the *hypomnemata* would presumably be brief, even sketchy, and factual: were they presented as rhetorical and argumentative, even their immediate audience would hardly have accepted their genuineness. That in Diodorus Philip is called Alexander's father, and that the pyramids (collectively!) are described as one of the wonders of the world, is therefore irrelevant to criticism of the document.⁴² Indeed, the pyramid would again fit into the context of Alexander's known plans for combining the East and the West: Philip would stand for the Macedonian element that had conquered the East, the pyramid for the spirit that had transmuted the conqueror. The whole idea must be connected, in spirit, with the monument to Hephaestion, construction of which was at that very moment going on in Babylon. As for Tarn's argument that only the Ptolemies resumed the building of pyramids, that, as Schachermeyr observes, is not worth serious discussion.

⁴² Hampl's long demonstration (821-825; see above, n. 6) that Alexander did not regard Philip as his father in the months before his death is a splendid example of elaborate documentation of the obvious and generally accepted on a point of detail, without thought of general principles of criticism. Schachermeyr has no difficulty in showing its absurdity.

(5) The completion of Hephaestion's funeral monument is listed by Diodorus separately and outside the contents of the *hypomnemata* as excerpted by him.

It is not clear what Diodorus found — and probably muddled in reproducing — in his source. Schachermeyr⁴³ thinks that this monument is mentioned as an example of numerous plans already initiated (as we indeed know it had been, by the time of Alexander's death), contrasted with those (i.e. all the others we have listed above) "in the main" not yet begun. It is difficult to accept this. There is no word in Diodorus to the effect that this item is typical of others — while, on the other hand, the other items are chosen as being "the most important and noteworthy" in the document. Nor is it clear whether the other items were only new ones, or to what extent they were also the continuation of policies already begun: certainly the synoecisms of cities, the settlement of Europeans in Asia, and the building of a fleet (not, probably, one of this size and composition) had already been begun, and the building of the temple at Ilium had been officially promised. But whatever the answer, the item as such is not only plausible as being Alexander's purpose, but inevitable. One might ask whether the completion of a work already far advanced (it seems)⁴⁴ would be explicitly listed in such a document. But that is another question, to which we shall have to return. Meanwhile it is enough to hold firmly to the point that this item (awkward though Diodorus has been in his treatment of it) belongs, as we are explicitly told, to the same document.

This brief survey is, I hope, enough to show that the various attempts to impugn the authenticity of the *hypomnemata* on grounds of anachronism and similar internal criteria must fail. Schachermeyr deserves credit for firmly rejecting them. Nor, in principle, can we use the argument from silence against it. Hampl makes a great deal of the absence of any reference to Alexander's attested project of conquering

⁴³ Pages 126f (see above, n. 8).

⁴⁴ On the *πυρά* of Hephaestion, see Schachermeyr's detailed discussion (*ibid.* 121f), making it quite clear that it was not a mere funeral pyre. Arrian (*anab.* 7.14.8) gives the order to build the monument as an item he found in all his sources (including, by implication, Ptolemy and Aristobulus: the latter, who was interested in monuments, may well, therefore, be the ultimate source for the details of the design which we have in Diod. 17.115). That was straight after Hephaestion's death (probably October 324: see Berve, *Alexanderreich* II 173). Though preparations for such things were slow (cf. the "nearly two years" it took to prepare Alexander's funeral cortège), yet quite a bit of progress must have been made in the eight months before the King's own death.

Arabia.⁴⁵ He is, of course, right to stress the importance of that project as such. But it is absurd to expect it to be necessarily contained in a document, from which Diodorus tells us he is merely going to quote "the most important and noteworthy" items. As we well know, Diodorus' criteria, in selecting from his sources, cannot be assumed to be those of a modern scholar, and his failure to choose what Hampl rightly thinks important is perhaps an argument against Diodorus' competence, but in no way one against the authenticity of his source.

There is nothing in the *hypomnemata* as recorded (in excerpt) by Diodorus that would point, on any reasonable assessment, to the conclusion that they are a late forgery. The extravagance of the projects fits in — as Schachermeyr insists — with all that is known of the last few months of the historical Alexander's life, and, to the army that knew him, must indeed have appeared a guarantee of authenticity: any more modest and limited plans would rightly have been suspect, then as now. Nor is the setting of the whole scene such as to make us think of invention. Indeed, Hampl recognises its plausibility and, with a *tour de force* of ingenuity, suggests that someone later went to the trouble of substituting a forged list for the genuine one in the text of Diodorus' source.⁴⁶ It is unlikely that anyone would have troubled to do so, and even more unlikely that a late forger would have produced nothing that is anachronistic or (as a plan of Alexander's) totally incredible. After all, most of the "documents" in Demosthenes' speeches, which Hampl cites as parallels, would not deceive an attentive undergraduate, nor would the elaborations of the plans that we have noted as cited in Arrian's *Anabasis*. The only arguments advanced against the setting as such were developed by Tarn:⁴⁷ that Diodorus confuses the instructions to Craterus (given to him, no doubt, when he left with his veterans in the autumn of 324) with the *hypomnemata* of Alexander; and that in Macedonian public law the army was not competent to decide on such matters. Both have in part been answered by Schachermeyr.⁴⁸ On the former point there will be a little more to say. The latter is not only invalidated by the extraordinary nature of the circumstances at Babylon,⁴⁹ but shows an excessively naïve acceptance of what various scholars⁵⁰ have excogitated about the theory of Macedonian *Staatsrecht*.

⁴⁵ Hampl (above, n. 6) 817f, following an earlier argument of Tarn's.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 827 (not very firmly).

⁴⁷ *Alexander II* 379f.

⁴⁸ Pages 123f (above, n. 8).

⁴⁹ Thus Schachermeyr, *ibid.*

⁵⁰ Notably Granier, *Die makedonische Heeresversammlung* (1931), and Hampl's early work, *Der König der Makedonen* (1934).

It is clear enough that in Macedon the King, the nobles, and the army had precisely what rights and powers they could get away with. A strong king could get away (literally) with murder, as Alexander showed — but naturally wanted public opinion to support him demonstratively, as the army did in the case of Clitus.⁵¹ On another occasion, that same king could meekly submit to his soldiers' refusal to continue their march, with not even a threat of punishment for the ringleaders.⁵² Fortunately, no scholar has enriched Macedonian *Staatsrecht* by a clause allowing the army to decide when to march. An order to the noble barons to marry foreign wives whom (as was to become clear) they disliked was similarly without any basis in constitutional prerogative.⁵³ The very fact that the soldiers with Alexander could in no sense be said to be the "People in Arms," since half the army had been left behind,⁵⁴ should make us less ready to operate with constitutional abstractions. What is more, on this occasion Diodorus gives us the authentic explanation: Perdikkas consulted the army on the spot, since he did not want to be charged (by an enemy, at an inconvenient time) with having detracted from Alexander's glory.

III

It might seem that we have painfully argued our way through to a conclusion that is basically that of Wilcken, Schachermeyr, and others: that the *hypomnemata* are Alexander's genuine plans (last or not quite last). Some interesting points have been picked up on the way: but was the exercise worth the renewed effort? Those familiar with the controversy have become conditioned to deciding it by examination of the contents of the *hypomnemata* themselves: on this point, as we noted, all recent work agrees. The political situation to which they belong has tended to drop out of sight and they have become an emanation of Alexander's ghost in a historical vacuum. Yet it is precisely the historical situation to which they belong, and not the spirit of a dead king, that can alone give them real meaning.

⁵¹ Cf. Curtius 8.2.12.

⁵² The Hypaphis "mutiny" (as we rightly call it) was not treated as such by Alexander, either at the time or later. The absence of any reference to a later attempt to punish the ringleaders — such as is characteristic, in antiquity, of situations where a commander has temporarily been helpless in the face of his men — is particularly noteworthy: Alexander knew the limits of his power.

⁵³ Hardly any of the Susa marriages long survived Alexander's death.

⁵⁴ At least originally. We have few details about later levies; but there is no reason to think that they seriously affected that proportion. Cf. Brunt, *JHS* 1963, 36f.

It is at this point in our investigations that we should consider an obvious historical parallel that has not been properly taken into account in this connection. It will be remembered that after the death of Caesar the Dictator the deceased leader's papers make a very important appearance on the stage of history. Marcus Antonius lost no time in seizing them and using them to settle the immediate future of the Roman state, to his own political and (it was rumoured) financial advantage.⁵⁵ Alexander must, of course, have left some papers; and one would have expected them to exert an equally powerful influence. We need only remember how Eumenes was to exploit the prestige of the dead King by having his ghost preside at Council meetings.⁵⁶ It is probably this consideration (of the necessary survival of Alexander's papers) that prompted Hampl's strange theory of a later insertion of forged plans in the place of the true ones. Certainly, were Alexander's papers nowhere mentioned, this would constitute a puzzle of far greater magnitude than the one that now occupies us: if there were no *hypomnemata* in the sources, it would be necessary to invent them! Historians would have to try to trace their unattested influence in subsequent events. Fortunately we have been spared this task. A source that can be shown to be reliable at this particular point (whether or not based on the worthy Hieronymus) mentions the *hypomnemata* and informs us of their cancellation. Surely it is nothing short of perverse to reject the account. We must accept that Perdiccas presented Alexander's "notebooks" to the army; that they were rejected by the army, to his satisfaction; and that henceforth, and clearly for this reason, they disappear from history.

We can now approach the most important question of all, which the *Quellenforscher* appear to have overlooked: what precisely is it that our reliable author — let us without prejudice call him Hieronymus — in fact tells us? Is it that he saw a copy of the *hypomnemata*? Admittedly, Hieronymus himself might have seen one. He was a relative and friend of Eumenes, who, as Alexander's Chief Secretary, almost certainly had possession of them after the King's death.⁵⁷ But Diodorus' account in no way suggests direct inspection. They are explicitly mentioned as a document read to the army by Perdiccas: prefaced (except for the odd notice about Hephaestion's tomb) by Perdiccas' reason for thus reading

⁵⁵ Dio 44.53.2f gives a general account. Cicero supplies some details, in bright colours (e.g. *Att.* 14.12.1; *fam.* 12.2.2; *Phil.* 1.2; 2.92f, and *passim*).

⁵⁶ *Plut. Eum.* 13; *Diod.* 18.60.4-61.3.

⁵⁷ There is no need for detailed demonstration: see Berve, *Alexanderreich* II, nos. 317, 383.

them and immediately followed by the statement that, having been thus read, they were duly rejected. In other words, there is no reason to think that Hieronymus saw them. His account — which Diodorus will have followed in general, while shortening it in detail — was not a direct account of the *hypomnemata*, but an account of the *hypomnemata* as read by Perdiccas. There is an obvious difference. Perdiccas, clearly, would not read to Alexander's army a document that was patently and recognisably not the King's: we have seen that the *hypomnemata* were plausible. Yet he was, after all, not a historian, but a politician aiming (as we are told) at a political result. We should be naïve indeed if we did not suspect that, like Antonius three centuries later, he adapted what he had found.

Unlike Antonius, he derived no personal profit from it. That is clear both from the contents of the papers as reported in the source and from their historical setting. But it is also clear that he did not read them without a special motive and purpose: his purpose was to get them annulled. Hence inevitable suspicion: did he present them in such a way as to make annulment inevitable? Since Diodorus has given us only his own selection of what he thought important, we cannot be as sure as we should like; but once suspicion is aroused, it is not easily allayed. Let us consider, from the point of view of the Macedonian soldiers, what the papers certainly contained: preparations for an expedition that would involve them in a campaign far more difficult and ambitious, and requiring far longer marches and more distant sea travel, than anything they had undertaken so far — the army had shown on the Hyphasis, and to some extent also at Opis, what it could be expected to think of such a prospect; next, enforced resettlement of Asiatics in Europe and of Europeans in Asia, with compulsory intermarriage: the veterans eager to get home to Macedon, who agreed to leave their Asiatic "wives" and offspring in the camp in order to avoid upsetting their Macedonian families, had made it clear what they thought of *that*⁵⁸ — not to mention the Greek settlers' opinion of their enforced Bactrian homes, which we have no reason to doubt all good Macedonians were likely to share; a pyramid for Philip, as the very symbol of that Orientalisation that had caused the mutiny at Opis; and, of course, as Perdiccas made clear, a fantastic waste of money that could be much better used, now that all wars appeared to be over, for the soldiers' gratuities and bounties. One suspects that the Oriental monument to Hephaestion⁵⁹ — one of Alexander's most ardent disciples in Oriental affectations and hence

⁵⁸ Arr. *anab.* 7.12.1-2.

⁵⁹ On this, see Schachermeyr (above, n. 8) 127.

probably not popular with the rank and file of the Macedonian infantry — was an eyesore and a very present irritation, as it rose within sight of the assembled army in Babylon. It is indeed noticeable that this is the one item in the *hypomnemata* that cannot be made plausible as such: the completion of a building that had been under construction for eight months could hardly be an item in Alexander's projects. Eager to find support for the genuineness of the plans, scholars have tended to seize on this as at least an attested fact — not noticing that for that very reason it is out of place.⁶⁰ It is difficult to acquit Perdiccas of having added this example of conspicuous and resented waste in order to underline his point. In the circumstances, it is also difficult to believe that he did not at least touch up the rest: the pyramid to Philip and the march round more than half the Mediterranean coast, as well as the mass deportations, may be *like* Alexander in his final stage — but we cannot be sure they were Alexander's own. We simply cannot tell how much was genuine and how much plausible invention and distortion, by men who knew him for men who knew him. The usual concentration on the analysis of the actual *hypomnemata*, which we are almost unanimously told (both by believers and by the great disbeliever) is the one thing that matters, is merely a way of elaborately missing the point.

IV

It remains, of course, to ask: why did he do it? Why, having possession of those valuable papers, did Perdiccas (subtle and ambitious, as was to become clear) use them merely to have Alexander's plans annulled, rather than for his own advantage and profit, as, in a similar situation, Marcus Antonius was to do?

The answer is obvious enough, in the light of the situation. Perdiccas, unlike Antonius, was not secure in control of the state machinery — at least, not yet. There had, as is well known, been riots and intrigues and almost civil war. Perdiccas was saved only by a coalition of most of the marshals. We must note — now that we have found we can accept his account in outline — precisely where Diodorus places the events we are discussing: it is after the distribution of commands and before the final punishment of the mutineers and of Meleager. As is well known, Arrian-Photius and Curtius present a rather different order: according to Curtius, the "lustration" of the army and the execution of the thirty and of Meleager all preceded the division of commands; according to Arrian-Photius, the "lustration" is the pretext for the execution of the

⁶⁰ Tarn, trying to *disprove* the authenticity of the "plans," noticed (*Alex.* II 382) that this "can hardly be called a plan"; but, overlooking his best argument, he went on to say that it "is quite immaterial."

thirty, and the death of Meleager is added in a footnote as coming "a little later"; then we are given the division of commands.⁶¹ Schachermeyr drew the right conclusion:⁶² the full version of Hieronymus will have reported the division of satrapies between the execution of the mutineers and that of Meleager, which came "a little later." Our excerptors have put the executions together, in one place or in the other. However, the situation of Perdiccas (and, for that matter, of the others) is excellently summed up by Arrian-Photius: "and so Perdiccas was suspect in the eyes of all and himself suspected them."⁶³ In other words, Meleager's challenge had forced the marshals to patch up a compromise which they probably all knew would not last long. There was also, of course, another danger, distant but ominous: Craterus stood in Cilicia and no one knew what he would do. His popularity was immense — probably greater than that of any of the other leaders, however exaggerated by our sources for the greater glory of his later conqueror Eumenes. Were he to join Antipater (as Antipater at once urged him to do), the combination, sure of the allegiance of the home army, would be formidable indeed. Hence the attempt — soon to become public, with the distribution of provinces, and certainly already in the mind of at least Perdiccas — to set them at odds by vague circumscription of their respective spheres and entice them to turn their strength against each other, while Perdiccas opened direct negotiations for an alliance with Antipater, who was less dangerous to him. The attempt, for a time, looked like succeeding: for a time Craterus refused to come to the aid of the hard-pressed Antipater in Thessaly. But it ultimately failed, and the failure was to cost Perdiccas his life.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Curtius 10.9-10; Arr. *succ.* 3f.

⁶² Schachermeyr (above, n. 8) 121f. It may avoid confusion to summarise the probable order in Hieronymus: (1) the mutiny and reconciliation; (2) the lustration and punishment; (3) (?) the reading of the *hypomnemata*; (4) (?) the division of commands; (5) the death of Meleager. Diodorus, who — as so often — has torn the context to shreds, gives (4) before (3). Since no other source mentions (3), he cannot be positively proved wrong; but it is difficult to imagine that the division of commands could in fact precede the cancellation of Alexander's "plans," since a settlement — one way or the other — of the latter would surely have to be arrived at before one even knew what commands were to be distributed. But this must remain uncertain. It is worth mentioning that a trace of what I regard as the original order still seems to survive: it is *after* the affair of the *hypomnemata* and the execution of the trouble-makers and of Meleager that Diodorus gives us (chs. 5-6) an extensive *descriptio imperii*, which logically ought to go with the distribution of commands.

⁶³ Arr. *succ.* 5.

⁶⁴ On Craterus and Antipater, see (briefly) *JHS* 1961, 40f [= Griffith (ed.), *Alexander the Great*, 230f]. Cf. also *Gnomon* 1962, 383f.

At the time, no one could foresee how Craterus would act. But one safeguard was necessary, and in the interests of all the suspicious schemers assembled at Babylon. He must at all costs be stopped from producing, at a time of his own choice, "orders" from the dead Alexander giving him Heaven knew what powers over the rest of them — credibly, in view of the known and attested fact that he had been second in Alexander's confidence after Hephaestion. Hence the orders to Craterus had to be an integral part of the *hypomnemata* to be annulled by the army — indeed, this was perhaps the main immediate purpose of the annulment, and one on which all the marshals present would agree. The connection eluded Tarn and Schachermeyr, who interpreted the relation of the orders and the "plans" in accordance with their varying theories, and it probably eluded Diodorus, whose vague language shows that he was not at all sure of the exact relationship of the orders to Craterus and the document produced by Perdiccas; but his close link between the two (by means of the particle *gar*) shows their close connection in his source, which must at the least have included the former in the latter. The *hypomnemata* (the King's notebooks) were found to have conveniently listed the orders he had given to Craterus (whether or not these were for the carrying out of any or all of his extravagant plans), which were thus covered by the annulment. The way was open for the next step in the attack on Craterus' position: the distribution of provinces.

This was one important aspect. But there was more at stake than the future of Craterus. The marshals had been forced to close their ranks against Meleager and to assert their control over the infantry; but (as Arrian-Photius stresses) they remained suspicious of one another and particularly of Perdiccas. And here Plutarch helps us with his much-maligned portrait of Eumenes: we may believe that the Greek, personally not a competitor for the highest prizes, played an important part in bringing the others together and arranging a general reconciliation that would give him the only chance he could hope for of securing power and status. For this, he was prepared to sacrifice (as he must have known he was doing) the interests of his friend Craterus.⁶⁵ And he had a powerful weapon, though one that, on account of his peculiar handicap of being a Greek, he could never use on his own behalf. As Court Chancellor, he had Alexander's papers and could throw their weight behind anyone he wished to favour. In return for his reward — the large and important province of Cappadocia, which Perdiccas promised to help him secure — he now handed them to Perdiccas to use as had been agreed. Of course,

⁶⁵ Plut. *Eum.* 3, *init.*

the marshals could not allow Perdiccas (or anyone else) to retain them for his own use. The only possible action was to banish the spectre once and for all, at the same time neutralising any excessive ambitions Craterus might have. The papers must be rendered harmless. The army itself must be induced to vote its King's last words into final oblivion.

It was no easy task. The infantry was still suspicious of its noble commanders. One suspects that the skilful Eumenes took a hand in preparing it all, being both in possession of the papers and in the position of general mediator, untouched (we are told) by the quarrels of the Macedonians. The papers were duly produced and duly rejected. Not surprisingly, in view of their contents. If anyone doubted the accuracy of what was read out, he had no more hope of substantiating his suspicions than we have; and the fate of thirty of his companions had just taught any doubter to hold his peace.

When it was over, they could all breathe a sigh of relief. The story as a whole is told clearly enough by later events: Craterus' behaviour, and the fact that Alexander's papers disappear completely from history. Eumenes, exploiting Alexandrolatry to the full, had nothing but Alexander's ghost to produce. The details, however, cannot be known. Was the story of Perdiccas' receipt of the ring part of the agreed bargain? Was it the price the others paid — temporarily — in exchange for his promise to have the papers annulled? This and other questions must remain speculation. For all we know, the story and others like it may be true.

What Alexander's last plans were is equally irrecoverable. If Eumenes knew, he could not tell anyone outside (not even Hieronymus), then or later. Antigonos (the historian's later master) probably never knew: he had been away in Phrygia. It is perhaps disappointing to come to this conclusion, on a subject that a scholar like Schachermeyr thought "the most important problem in the whole history of Alexander."⁶⁶ But such is the ancient historian's lot. And perhaps a new study of the problem in its setting has helped us in our understanding of the confused situation that followed Alexander's death. Fascinated by the King's personality, historians have failed to see that the story of the *hypomnemata* belongs, not to the history of Alexander, but to the history of the Successors.⁶⁷

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⁶⁶ Schachermeyr (above, n. 8) 119.

⁶⁷ I should like to thank Dr. G. W. Bowersock, Dr. R. M. Errington, and Mr. G. T. Griffith for helpful comments on this article, at various stages of production.

ROMAN POLICY IN SPAIN BEFORE THE HANNIBALIC WAR

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THE great obstacle to an understanding of Rome's Spanish policy before the Second Punic War lies in establishing a reliable basis of factual detail. The topic gave rise to controversy in antiquity and has been ardently disputed in modern historiography.¹ In the heat of argument the evidence, such as it is, has not always received a dispassionate treatment. The discussion has been bedevilled by the question of "war-guilt." That mode of enquiry has not furthered the cause of enlightenment, and will not be pursued here.

I. THE EMBASSY TO HAMILCAR

The first sign of active Roman interest in Spain has survived only, and precariously, in a fragment of Cassius Dio (fr. 48): ὅτι πρέσβεις ποτὲ ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ...Γαίου Παπυρίου, καίπερ μηδὲν μηδέπω τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν σφισι προσηκόντων, ἀπέστειλαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐδεξιώσατο καὶ λόγοις ἐπιτηδείους διήγαγεν, εἰπὼν ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι ἀναγκαίως τοῖς Ἰβηρσι πολεμεῖ, ἵνα τὰ χρήματα ἅ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔτι πρὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπωφείλετο ἀποδοθῇ, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἄλλοθεν ποθεν αὐτὰ ἀπαλλαγῆναι, ὥστε τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπορῆσαι ὅτι οἱ ἐπιτιμήσωσιν. The obvious lacuna between κατασκοπῇ and Γαίου must include a referent for ἐκεῖνος and something to explain the presence of Gaius Papirius in the context. Since C. Papirius Maso was consul in 231 B.C. and Hamilcar was the Carthaginian commander in Spain at that time, Boissevain provided the reasonable supplement ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ <τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀμίλκου πραχθέντων, ὑπατευόντων Μάρκου Πομπωνίου καὶ> Γαίου Παπυρίου. Hence a Roman embassy to Hamilcar in Spain in 231.

Polybius, our major source, mentions no such embassy. In fact, he seems to exclude it. He dates the first Roman interest in Spanish affairs

¹ For bibliography see F. W. Walbank, *Historical Commentary on Polybius* (1957) 1.168-172; F. Cassola, *I gruppi politici romani nel III. secolo a.C.* (1962) 245ff; W. Hoffmann, *Hannibal* (1962) 139ff; A. Piganiol, *Histoire de Rome*⁵ (1962) 106-108, 546-548. Cf. also B. Farnoux, *Les Guerres Puniques*² (1962) 49ff; B. H. Warmington, *Carthage*² (1964) 200ff.

to the time of Hasdrubal's covenant (2.13.3f): *ὃν* (sc. Ἀσδρούβαν) καὶ θεωροῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι μείζω καὶ φοβερωτέραν ἤδη συνιστάμενον δυναστείαν, ὤρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ πολυπραγμονεῖν τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν. εὐρόντες δὲ σφᾶς ἐπικεκοιμημένους ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις καὶ προειμένους εἰς τὸ μεγάλην χεῖρα κατασκευάσασθαι Καρχηδονίους, ἀνατρέχειν ἐπειρῶντο κατὰ δύναμιν. However, this is rather overdramatised. It is not at all likely that the Romans suddenly woke up to Carthaginian power in Spain only during Hasdrubal's governorship. Their friends the Massilians, who were directly concerned, must have kept them informed.² The silence of Polybius — who devotes only a few lines to Hamilcar's Spanish command (2.1.5–8; 3.10.5f) — is not sufficient in itself to discredit the story of the embassy.

But Hamilcar's celebrated reply presents a difficulty: "in order to pay the money the Carthaginians still owed to the Romans." According to Polybius the war indemnity, as finally settled, under the treaty of 241 was 3,200 talents — 1,000 to be paid *παραντίκα* and 2,200 *ἐν ἔτεσι δέκα* (3.27.5; cf. 1.62.9–63.3). Thus 231 was precisely the year when the Carthaginians had to complete their payments. On that count Hamilcar's reply was no answer at all.³

Orosius, however, has a different version (4.11.2): *conditiones autem erant, ut Sicilia Sardiniaque decederent, proque impensis bellicis puri argentaria milia talentorum Euboicorum, aequis pensionibus, per annos viginti penderent*. This (almost certainly derived from Livy)⁴ does not take account of the fact that in the final treaty the period of payment was reduced from 20 to 10 years (Polyb. 1.63.3). Does Orosius then refer to the original terms agreed by Lutatius Catulus? This explanation is hardly satisfactory. The alleged cession of Sardinia indicates the final treaty;⁵ this falsification⁶ arose from the added proviso, put into the final form of the treaty, that the Carthaginians must evacuate the islands lying between Italy and Sicily (Polyb. 1.63.3). Further, Orosius' indemnity of 3,000 talents is less likely to derive from the original sum

² Cf. F. J. Kramer, "Massilian Diplomacy before the Second Punic War," *AJP* 69 (1948) iff. Cf. n. 10 below. The emphasis on Hasdrubal at the expense of Hamilcar reveals the influence of Fabius Pictor (cf. Polyb. 3.8.iff).

³ Cf. E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae* (1958) 58. There is no substance in the conjecture that the envoys were actually *collecting* the last payment from Hamilcar (!) (P. Treves, *Atene e Roma* 13 [1932] 19; G. Giannelli, *Roma nell'età delle guerre puniche* [1938] 144).

⁴ Orosius' version is implied in Liv. 21.40.5, "a quibus stipendium per viginti annos exegitis, a quibus capta belli praemia Siciliam ac Sardiniam habetis."

⁵ Cf. G. De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* 3.1.188 n. 96.

⁶ Cf. De Sanctis, 3.1.280 n. 34.

fixed, 2,200 (Polyb. 1.62.9), than from the final 3,200. Orosius' version, then, which is certainly presented as if it were the final treaty, combines elements from the two forms of the treaty distinguished by Polybius.

Appian (*Sic.* 2.4) has a version which likewise knows only the 20 years period for payment: ἐνεγκεῖν τάλαντα Εὐβοικὰ διαχίλια ἐν ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι, τὸ μέρος ἐκάστου ἔτους ἐς Ῥώμην ἀναφέροντας. From the confusion of his narrative (*Sic.* 1) it is hard to tell whether he intends to refer to Lutatius' terms or the final treaty. His indemnity of 2,000 talents points to the first form. But he seems to have the added proviso about the islands between Italy and Sicily (in the form τῶν βραχυτέρων νήσων ὅσαι περὶ Σικελίαν). Thus Appian too, like Orosius but with variation in detail, gives a version which, without distinguishing two forms of the treaty, combines provisions of the preliminary and the final treaty.⁷

The significance of all this is to suggest that there existed annalistic versions which mixed up the two forms of the treaty and according to which the period for payment of the indemnity was 20 years. Into such accounts the story of Hamilcar's reply fitted without difficulty. According to them, the Carthaginians still had ten years of payments to make in 231. There is no doubt, however, that this is an error. Does the story of the embassy collapse with it?

There is still to be taken into account the additional indemnity imposed in 237,⁸ to the amount of 1,200 talents (Polyb. 1.88.12; 3.10.3; 3.27.8). Polybius does not state explicitly how this was to be paid, whether at once or over a period. His use of the terms εἰσολοσεῖν (3.10.3) and φόρους (3.15.10) may be taken to imply annual contributions. But there is no indication whether the period for payment was concurrent with the period of ten years fixed in 241 or extended beyond it. It might be six annual payments of 200 talents, with termination in 231, or ten payments of 120 talents, with termination in 228 or 227. If the story of the embassy is to be saved, the latter hypothesis (not in itself improbable) must necessarily be adopted.

The historicity of the Roman embassy to Hamilcar, it can be seen, hangs by a slender thread. Yet it is undeniable that the anecdote has the reverberation peculiar to famous and well-remembered utterances of great historical figures. There is an understandable and even justifiable reluctance to jettison it.⁹

⁷ Cf. E. Täubler, *Imperium Romanum* (1913) 1.189f, 377; *Die Vorgeschichte des 2. punischen Krieges* (1921) 115.

⁸ Cf. Walbank, *Comm. on Polyb.* 1.88.8.

⁹ Rejected by M. Holleaux, *Rome, la Grèce, et les monarchies hellénistiques* (1921) 123 n. 4; considered very dubious by Badian, *For. Client.* 48. Hoffmann, *Hannibal* 29, leaves the question open. Otherwise it has been generally accepted:

The enquiry must be transferred to the historical setting. What was the character of Hamilcar's activities in Spain? Did they provide occasion to excite Rome's interest or apprehension so as to call forth a diplomatic mission? There can be little doubt that Rome's attention to developments in Spain will have been inspired by Massilia.¹⁰

For detailed knowledge of Hamilcar's achievements in the Iberian peninsula we get little help from Polybius, who resorts to generalities: Hamilcar set about winning back the Carthaginian "empire" in Spain; he was there nearly nine years; he made many of the Iberians subject to Carthage by war, many by diplomacy; he died bravely fighting a powerful and warlike tribe (2.1.6-8). Thus we are mainly dependent on an excerpt from Diodorus (25.10). According to this, Hamilcar made war on Iberians and Tartesii who were assisted by Istolatus general of the Celti and his brother; he defeated them crushingly and incorporated 3,000 prisoners in his own army. Then a force of 50,000 led by Indortes was routed; 10,000 prisoners were taken. Many cities were won by diplomacy, many by war (cf. Polybius). Having subjected many cities in Iberia, Hamilcar founded a very great city, καλέσας αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ τόπου θέσεως Ἀκραν Λευκὴν. Besieging the city of Ἐλική, he dismissed the greater part of his army with the elephants to winter quarters in the city founded by him, Λευκὴ Ἀκρα, and stayed behind with the remainder. The king of the Ὀρισσοί (or Ὀρισσαί or Ὀρισσης) came to the aid of the besieged, and by treachery, after making a pact of friend-

e.g. by S. Gsell, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord* 3.135; De Sanctis, 3.1.411 (n. 59); Täubler, *Vorgeschichte* 42ff; Eduard Meyer, *Kleine Schriften* 2.393; P. Schnabel, *Klio* 20 (1926) 110ff; W. Otto, *Historische Zeitschrift* 145 (1931/1932) 498f; A. Schulten and T. Frank, *CAH* 7.787, 809; Kramer, *AJP* 69 (1948) 11; L. Pareti, *Storia di Roma* 2.242; Walbank, *Comm.* on 2.13.3; H. H. Scullard, *History of the Roman World* 753-146 B.C.³ (1961) 178; Warmington, *Carthage*² 207.

¹⁰ Cf. Frank, *CAH* 7.809; Kramer, *AJP* 69 (1948) 1ff; F. M. Heichelheim, *Historia* 3 (1954/1955) 212; Badian, *For. Client.* 47f. The friendship of the two states was of long standing (Diodor. 14.93.4; Appian *Ital.* 8.1; cf. Iustin. 43.5.8ff). The date of the formal alliance (Plin. *N.H.* 3.34, *Massilia . . . foederata*) is not certain, though it must be before 218 (cf. Liv. 21.20.8; Massilia fought as an ally in 217; Polyb. 3.95.6f; Liv. 22.19.5; Sosylos, *FGH* 176 F 1). It has been suggested that the *foedus* was struck between the First and Second Punic War (De Sanctis, 3.1.411; H. Philipp, *RE* 14 s.v. Massilia, 2132; J. H. Thiel, *History of Roman Sea-Power before the Second Punic War* [1954] 343 n. 9; Walbank, *Comm.* on 2.13.7, p. 169). But it may have been earlier (Badian, *For. Client.* 47f); the provision in Polybius' second Rome-Carthage treaty against piracy, trade, or colonisation beyond Mastia of Tarshish, i.e. Cartagena (Polyb. 3.24.4; see Walbank. *Comm.* ad loc.), was probably aimed at Massilia, and if so, she may have been an ally of Rome already (ca. 348).

ship and alliance (with Hamilcar), routed him. In the flight Hamilcar separated from his sons and friends for the sake of their safety. On being overtaken by the king, he plunged on his horse into a great river and perished in the flood under his mount. His sons Hannibal and Hasdrubal reached Λευκὴ Ἀκρά safely.¹¹

In this narrative the identification of the place names is important. Hamilcar's new city and base, Akra Leuke or Leuke Akra, has been placed at Alicante, Roman Lucentum.¹² The city of Helike has been identified, more or less tentatively, with Ilici (modern Elche).¹³ The basis of these identifications is somewhat tenuous. Akra Leuke means White Citadel (or White Promontory), and such a feature is to be found at Alicante — the Castillo de Santa Barbara; Lucentum is taken as a significant name (from *lucere*), referring to the same feature. Livy makes Castrum Album (evidently equivalent to Akra Leuke) the scene of Hamilcar's death (24.41.3, *locus insignis caede magni Hamilcaris*); so Helike and Akra Leuke / Castrum Album should be near one another. Elche and Alicante are only 20 kilometres apart. Finally of course, the name Helike resembles Ilici.

In all this some relevant points are neglected. In the first place, it is incongruous that Hamilcar should have founded his base at Akra Leuke/Castrum Album/Lucentum/Alicante while Helike/Ilici/Elche remained a point of resistance. The closeness of Elche and Alicante is from this point of view a serious disadvantage. Elche in fact would have

¹¹ The other sources (collected in *Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae* 3.12ff) add nothing of significance. (1) There is a story of a stratagem by which the Spaniards defeated Hamilcar (Frontin. 2.4.17; Appian *Ib.* 4; Zonaras 8.19); it is not necessarily incompatible with Diodorus' account (as Schulten, *FHA* 3.14; Walbank, *Comm.* on 2.1.7f); it could be fitted into δόλω . . . ἔτρεψεν (Diodor. 25.10.3). (2) Tzetzes says Hamilcar perished in the river Iber (1.717). F. R. Walton in the Loeb Diodorus (11.167 n. 1) suggests emending Ἰβηρος to Τάβερρος or Τέρεβρος (i.e. the Segura or its tributary the Tarafa, cf. Ptolemy, *Geog.* 2.6.14). But this is hazardous. Tzetzes is following Diodorus (cf. 1.700) and has merely substituted the name of a well-known river for his source's ποταμὸν μέγαν. (3) Nepos, *Hamil.* 4, says he was killed fighting the Vettones. This people was located in Extremadura, north of the Anas/Guadiana (cf. Caesar *B.C.* 1.38.1ff; A. Schulten, R. Grosse, *RE* 8A, s.v. Vettones, 1873f). They appear too remote to have been engaged with Hamilcar (Schulten, *FHA* 3.11; cf. 3.196, 4.97f, 5.34, 6.199): unless they later moved northwest in face of the Punic advance. It is, however, significant that they are a people of the interior, not the littoral.

¹² Cf. E. Hübner, *CIL* 2, pp. 479f; De Sanctis, 3.1.408 n. 49; Schulten, *Arch. Anz.* 1927, 217, *FHA* 3.11, *Iberische Landeskunde* (1955) 232f; A. Garcia y Bellido, *Hispania Graeca* (1948) 2.59f.

¹³ Cf. Hübner, *CIL* 2, pp. 479f; Schulten, *CAH* 7.787, *FHA* 3.11; Scullard, *HRW*³ 178; Walbank, *Comm.* on 2.1.7f.

dominated Hamilcar's approach to Alicante, since it lies to the south-west; in Roman times the route from the south to Lucentum actually ran through Ilici.¹⁴ It must also be considered strange that Hamilcar should have by-passed Cartagena, the obvious choice for a coastal base, as discerned by his successor Hasdrubal; in this connection it may be noted that Diodorus, when mentioning the foundation of New Carthage and comparing Hasdrubal's work with Hamilcar's, distinguishes it as *παραθαλασσίαν πόλιν* (25.12), a qualification that is missing in the case of Akra Leuke. These, however, are minor points compared with the matter of the Orissoi (Orissai, Orisses). This people is identified with reasonable certainty as the Oretani (*alias* "Ορητες, 'Ωριτανοί, 'Ωρητανοί) whose chief towns were 'Ωρισία/Oretum and Καστάλων/Καστούλων/Castulo.¹⁵ Their territory was situated round the eastern Sierra Morena (Saltus Castulonensis). The clear implication of the narrative is that Hamilcar was operating in or near their territory,¹⁶ and so nowhere near Elche or Alicante. The location is confirmed by Livy (24.41.3). When he names Castrum Album as the scene of Hamilcar's demise (loosely identifying death-place and base), he clearly puts it in the region of Castulo (24.41.7) and other places around the Upper Baetis.¹⁷ Thus the argument may be reversed. Assuming that Castrum Album equals Akra Leuke,¹⁸ Akra Leuke will be located in the general area of the Upper Baetis. This region has indeed high probability as the scene of Hamilcar's operations. Near Castulo was the famous Silver Mountain,¹⁹ a district which was bound to attract Carthaginian interest.²⁰

¹⁴ Cf. Ravennatis Anon. Cosmogr. (ed. Pinder-Parthey, 1860) 4.42, p. 304; 5.3, p. 343; *CIL* 2, pp. 479f.

¹⁵ References in *FHA* 2.156f, 3.12, 6.200f.

¹⁶ Cf. Hoffmann, *Hannibal* 29.

¹⁷ Namely, Ilturgi (24.41.8, 11) — between Isturgi/Andujar and Castulo (*CIL* 2, p. 297): Bigerra (24.41.11) — probably Becerra, 10 km. north of Acci/Guadix; Munda (24.42.1) — Montilla: Auringis (24.42.5) — Jaen. See De Sanctis, 3.2.247/248 n. 76 and Schulten, *FHA* 3.84f, on the passage. On Castulo see P. Spranger, *Historia* 7 (1958) 95ff.

¹⁸ *arx erat munita*, says Livy, 24.41.3; *arx* would translate ἄκρα; cf. e.g. Polyb. 4.78.3, 11. The alternative meaning of ἄκρα — *promunturium* — has apparently encouraged the idea that Akra Leuke must be on the coast.

¹⁹ Cf. Schulten, *Iber. Landesk.* 487f.

²⁰ Cf. Polyb. 3.10.5, for Hamilcar's interest in the resources of Spain; Nepos, *Hamil.* 4, *equis armis viris pecunia locupletavit Africam*.

Precise identifications of the places named by Diodorus are scarcely possible. The "great river" is probably the Baetis or a tributary. "Helike" does not accurately represent any Iberian place name; instead of Ilici one might note *I(n)lucia in Oretanis* (Liv. 35.7.7), identified with Ilugo about 30 miles NE. of Castulo (*CIL* 2, p. 436; *FHA* 3.196). For Akra Leuke/Castrum Album one

It follows that we lack definite evidence for an advance by Hamilcar up the eastern coast of Spain. The main direction of his operations appears to have been up the Baetis, with Gades as his original base (Polyb. 2.1.6; Diodor. 25.10.1; Appian *Iber.* 5, *Hann.* 2). In the Rome-Carthage treaty of ca. 348, Rome and her allies had been prohibited from raiding, trading, or colonising *Μαστίας Ταρσείου* . . . ἐπέκεινα (Polyb. 3.24.4). Mastia is undoubtedly the *urbs Massiena* of Avienus (*Ora maritima* 451f) and is therefore located at Cartagena.²¹ Thus in the fourth century Carthage had claimed control over the coast eastwards as far as that. We have no reason to assume that Hamilcar, in "recovering" the Punic domain (Polyb. 2.1.6), advanced further than Cartagena. This was left to his successors. An important first step was the creation of the great base there, by Hasdrubal.²²

It cannot therefore be securely maintained that the Carthaginians under Hamilcar "had overstepped their old boundary line with Massilia at Cape Palos, and Rome was concerned as an ally of Massilia."²³ That explanation for a Roman embassy to Hamilcar has been eliminated. If the embassy really was sent, it must have been for slightly different reasons. It is certainly possible that the Massilians *foresaw*, correctly, that the reestablishment of Punic power in Spain would inevitably lead to an advance eastward and northward: an advance which would before long begin to damage their interests. It is possible that they represented to Rome that the threat was more immediate than it actually was; hence the Senate was induced to send a mission "to investigate."²⁴ To a degree this situation suits Dio's embassy better. For if it were true, as Schulten assumed, that in founding Akra Leuke Hamilcar had annexed a Massilian possession, the Roman reaction would be inappropriately mild. If,

would look rather further to the west. *Urgao quae Alba (cognominatur)* (Plin. *N.H.* 3.10) might be worth considering; it lay between Corduba and Castulo, evidently near modern Arjona and Arjonilla (*CIL* 2, p. 294; *RE* 9 A, s.v. Urgao, 1000).

²¹ Cf. Schulten, *FHA* 1.116 (ed. cast.), 2.52; *RE* 14, s.v. Massieni, 2153; A. Berthelot, *Festus Avienus: Ora Maritima* (1934) 99; Walbank, *Comm.* on 3.24.4.

²² Cf. *FHA* 3.16. It is a good example of the power of the *idée fixe* that Schulten can write here "Cartagena tiene sobre Alicante la ventaja del magnifico puerto, uno de los mejores del Mediterráneo, y la mejor comunicación con Africa," but does not consider why these advantages would not have been manifest to Hamilcar, who according to Schulten had passed over Cartagena and advanced north to establish Alicante as "el baluarte de los Cartagineses en la costa oriental, la predecesora [!] de Cartagena" (*FHA* 3.11).

²³ Schulten, *CAH* 7.787.

²⁴ Observe the parallel with the Roman embassy to Hannibal (Polyb. 3.15.1ff). The Saguntines make representations to Rome, and Rome eventually sends *legati* "to investigate the report" (τοὺς ἐπισκεψομένους ὑπὲρ τῶν προσιπτόντων, 3.15.2; cf. Walbank. *Comm.* ad loc.).

however, it proved that Hamilcar had not gone beyond Cartagena, he had not overstepped "the old boundary line," and so, as Dio says, the embassy found nothing they could make complaint of.

There is, as it happens, a vague and uncertain indication in Polybius that the Romans had made representations to Hamilcar. In 3.14.10 he observes that Hannibal tried as far as possible to leave Saguntum alone, in order to give the Romans no indisputable pretext for war, until he had brought under control the rest of the country, *κατὰ τὰς Ἀμίλκου τοῦ πατρὸς ὑποθήκας καὶ παραινήσεις*. This presumably means that the general policy was suggested by Hamilcar: consolidate the empire before doing anything that could bring on a clash with Rome. If Polybius is to be trusted here, it becomes possible that Hamilcar really had received notice from Rome that she would view with disfavour any expansion such as to damage the interests of her friends in the area. Since the embassy in any case had no very definite result, it need not have disturbed Polybius' conception that Rome neglected Spanish affairs until 226 — if, that is, he had encountered the story of the embassy.

According to Polybius (3.30.1) it was an admitted fact (i.e. in the dispute over war guilt) that the Saguntines had given themselves into the *fides* of the Romans "already several years before Hannibal's time" (*πλείοσιν ἔτεσιν ἤδη πρότερον τῶν κατ' Ἀννίβαν καιρῶν*).²⁵ It is difficult to circumvent this emphatic statement without impugning the honesty of Polybius.²⁶ Indeed the crucial phrase *πλείοσιν ἔτεσιν* is inessential to

²⁵ Badian, *For. Client.* 50 n. 1, writes: "De Sanctis (*Storia*, iii.1, 417, n. 75) thinks that Pol. iii.30, 1 . . . must mean 'before Hannibal became commander'. But, as many scholars have taken it, it may equally well mean 'before Saguntum had these dealings with H.'" However, De Sanctis' interpretation is not questioned by Walbank, *Comm.* on 2.13.7, p. 170 ("some years before Hannibal succeeded to the command (219)," *sic*: read "(221)"). Polybian usage clearly supports this interpretation: cf. 3.27.10, *ταῦθ' ὑπῆρχε τὰ δίκαια Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἕως εἰς τοὺς κατ' Ἀννίβαν καιροὺς*; 3.21.10, *τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπαρξάντων δικαίων Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἕως εἰς τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς καιροὺς*; see also Schweighäuser's *Lexicon*, s.v. *κατά*, 236f, and P. Schnabel, *Klio* 20 (1926) 111. Note, as well, the consistent implication of *πλεονάκης* in Polyb. 3.15.2.

²⁶ Polybius' citation of "evidence" has given rise to dispute and misunderstanding: 3.30.2. *σημεῖον δὲ τοῦτο μέγιστον καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ὁμολογούμενον ὅτι στασιάζαντες Ζακανθαῖοι πρὸς σφᾶς οὐ Καρχηδονίοις ἐπέτρεψαν καίπερ ἐγγὺς ὄντων αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἤδη πραττόντων, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐποιήσαντο τὴν κατόρθωσιν τῆς πολιτείας*. This *σημεῖον* is not adduced in support of *πλείοσιν ἔτεσιν*, but is to show that the Carthaginians knew very well that Saguntum was in Rome's *fides*. The *stasis* is that mentioned in 3.15.7, where Hannibal is made to say that the Roman intervention and arbitration were *μικροῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις*, i.e. a short time before winter 220/219. See further pp. 233ff below.

Polybius' argument, which is simply that Saguntum was under Rome's protection when Hannibal attacked it. It is something extra that the *clientela* was established "several" years before Hannibal's time. It was several years before 221-219, therefore.²⁷ Nor is it likely that Rome

²⁷ Cf. De Sanctis, 3.1.417 n. 75; Schnabel, *Klio* 20 (1926) 110ff; Walbank, *Comm.* on 2.13.7, p. 170. Since a certain amount depends on the chronology of the Barcids in Spain, it will be as well to discuss it here. Hamilcar was sent to Spain when the "Libyan war" was concluded (Polyb. 2.1.5) 3 years 4 months after its commencement (Polyb. 1.88.7); Diodorus 25.6 says 4 years 4 months, which is simply an error; it cannot be explained as "including the preliminaries of 241" (Walbank, *Comm.* on 1.88.7, following Meyer, *KL.Schr.* 2.382 n. 2) because 4 years 4 months, starting from summer/autumn 241, bring one to autumn/winter 237, hence Hamilcar's departure for Spain would date to winter 237/236, and that cannot be fitted into the subsequent chronology. The Mercenary War must have ended in the winter 238/237 (cf. De Sanctis, 3.1.396 n. 30). Then Hamilcar went to Spain in **spring 237** (there is no need to assume he did not go until after the end of the dispute over Sardinia, as Walbank, *Comm.* on 1.88.8, p. 150). He commanded in Spain *ἔτη σχεδὸν ἐννέα* (Polyb. 2.1.7; cf. Nepos, *Hamil.* 4.2, *nono anno*) and died *ἔτεσι δέκα πρότερον τῆς καταρχῆς* (sc. τοῦ δευτέρου πολέμου) (Polyb. 3.10.7); thus the date of his death is doubly fixed in **winter 229/228** (cf. Walbank, *Comm.* on 2.1.7-8; De Sanctis, 3.1.405 n. 40 is not precise enough — "dal 237 . . . al 229 (non al 228)"); this agrees with Diodorus 25.10.3 where Hamilcar is killed after sending the main part of his army into winter quarters.

Hasdrubal, the successor, died *ἔτη χειρίσας ὀκτὼ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν* (Polyb. 2.36.1; *στρατηγήσας ἔτη ἐννέα*, Diodor. 25.12, which, if not another inaccuracy, may include Hasdrubal's command in Numidia, 25.10.3); that would point to winter 221/220. But Hannibal, on succeeding Hasdrubal, has time for a campaign against the Olcades before going into winter quarters at New Carthage (Polyb. 3.13.8), and this must still be winter 221/220 because there follow two campaigns and two winters before the outbreak of war, 218 (winter quarters 220/219 Polyb. 3.15.3, and 219/218, 3.33.5, 34.6); cf. De Sanctis, 3.1.415 n. 67. Hasdrubal's dates are therefore **winter 229/228 to summer/autumn 221**; Polybius should have written *ἔτη σχεδὸν ὀκτώ* (and perhaps did, cf. Livy 21.2.3, *octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit*; alternatively the ultimate source had it so).

Livy gives 5 years for the *Africum bellum* (*quod fuit sub recentem Romanam pacem per quinque annos*, 21.2.1); this is obviously a crude inclusive reckoning from the peace, 242/241, (C. Lutatio Catulo A. Postumio Albino coss.) to the consular year 238/237 (Ti. Sempronio Graccho P. Valerio Falto). He gives 9 years for Hamilcar instead of *novem ferme annis* (21.2.1), but he is correct on Hasdrubal — *octo ferme annos* (21.2.3). His chronology for Hannibal agrees with Polybius for the first two campaigns (Olcades, 21.5.3; winter quarters, 21.5.4; Vaccaei etc., 21.5.6ff), but then he falls into notorious confusion over the Saguntum campaign, which he dates impossibly to the consular year 218/217 (21.6.3; cf. 21.15.3ff for his bewildered discussion of the resultant chronological impasse).

Minor variations in later sources are not worth considering. It is obvious that the Polybian chronology has to be followed.

took on the protection of Saguntum in the years of the Gallic crisis.²⁸ Hence the beginning of 225 is the *terminus ante quem*.²⁹

Massilia, with its three stations south of the Sucro river (Strabo 3.4.6), is likely to have had contacts with Saguntum to their north; traces of Greek influence have in fact been inferred at Saguntum.³⁰ It was no doubt Massilia that prompted the Iberian city to establish relations with Rome. If it is true that an embassy to Hamilcar was sent in 231 in response to representations from Massilia, it is also possible that Saguntum joined Massilia in such an approach to Rome. One could (though admittedly one need not) interpret Polybius 3.14.10 as indicating that Hamilcar was aware of Rome's patronate over Saguntum.³¹

It is difficult to form conclusions about Roman policy at this stage, when the footing is so insecure. There appears nothing historically improbable in the idea that Rome was suspicious of Hamilcar's activities

²⁸ This argument is valid only for 225–224, claims Cassola, *I gruppi politici romani*: 245; after that the Gallic War could no longer constitute a serious threat. However, 223 and 222 ought to be excluded by *πλείοσιν ἔτεσιν ἤδη πρότερον τῶν κατ' Ἀννίβαν καιρῶν*. (T. A. Dorey, *Humanitas* 8/9 [1959/1960] 1ff, ignores this phrase, which of course is incompatible with his view that Saguntum entered Roman *fides* only in the winter of 220/219.)

²⁹ Cf. De Sanctis, 3.1.305, 307 n. 106; Walbank, *Comm.* on 2.13.7, pp. 168, 170f, and on 2.21.1, 23.1, 23.5f (for the date).

Heichelheim, *Historia* 3 (1954/1955) 211ff, argues from the coinage of Saguntum (on which cf. G. F. Hill, *Num. N. & Mon.* 50 [1931] 111ff) that her alliance with Rome must be dated after 226, on the ground that the first coinage, which shows Roman and Massilian influence, must be later than 226. But the argument is not probative, since there is no need to assume that Saguntum began coining as soon as she entered into relations with Rome. It is possible that the first, rare coinage (Hill 112 n. 2, Heichelheim 212 n. 5) which was "an obvious proclamation of pro-Roman contacts by the Saguntine government" (Heichelheim 212) marks the victory of the pro-Roman party in the *stasis* arbitrated by Rome (cf. Polyb. 3.15.7). Its rarity would then be easily explained by the fact that shortly afterwards (the following year, cf. p. 235 below) began the siege, marked by the second Saguntine coinage, which "is of such an inferior style that it is most probably the siege currency of Saguntum" (Heichelheim 212).

³⁰ Cf. García y Bellido, *Hisp. Graeca* 2.61ff.

³¹ Appian, *Hann.* 2, says that during Hamilcar's command the Saguntines and "the other Greeks in Spain" appealed to the Romans, and a boundary was fixed for the Carthaginians in Spain, namely the Iber, and this was written into the Rome-Carthage treaty. A useful example of Appian's appalling carelessness: he is supposed to be recalling what he had expounded ἀκριβέστατα ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρικῇ συγγραφῇ (*Hann.* 1), where he had in fact dated all this to Hasdrubal's period (*Iber.* 7). More to the point is the statement (in *Iber.* 7) that Saguntum was a party (with Emporion etc.) to an embassy to Rome prior to the Hasdrubal pact: not reliable evidence in itself, but cohering with the indications in Polybius that Saguntum was in relations with Rome before 225.

and intentions; and that the reports of her western friends led the Senate to dispatch a fact-finding mission which would at the same time serve notice on Hamilcar that he was being watched. If the connection with Saguntum was formed at this time, that would be consistent; it would implicitly set a limit to Punic expansion. That this theme of Roman policy should have appeared already is not particularly surprising. It would be more surprising if Rome had paid no attention to Hamilcar.

II. THE EMBASSY TO HASDRUBAL

On the achievements of Hamilcar's successor in Spain, his son-in-law Hasdrubal, our information is for the most part in rather vague terms. Diodorus (25.12) takes the story up from the death of Hamilcar. Hasdrubal set out on hearing of the disaster (whether from Africa, where he was last heard of, 25.10.3, is not made clear), and proceeded to Akra Leuke. He collected a large force and made war first on the king of the Orissians (Oretani), successfully. He took over the twelve "cities" of this people and "all the cities of Iberia." He married the daughter of "King Iberos" and was proclaimed *strategos autokrator* by "all the Iberians." Thereupon he founded a city on the coast, New Carthage, and "another city later, wishing to outdo Hamilcar." There is a vague reference to further campaigning. Then, the assassination. Some of the incoherence is no doubt due to the excerptor. A separate excerpt (25.11) preserves the standard theme that Hasdrubal preferred peace to war.

Other sources add little concrete information, apart from the famous covenant. Polybius concentrates on Hasdrubal's good administration and the importance of the founding of New Carthage (2.13.1f). "He had given a great boost to Punic power, not so much by military action as by maintaining friendly relations with the chiefs" (2.36.2, his obituary; the same in Livy 21.2.5). According to Zonaras (8.19) he acquired *τῆς Ἰβηρίας πολλά*. Appian (*Iber.* 6) goes further: he won over *τῆς Ἰβηρίας τὰ πολλά* by persuasion; used Hannibal's talents when force was needed (cf. Liv. 21.4.4); and advanced from the western sea to the hinterland as far as the Iber river — which, says Appian, cuts Iberia roughly in half and flows into the *northern* ocean!

A better idea of the limits of Hasdrubal's empire is to be got from Hannibal's subsequent campaigns, which reveal how much of Spain was not controlled hitherto. On taking over the command, Hannibal immediately set out to subdue the Olcades (Polyb. 3.13.5; Liv. 21.5.3)

and carried by storm their chief city, Althaea.³² When the rest of the Olcades submitted he retired to winter at New Carthage (Polyb. 3.13.7; Liv. 21.5.4). The location of the Olcades is uncertain. They lived near New Carthage according to Stephanus.³³ Although this might be inference from Polybius' context,³⁴ it is a reasonable one. Hannibal appears to have succeeded to the command at an advanced date in 221,³⁵ and hardly had time for a distant campaign. In these circumstances it is difficult to ignore the resemblance between "Althaea" and modern Altea, about 90 miles up the coast from Cartagena, and even between "Olcades" and the nearby inland centre, Alcoy. These places may represent the region of Hannibal's first conquest.³⁶

³² Ἀλθαία, the MSS of Polybius; Ἀλθαία, Steph. Byz. s.v. The MSS of Liv. 21.5.4 vary between *Cartala*, *Cartatta*, and *Cartaia*. (They repeat this intrusion of *Cart-* in 21.5.6, *Hermadica et Albocala, eorum urbes*, see Walters-Conway, app. crit. ad loc.). It seems possible that the Punic word for "city" — as represented in Latin — has been worked into the place name: e.g. *Cart-altaia*. The misunderstanding would go back to one of the early Hannibalic historians (Livy perhaps wrote "*Cartalta*").

³³ Ἀλθαία, πόλις Ὀλκάδων, οἱ δὲ Ὀλκάδες ἔθνος Ἰβηρίας, πλησιόχωροι Καρχηδόνος, ἦν ἐκάλουν καὶ καινὴν πόλιν. τὸ ἔθνικόν Ἀλθαῖος ὡς Αἰαῖος, ἣ Ἀλθαίαιτης ἢ Ἀλθαϊανός. εὗρομεν δὲ ἐν ταῖς συγγραφαῖς Δημητρίου Ἀλθαίεα (Steph. Byz.).

³⁴ Walbank, *Comm.* ad loc.

³⁵ Cf. n. 27.

³⁶ Next year exiles of the Olcades are mentioned as inciting the Carpetani and neighbouring tribes to attack Hannibal near the Tagus on his return south (Polyb. 3.14.3; Liv. 21.5.7, 11). Evidently this provides no clue to their original demicile. In a list of troops Hannibal sent to Africa in the winter 219/218 (Polyb. 3.33.9) we find Thersitai (i.e. of Tarshish, Tartessii: cf. Walbank, *Comm.* ad loc.), Mastianoi, Oretes Iberes, Olcades. The order, which is official (being taken from Hannibal's own inscribed record, 3.39.18f), might suggest that the Olcades lay beyond the Oretes (Oretani); on the other hand, it could represent the temporal order of conquest. De Sanctis, 3.1.416, places the Olcades on the Upper Guadiana; so also Walbank, *Comm.* on 3.13.5, "in what is now called La Mancha"; i.e. south to southeast of the Carpetani. Schulten took this view in *CAH* 7.789 n. 1, but in *FHA* 3.24 placed them between the Oretani and Salamanca, between the Tagus and the Guadiana, regarding this campaign as a preliminary to that of the following year (so also M. Almagro in R. Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España* 1.2 [1952] 372). For what it is worth, Livy 21.5.3 tends to support the view adopted in the text, since he regards the attack on the Olcades as a move in the direction of Saguntum: *in Olcadum prius fines — ultra Hiberum ea gens in parte magis quam in ditione Carthaginensium erat — induxit exercitum, ut non petisse Saguntinos sed rerum serie finitimis domitis gentibus iungendoque tractus ad id bellum videri posset*.

For the resemblance between Olcades and Alcoy, compare modern Tuy, representing ancient Tude/Tudae (A. Forbiger, *Handbuch der alten Geographie* 3.66 n. 71; R. Menéndez Pidal, *Toponomia Prerrománica Hispana* [1952] 32). Alcoy has produced archaeological evidence indicating that it was a significant

In the major campaign of 220 Hannibal set out to attack the Vaccaeii (Polyb. 3.14.1; Liv. 21.5.5); the towns he assaulted, Helmantice/Salamanca and Albocala/Toro (on the middle Duero),³⁷ show clearly enough the region concerned. The implication is that the Carthaginians hitherto controlled the country as far as the middle Tagus. After subduing the Vaccaeii, the returning Hannibal was waylaid near the Tagus by the Carpetani and neighbouring tribes (Polyb. 3.14.2ff; Liv. 21.5.8ff). Hence Carthaginian expansion had not penetrated northeastwards as far as these peoples, who lived round the Upper Tagus, Toletum/Toledo being one of their centres.³⁸ Thus it is probable that even at Hasdrubal's death the Punic empire in Spain did not extend beyond the middle Tagus in the north, nor as far as the R. Jucar (Sucro) to the northeast, nor as far as the Cape de la Nao along the coast.

It was probably in the second half of 226 (directly before the Gallic War, Polyb. 2.13.5-7) that the Romans decided to send an embassy to Hasdrubal in Spain. Although Polybius introduces this in a very lively manner (2.13.3f), he fails to explain clearly either the reasons for the embassy or the character of its negotiation. It is evident from the examination of Hasdrubal's achievements that at this time his only significant territorial advance had been the conquest of the Oretani, probably in 228.³⁹ This hardly provides a reason for Roman intervention. The real reason is given indirectly by Polybius — the founding of New Carthage, which contributed greatly to Punic power (2.13.1f). The establishment of the great base at Cartagena assumes far larger significance now that the hypothesis of a "predecessor" at Alicante has been eliminated. Such a base foreshadowed a possible northward expansion up the east coast of Spain. It was an implicit threat to the independence of Saguntum, of the Massilian colonies, and even of Massilia itself. By the treaty of ca. 348 Mastia, on or near whose site the New City was founded, had been recognised as the eastern limit of the Punic preserve

Iberian centre (cf. García y Bellido in Menéndez Pidal, *Hist. de Esp.* 1.2.464-466, 473, 491 n. 4). If the Olcades are correctly located here, the non-reappearance of their name will be explained by its being submerged under the later, general designation of Contestani (on whom cf. J. Malaquer de Motes in Menéndez Pidal, *Hist. de Esp.* 1.3. [1954] 313f).

³⁷ Helmantike and Arboukale, Polyb. 3.14.1; Hermandica and Arbocala, Liv. 21.5.6f; Salmatis, Polyæn. 7.48; Salmatike, Plutarch *Mor.* 248e. See Walbank, *Comm.* on 3.14.1.

³⁸ Liv. 39.30.2; Plin. *N.H.* 3.25; cf. *CIL* 2, p. 416; Schulten, *FHA* 3.24, 97; 6.140; Walbank, *Comm.* on 3.14.1, 2.

³⁹ The expedition clearly followed directly after his assumption of the command (Diodor. 25.12) in winter 229/228 (cf. n. 27), therefore in the campaign season 228. It carried on from where Harnilcar had been forced to leave off.

along the southern coast of Spain; even so, the Carthaginians had not pledged themselves never to go beyond the limit, but had merely required that the Romans (and their allies) accept it as a line beyond which *they* might not transgress.⁴⁰ The foundation of New Carthage intimated that sooner or later the Carthaginians would expand beyond the old boundary.

Without being told, we could confidently assume that the Roman initiative was preceded by representations to Rome on the part of her western friends. Polybius omits them, but they were noted by the source of Appian (*Iber.* 7): Ζακανθαῖοι δέ, ἄποικοι Ζακυνθίων, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τε Πυρήνης καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἰβηρος ὄντες, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἐμπορίον καὶ εἰ πῃ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ᾤκουν ἀλλαχοῦ, δείσαντες ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐπρέσβενον ἐς Ῥώμην. The statement that Saguntum took part in these representations is of course controversial. But it is in accord with what we have previously observed: that relations between Saguntum and Rome were established before 225. If the embassy of 231 is historical, we have seen reason to suppose that the connection was formed about that time. If it is not, we would have to assume that Saguntum came into Rome's *fides* now, in 226.

Polybius purports to represent the notions of the Roman government (2.13.3ff). The formidable power that Hasdrubal was building up motivated them to intervene in Spanish affairs. They wanted to try and recover lost ground. But they did not dare to give orders to the Carthaginians or make war on them — because of the danger from the Gauls. So they decided to appease Hasdrubal, and concentrate on the Gauls. This evidently does not hang together very well. What is introduced as if it were an energetic intervention by Rome turns out to be a policy of appeasement. There is something defective about Polybius' explanation of Roman policy. The Romans "smooth down and mollify" a Hasdrubal who is neither ruffled nor irritated. They do it so that they can concentrate on the Gallic War; yet they could presumably achieve the same effect by not troubling Hasdrubal at all. In short, Polybius does not provide a sensible account of the purpose of the Roman embassy. His difficulties seem to arise from the fact that he will not acknowledge that the Roman intervention was occasioned by the representations of her western friends. This is geared to his account of the "treaty" the Roman embassy made with Hasdrubal "in which they omitted any reference to the rest of Iberia, but the Carthaginians were not to cross the river called Iber for war" (2.13.7). He refers to the agreement several times after this, and always in practically the same terms. He makes it abundantly

⁴⁰ Cf. Täubler, *Imp. Rom.* 260f.

clear that in his view it was nothing more nor less than an undertaking by Hasdrubal that the Carthaginians would not cross the Iber River for war (3.15.3, 27.9, 29.3, 30.3, cf. 3.6.1f).⁴¹ He reveals that it was not

⁴¹ The unilateral character of the agreement is clearly explained by E. J. Bickerman, *AJP* 73 (1952) 1ff, esp. 18f; cf. Hoffmann, *Antike u. Abendl.* 6 (1957) 12f (citing P. Bender, *Untersuch. z. Vorgesch. des 2. pun. Krieges*, unpubl. diss., Hamburg 1954), *Hannibal* 32f; Badian, *For. Client.* 50 n. 2, 293. Others are misled by the concept of a treaty and argue that the Romans must have undertaken a corresponding obligation, thus following the annalistic tradition against Polybius: most recently Heichelheim (above, n. 29) 213ff; Walbank, *Comm.* on 2.13.7, p. 169; Dorey (above, n. 28) 3ff; Cassola, *I gruppi politici romani* 247f. The annalistic tradition is manifestly mendacious. Liv. 21.2.7: *cum hoc Hasdrubale . . . foedus renovaverat populus Romanus ut finis utriusque imperii esset amnis Hiberus Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur*; 21.18.9: *'at enim eo foedere quod cum Hasdrubale ictum est Saguntini excipiuntur'* (cf. 21.44.6). The inclusion of the spurious clause exempting Saguntum shows that Livy's is not a faithful record; it is in fact an interpretation of the agreement. Equally spurious is the statement that the agreement was a renewal of the treaty; cf. Täubler, *Imp. Rom.* 95, "erneuert konnte dieser Vertrag nicht mit Hasdrubal, sondern nur mit dem karthagischen Senate werden . . ." (etc.). It is indeed refuted by Livy himself, 21.19.3: . . . *in Lutati foedere diserte additum esset ita id ratum fore si populus censuisset, in Hasdrubalis foedere nec exceptum tale quicquam fuerit . . .*, where he follows Polyb. 3.29.2f, οὐ γὰρ προσέκειτο, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Λυτατίου, "κυρίας εἶναι ταύτας, ἐὰν καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δόξη τῶν 'Ρωμαίων." This of course is meant to be read *mutatis mutandis* (Καρχηδονίων for 'Ρωμαίων), but the statement could not be made in this form if the Hasdrubal agreement contained a provision for ratification by the *populus Romanus*. Since Rome was undertaking nothing, there was no reason for the Roman people to ratify it.

Appian *Iber.* 7: Ζακανθαῖοι δέ, ἄποικοι Ζακυνθίων, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τε Πυρήνης καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἰβήρος ὄντες καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἐμπορίον καὶ εἰς πῃ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ᾤκουν ἀλλαχοῦ, δείσαντες ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐπρέσβευον ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος οὐκ ἐθέλουσα τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐπαίρεσθαι πρέσβεις ἐς Καρχηδὸνα ἐπεμπεν, καὶ συνέβησαν ἀμφοτέροι ὅρον εἶναι Καρχηδονίους τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμὸν καὶ μήτε Ῥωμαίους τοῖς πέραν τοῦδε τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν, Καρχηδονίων ὑπηκόους οὔσι, μήτε Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τὸν Ἰβηρα διαβαίνειν, Ζακανθαίους δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Ἕλληνας, αὐτονόμους καὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι. καὶ τότε ταῖς συνθήκαις ταῖς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων προσεγράφη. (Less elaborate versions in *Hann.* 2 [cf. n. 31] and *Lib.* 6.) Here we have a treaty, not with Hasdrubal, but between Rome and Carthage, negotiated at Carthage (instead of New Carthage; this could have been spun out of the fact that both places had the same name, Καρχηδών: Polyb. 2.13.1 and Walbank, *ad loc.*; it is only the context that suggests Appian is thinking of Carthage, not New Carthage). The new agreement is appended to the previous treaty or treaties. Yet this agreement was made by Hasdrubal αὐτοτελῶς and was not ratified by the Carthaginian people (Polyb. 3.29.2f; Liv. 21.19.3) or the Carthaginian Senate which claimed to have had no part in the agreement and to have no evidence of its existence (Polyb. 3.21.1). Again we meet the spurious clause about Saguntum, with the embroideries that the Saguntines were Hellenes and dwelt between the Pyrenees and the Iber, and that not only they but "the other Hellenes in Iberia"

confirmed by the Carthaginian home government, which later claimed to have no official cognisance of it (3.21.1f, 29.1). He says nothing of a corresponding undertaking by Rome.

Polybius does not divulge wherein lay the appeasement in this one-sided pact (except that the Romans were not "giving orders" to Hasdrubal or "making war" on him). He (or his source) possibly has in mind that the prescribed military frontier was far removed from the actual limit of the Punic possessions; and that Rome's friend Saguntum was on the wrong side of the frontier. But he has made it impossible to be sure. He seems indeed to engage in silent polemic against the view that Saguntum or any other place in Iberia was specifically mentioned and safeguarded in the agreement. That probably explains the suppression of the embassy to Rome.

There are of course some surprising and puzzling aspects of the Hasdrubal agreement as presented in Polybius. The first is that the Romans should have been satisfied with an undertaking that expanded the Punic horizon to the Ebro, when as yet the Carthaginian domain apparently did not extend much, if at all, beyond the old *de facto* boundary of Mastia. Even without bringing Saguntum into it, the Roman policy would be hard to understand.⁴² If Saguntum is brought in, the policy becomes quite paradoxical. An agreement is concluded that allows the Carthaginians to press beyond and so to encircle the Iberian city, while, according to Polybius, no provision is made for its security against aggression. On the other hand, the Ebro concession seems to bear no relation to the actual policy of Hasdrubal. In the next five years he reveals no interest in that military expansion to the Ebro which the agreement apparently foreshadowed. After the Roman intervention the east coast, from some way south of the Cape de la Nao, seems to remain free of Carthaginian military penetration until the advent of Hannibal.

The difficulty of understanding the Ebro agreement in its historical

were specifically mentioned in the treaty. It is necessary to catalogue all these errors and misrepresentations (cf. Täubler, *Imp. Rom.* 95f) because Appian's version has been treated as an exact translation of an original document (Heichelheim, 213ff. He finds Semitisms in *πέραν τοῦδε τοῦ ποταμοῦ* and *πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν*. But these expressions do not appear to be abnormal in Greek; *πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν* is quite common in Polybius, for instance, always in the sense *bellum inferre*: cf. 1.3.1, 2.13.7, 2.36.4, 3.5.1, 3.8.6, 3.27.5, 4.5.10, etc.).

Dio's version seems to have followed the annalists too; but his epitomator Zonaras preserves only the clause about Saguntum (8.21, *καὶ ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους συνθήκαις ἐξαιρέτους ἐπεποιήκεσαν*).

⁴² Cf. J. Carcopino, *Les Étapes de l'Impérialisme Romain* (1961) 44.

setting is compounded by the difficulty of comprehending its significance in the subsequent dispute over Saguntum and the outbreak of war.

When the Roman embassy presented the Senate's ultimatum at Carthage in March 218,⁴³ the Carthaginians, according to Polybius, declined to discuss the agreement made with Hasdrubal and defended their refusal (3.21.1f).⁴⁴ At this time Hannibal had not crossed the Ebro. The position adopted by the Carthaginians undoubtedly implies that the Roman embassy had brought the agreement into the dispute. This must mean that the Romans claimed Hannibal had violated the agreement. An escape from the difficulty has been sought in the hypothesis that the embassy should be dated to June 218, so allowing Hannibal to have actually crossed the Ebro at the time of the ultimatum;⁴⁵ but this chronology is impossible.⁴⁶ An alternative suggestion is that "the bare fact that the Carthaginians did not mention the treaty with Hasdrubal" is all that can be accepted as reliable in Polybius' account.⁴⁷ That means jettisoning the narrative passage in 3.21.2, where the Carthaginians *explain* why they refuse to discuss the agreement, citing the Roman precedent of 241.⁴⁸ The material here, it is assumed, is based on Roman propaganda. But it is an unusual sort of propaganda that

⁴³ See my discussion of the chronology of the outbreak of war, in *PACA* 9 (1966) 5ff.

⁴⁴ Cf. Walbank, *Comm.* on 3.21.1.

⁴⁵ Hoffmann, *Rh. Mus.* 94 (1951) 69ff (cf. *Antike u. Abendl.* 1957, 15 n. 15), accepted by Walbank, *Comm.* on 3.20.6, 21.1, and A. Heuss, *Römische Geschichte*² (1964) 83, 549. Scullard, *Rh. Mus.* 95 (1952) 209ff, proposes a modification: viz., at the time of the ultimatum Hannibal had left New Carthage with his army, but had not yet crossed the Ebro; the Romans were concerned about a foreseeably imminent breach of the Ebro agreement. (J. Vallejo, *Emerita* 20 [1952] 493ff, discusses the two views critically but without definite conclusion.)

⁴⁶ Apart from the difficulty of constructing a reasonable chronology on this basis (cf. n. 43), the views of Hoffmann and Scullard founder on the fact that Hannibal knew of the Roman ultimatum before he departed from New Carthage (Polyb. 3.34.7ff).

⁴⁷ Dorey (above, n. 28) 5.

⁴⁸ ἐχρῶντο δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰς τοῦτο παραδείγματι. τὰς γὰρ ἐπὶ Λυτατίου γενομένης συνθήκας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ περὶ Σικελίας, ταύτας ἔφασαν ἥδη συνωμολογημένας ὑπὸ Λυτατίου μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀκύρους ποιῆσαι διὰ τὸ χωρὶς τῆς αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι γνώμης. Walbank, *Comm.* ad loc., criticises Paton's (Loeb) translation "here they quoted the precedent of the Romans themselves," and translates "they followed in this a precedent of the Romans themselves"; but in the passage he quotes in support (1.20.15) παράδειγμα does not mean "precedent" (*exemplum*) but "model" (*exemplar*). The literal translation should be "they used an example with regard to this taken from the Romans themselves," and since this is then explained by τὰς γὰρ . . . ἔφασαν, "quoted the precedent" is an acceptable free rendering. ἔφασαν is in fact the key word, and shows that 3.21.2

would invent for the enemy a valid answer to its charge.⁴⁹ And the assumption that Polybius in his exhaustive investigation of the *Kriegsschuldfrage* paid no attention to the sources on the Carthaginian side has little to recommend it.⁵⁰

In 3.30.3 Polybius himself pronounces that the capture of Saguntum was a violation not only of the treaty of 241 but also of the Hasdrubal agreement. This must presumably be regarded as Polybius' interpretation of how the Hasdrubal agreement entered into the dispute. As he does not allow that Saguntum was mentioned in the agreement, he must be assuming that, to capture Saguntum, Hannibal had had to cross the river frontier.

Thus both the historical situation at the time and the subsequent controversy make the Ebro agreement rather difficult to understand. It is perhaps not surprising that the question has lately been raised whether the river Hasdrubal agreed not to cross was, in reality, not the Ebro but a river to the south of Saguntum.

Carcopino⁵¹ has argued that the river was the Jucar, which he believes was at one time called the Iber. It is true that Iber (*Hiberus*) seems to have been the name of more than one river. Avienus, probably drawing indirectly on a *Periplus* of the sixth century B.C.,⁵² designates as

is not, as Walbank states, a parenthesis inserted by Polybius. (Walbank here contradicts what he has said in the note on 3.21.1, "the Carthaginians justify their 'silence' on the subject.")

⁴⁹ Cf. Täubler, *Imp. Rom.* 95f, and the notably clear exposition of Bickerman, *AJP* 73 (1952) 17ff (viz., such covenants need not be binding on the government at home).

⁵⁰ Dorey (above, n. 28) 5, claims that "he had little faith in the historians who represented the pro-Carthaginian sources, as can be judged by his sweeping condemnation of Chaereas and Sosylus in III.20." However, the attack on these two tells us nothing about Polybius' attitude to other pro-Carthaginian sources (or sources writing from the Carthaginian side), notably Silenus (cf. Walbank, *Comm.* pp. 28f), nor can it be assumed that he would not use sources he had condemned (cf. his treatment of Fabius Pictor, 3.8f).

⁵¹ J. Carcopino, *CRAI* 1953, 225, *REA* 55 (1953) 258ff, *Les Étapes* 19ff (a revised version of the preceding article), *CRAI* 1960, 341ff. His thesis was approved by E. Hohl (cf. *Les Étapes* 20 n. 3); L. Wickert, *Rh. Mus.* 101 (1958) 96; P. Pédech, *REG* 71 (1958) 442, *La Méthode Historique de Polybe* (1964) 184; B. Farnoux, *Les Guerres Pun.*³ 70. It has been briefly dismissed by Piganiol, *Rev. Hist.* 219 (1958) 108, *Hist. de Rome*⁵ 548; Walbank, *Comm.* p. 171, *JRS* 51 (1961) 228f; Cassola, *I gruppi politici romani* 250; cf. J. Vallejo, *Emerita* 22 (1954) 278ff.

⁵² Cf. Schulten, *FHA* 1.4ff (ed. cast.), *Iber. Landesk.* 44; Rhys Carpenter, *The Greeks in Spain* (Bryn Mawr, Notes and Monogr. 6, 1925) 49f; A. Berthelot, *Festus Avienus: Ora Maritima* (1934) 139 (critical of the *Periplus* theory, but concluding that "dans l'ensemble le tableau brossé par Avienus figure l'Espagne

"Hiberus" a river to the west of Cadiz and Tartessos, namely the Rio Tinto.⁵³ By the time of the fourth-century Scylax, Iber is already the name of the Ebro.⁵⁴ There is no clear evidence whether the Rio Tinto continued to be called Iber/Hiberus.⁵⁵

Unfortunately the arguments Carcopino adduces in order to find "Iber" as a name for the Sucro (Jucar) are of more than dubious quality. Citing Avienus *Or. mar.* 479f,

Attollit inde se Sicana civitas
propinquo ab amni sic vocata Hibericis.

he avows himself baffled by "Hibericis."⁵⁶ A. Berthelot has given the translation "proche du fleuve auquel les Hibères donnent ce nom." He has therefore understood *Hibericis* as an ablative (says Carcopino) equivalent to *Hiberis* and depending on *vocata*. Carcopino's condemnation of this "du point de vue grammatical" is evidently vitiated by his failure to recognise the dative of the agent. His second condemnation is that Avienus never calls the Iberians *Hiberici* elsewhere, always *Hiberi*. Actually Avienus has four examples of the latter (250, 472, 552, 613). The third condemnation is that it ought not to be said that the Iberians called the Jucar by the name (Sicanus) which it bore before their arrival on its banks. If there is perhaps a point here (which is doubtful since it postulates a rather vigilant attention to logic on the poetaster's part), it could be met by conceding that *Hibericis* is meant as a general designation for the inhabitants of the Iberian peninsula. Alternatively,

telle qu'elle apparaissait du sixième au quatrième siècle avant Jésus-Christ"); Almagro, in Menéndez Pidal. *Hist. de Esp.* 1.2.242ff; Garcia y Bellido, *ibid.* 1.2.540ff (an excellent survey of the controversy).

⁵³ Avien. *Or. mar.* 248f. Cf. *FHA* 1.98; Berthelot, *Avienus* 77 (Odiel or Rio Tinto).

⁵⁴ *FHA* 2.67. Avien. 503 refers to the Ebro as Hiberus; according to Schulten, *FHA* 1.121, this is interpolation, and the original name of the Ebro is indicated in 505, *Oleum flumen*; this he regards as a translation of "*Ελαιος*, which would be in turn a corruption of Iberic *Elaios*. That is possibly rather strained. Berthelot, 106f, regards the *Oleum flumen* as "un torrent côtier," possibly with an original Iberic name *Elaisus*, which he would connect with the Laietes/Lacetani. Schulten, *Iber. Landesk.* 309, overlooks the Scylax (Ps.-Scylax) text when he states that Hiberus and *Ιβηρ* as the name of the Ebro first appear in Cato and Polybius.

⁵⁵ Pliny *N.H.* 3.7 names the Rio Tinto and the Odiel as the Luxia and Urius (or Urium); cf. Schulten, *Iber. Landesk.* 336f. Schulten sees in Strabo 3.5.9 (from Posidonius) a reference to the Iber/Rio Tinto (*FHA* 6.297, *Iber. Landesk.* 337) and also in Strabo 3.4.19 (based on Asclepiades of Myrlea) (*FHA* 2.186, 6.264f, *Iber. Landesk.* 337); his interpretations are reasonable.

⁵⁶ Carcopino, *Les Étapes* 57f.

of course, it can be regarded as a variation *metri gratia* for *Hiberis* (a possibility Carcopino does not contemplate). On these slender grounds Carcopino declares *Hibericis* corrupt and is ready with an emendation — *Hibera cis*. It means, says he, “avant [de s'appeler] Hiber.” No comment is needed.⁵⁷

Carcopino's second proof⁵⁸ comes from Appian (*Iber.* 10, *Hann.* 3), who relates that Hannibal crossed the Iber to attack Saguntum. (Carcopino complicates matters by claiming that Appian in *Iber.* 10 places the Torboletai on the opposite side of the Iber from Hannibal. Appian in fact does not state their position in relation to the river, merely calling them neighbours of the Saguntines.) Carcopino finds here “l'expression d'une inconsciente vérité qu'Appien, ignare en géographie, avait tirée de ses sources sans la comprendre.” The argument is not formally refutable, but it is of course possible to assume that Appian — or his sources — erred; that has been the usual assumption.

Carcopino's next point⁵⁹ concerns a passage in the speech Livy composed for Hannibal before Ticinus (21.44.6). He first restores the manuscript reading: ‘*Ne transieris Hiberum; ne quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis.*’ *Ad Hiberum est Saguntum.* ‘*Nusquam te vestigio moveris.*’ His explanation: Hannibal claimed not to have infringed the Ebro frontier, in that the Ebro (that is, evidently, not the Great Ebro, but the Jucar) was near Saguntum. But since Hannibal would have had to cross the Jucar to get at Saguntum, the explanation explains nothing.⁶⁰

Carcopino develops a highly involved argument round Hannibal's

⁵⁷ Cf. Walbank, *JRS* 51 (1961) 228. Carcopino adds a note (58 n. 1), in which he offers an alternative rendering “en deça de l'Hiber”; this “Hiber” is to be identified with the Turiuta/Guadalaviar. He concedes that this will not fit the rest of his argument (“cette interprétation, que démentent les autres témoignages”); he does not mention that the river appears two lines later under its own name — *neque longe ab huius fluminis divortio/praestringit amnis Tyrius oppidum Tyrin* (481f).

⁵⁸ *Les Étapes* 58f.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 60f.

⁶⁰ An acceptable sense is given by the punctuation adopted by Walters and Conway: *Ad Hiberum est Saguntum?* (But, as the editors recognise, the sentence could well be a gloss.)

In an aside Carcopino (60 n. 2) offers a characteristic interpretation of Liv. 26.20.6, *Hasdrubal, Hamilcaris filius, proximus Hiberno circa Saguntum hibernavit*: “Hasdrubal, fils d'Hamilcar, établit ses quartiers d'hiver au voisinage de l'Èbre — e'est à dire du Jucar — dans les environs de Sagunte.” What Livy really says is that Hasdrubal, near Saguntum, was the *nearest* to the Hiberus, i.e. the Ebro, compared with Hasdrubal son of Gisco (at Gades) and Mago (beyond the Saltus Castulonensis).

dream and the place Onussa.⁶¹ Livy (21.22.5; 22.20.4) situates Onussa south of the Hiberus. The second reference concerns the sequel of the naval battle in 217 between Cn. Scipio and Hasdrubal, which, according to Polybius (3.95.4f) and Livy (22.19.5), was fought off the Iber/Hiberus. Carcopino holds that it could not have been fought at the Ebro, because (a) Hasdrubal could not have been so imprudent as to plan a combined land and sea advance over a distance as great as that between New Carthage and the Ebro, and (2) Cn. Scipio, starting from Tarraco, arrived *δευτεραίως* off the Iber (Polyb. 3.95.5) and in a day and a night's sailing he must have travelled, not the 60 kilometres from Tarraco to the Ebro, but the 250 from Tarraco to the Jucar. Therefore the battle was fought off the Jucar, 60 kilometres south of Saguntum (p. 40). That is to say (p. 62), it was fought "au large de Sagonte" (!). Consequently, Onussa lay south of Saguntum, between Saguntum and New Carthage, and nearer Saguntum, because Cicero, citing Coelius Antipater (*De Div.* 1.24.49), places Hannibal's dream after the siege of Saguntum and "forcément, au voisinage de cette ville." Thus, Carcopino ends up by not accepting the consequence of his own argument, namely, that Onussa lay south of the Jucar. The relevance of the discussion is not easily discerned. As for the proposal to transfer the Ebro battle to the Jucar, his grounds for this are palpably insufficient; in particular, the assumption that the Roman fleet would have sailed through the night is quite gratuitous.

The argument Carcopino claims to base on Liv. 21.5.2f merits no comment, since it is not based on Livy's text but on an arbitrary selection of phrases to give the opposite of Livy's meaning.⁶²

The pièce de résistance is the discovery that one source actually calls the Sucro the Iber.⁶³ It is Tzetzes, and he does it by naming the river in which Hamilcar perished τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἰβηρος (1.719). He has preserved this from Diodorus. Admittedly our text of Diodorus (25.10.3) does not name the river, but calls it ποταμὸν μέγαν. This is the excerptor's fault. He was surprised at what he found in the text and jibbed at copying the river's name. This "preuve péremptoire," which overestimates the accuracy of Tzetzes and the knowledge of Byzantine

⁶¹ *Les Étapes* 61f, cf. 38ff. On Onus(s)a cf. J. Vallejo's edition of Livy 21 (1946) lxi-lxiii.

⁶² I give Livy's text with Carcopino's decode indicated by italics: . . . *Saguntinis inferre bellum statuit. Quibus oppugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma movebantur, in Olcadum prius fines — ultra Hiberum ea gens in parte magis quam in dicione Carthaginiensium erat — induxit exercitum* . . . Cf. Walbank, *JRS* 51 (1961) 228.

⁶³ *Les Étapes* 64f.

excerptors, needs in any case no discussion, since we have already seen that the river where Hamilcar drowned was nowhere near the Jucar — or the Ebro for that matter.⁶⁴

On the inspiration of P. Pédech,⁶⁵ Carcopino brought two further texts into discussion.⁶⁶ Livy 28.24.5 reads: *civilis alius furor in castris ad Sucronem ortus; octo ibi milia militum erant, praesidium gentibus quae cis Hiberum incolunt impositum*. It is assumed that since the garrison was *ad Sucronem* ("whether one sees in *Sucro* the name of the river Jucar or that of the town which derived its name from it"), its task was to guard the tribes *cis* the Jucar. Therefore *Hiberus* equals Jucar. It apparently does not strike Carcopino as odd that the name of the river should in the same breath be indicated as both *Sucro* and *Hiberus*. So that one would with more reason contend that the passage shows the Jucar not being called *Hiberus*. Livy has expressed himself inexactly. It is correct that the garrison *ad Sucronem* was placed in surveillance over the *gentes* "cis Hiberum" (north of the Ebro), but the expression does not allow for the fact that it was also to watch over the *gentes* (primarily the Edetani) between the Ebro and the Jucar.

Polybius 10.9.7 is a more interesting text. It states that Scipio in his famous swoop on New Carthage in 209 arrived on the seventh day: the starting point being a river which remains unnamed (10.6.4, 6, 7). Calculating that in seven days Scipio could not have covered the distance from the Ebro to New Carthage (which he reckons at 440 km.), but only that from the Jucar to New Carthage (210 km.), Carcopino concludes that the unnamed river cannot be the Ebro and must be the Jucar. He strangely does not refer to the parallel account of Livy (26.41–42) which removes any doubt that the river in question was the Hiberus (in particular, 26.41.1, 6, 23; 42.1; 42.6, *septimo die ab Hiberno Carthaginem ventum est simul terra marique*).

This is an ancient crux. Kahrstedt⁶⁷ considered that Polybius either exaggerated or erred, or else seven should be emended to seventeen. De Sanctis⁶⁸ noted that the emendation would produce barbarous Greek; he might have added that Livy's *septimo die* confirms ἐβδομαῖος in Polybius. His suggestion is that Polybius (or our text of Polybius — but this fails, because of Livy's confirmation) has omitted a stage — "perhaps the ford of the Sucro." There is evidently a mistake somewhere.

⁶⁴ Cf. pp. 209f above (with n. 20).

⁶⁵ REG 71 (1958) 442.

⁶⁶ CRAI 1960, 341ff.

⁶⁷ U. Kahrstedt, *Geschichte der Karthager* 3.509 n. 1.

⁶⁸ De Sanctis, 3.2.465 n. 35.

Fortunately, there is a simple explanation. The seven days come from the movement of Laelius' fleet, whose arrival at Carthage was to be synchronised with that of the army (Polyb. 10.9.1, 4, 5; 10.11.5; Liv. 26.42.5, 6). The sources have wrongly assumed that because the army and the fleet arrived on the same day, they set out on the same day. Scipio's march probably took about fourteen days; the distance from the Ebro to New Carthage was 2,600 stades (Polyb. 3.39.6) or 312 *milia passum*; this gives a suitably rapid pace — about 22 *m.p.* a day. For the fleet the distance of about 270 nautical miles could comfortably be traversed in six days: 45 nautical miles or 56 *m.p.* a day, a suitably slow pace (cf. Liv. 26.42.5, *is classe circummissus ita moderari cursum navium iussus erat ut eodem tempore . . .* etc.). This provides a far better explanation of the error than the dragging-in of the Sucro, an obvious irrelevance in any narrative of Scipio's dash from the Ebro to New Carthage.

Thus Carcopino's arguments fail to show that the Sucro was ever called the Iber or Hiberus. In the sixth century, the river was apparently known as the Sicanus (Avien. *Or. mar.* 479f) — or rather Σικανός.⁶⁹ A Spanish river of that name is mentioned by Thucydides (6.2) and Philistos (*ap.* Diodor. 5.6.1); these references are linked to the story that the Sicans migrated from Spain to Sicily, which perhaps makes them a little dubious. The name Sucro first appears in history in 206 — the Sucro mutiny (Liv. 28.24.5, 26.5, 28.7; 29.19.13), apparently as the name of the town near the river estuary;⁷⁰ it seems a safe assumption that the river then bore the same name. It is difficult to believe that twenty years earlier it had been known not as the Sucro but as the Iber or Hiberus.

Carcopino asserts that Polybius “est renseigné avec exactitude sur ces deux *Ἰβήρες*.”⁷¹ It is baffling that, if Polybius had this valuable knowledge, he did not impart it; that, “knowing” these important and comparatively adjacent rivers (the Ebro and the Jucar) had the same name, he never pauses to enlighten his bemused readers on this vital

⁶⁹ The name is also read in line 469, but this depends on an emendation. On the Sicanus see Schulten, *FHA* 1.119, *Iber. Landesk.* 318. Carcopino, *Les Étapes* 55, cites Servius, *Ad Aen.* 8.328, *Sicani a fluvio Sicori dicti* as evidence that the Sicanus was also called the Sicoris (cf. also Serv. *Ad Aen.* 1.557). There is nothing in this. Servius or his source, knowing that the Sicani were said to have originated from Spain and to have had the same name as a Spanish river, but not knowing of any river called Sicanus, picked on the moderately similar name Sicoris (the Segre). This appears to be confirmed by Servius' citation of Lucan 4.14, which certainly refers to the Sicoris/Segre.

⁷⁰ Cf. Schulten, *FHA* 3.153, 4.209f.

⁷¹ *Les Étapes* 35.

fact. Thus in 3.14.9 the Saguntines are included among τῶν ἐντὸς Ἰβηρος ποταμοῦ (from Hannibal's viewpoint); here the Iber is undoubtedly the Ebro. Only a few lines later (3.15.5) the Roman envoys are found warning Hannibal to leave Saguntum alone καὶ τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμὸν μὴ διαβαίνειν κατὰ τὰς ἐπ' Ἀσδρούβου γενομένας ὁμολογίας. Polybius gives no sign of awareness that he is actually talking about two different rivers in these adjacent passages.

This investigation of the case for identifying the river of the Hasdrubal covenant as the Jucar can hardly be said to have led to encouraging results. Nevertheless it would be overhasty to abandon forthwith Carcopino's original idea. Granted that the Jucar appears to be ruled out, it is still worthwhile to examine the possibility of substituting some other river for the Ebro.

The Roman envoys presumably met Hasdrubal at his new capital, Carthago. The result of their negotiation was the determination of a certain river-line as the boundary for Punic military advance. What considerations would be expected to have governed the selection of the boundary? On the Roman side, the decisive factor would be the interests of Rome's allies and friends. From their point of view, the further south the line was drawn, the better. It is a difficult question whether, in addition to Rhode, Emporion, and Saguntum, the old Phocaeen-Massilian settlement of Hemeroskopeion and two neighbouring πολίχνια Μασσαλιωτῶν are to be taken into account. We do not know the names of these πολίχνια, and our only real evidence for their location is that of Strabo (3.4.6): like Hemeroskopeion they lay between the Sucro and New Carthage, and not much distant from the Sucro.⁷² If so, they probably did

⁷² μετὰξὺ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Σούκρωνος καὶ τῆς Καρχηδόνος τρία πολίχνια Μασσαλιωτῶν εἰσιν οὐ πολὺ ἄπωθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ· τούτων δ' ἐστὶ γνωριμώτατον τὸ Ἡμεροσκοπεῖον... Stephanus quotes Artemidorus for the statement that Hemeroskopeion was a Phocaeen colony: Ἡμεροσκοπεῖον, πόλις Κελτιβήρων, Φωικαίων ἄποικος. Ἀρτεμίδωρος δευτέρῳ λόγῳ γεωγραφουμένων.

The other two places are identified by modern conjecture as Alonis and Akra Leuke (cf. *FHA* 2.157, 6.231f). The latter we have already dealt with (pp. 209f above). Here it need only be added that a site at Alicante would not fit Strabo's indication that the πολίχνια were nearer to the Sucro than to New Carthage.

As for Alonis, this name is provided by Stephanus (from Artemidorus): Ἀλωνίς, νῆσος καὶ πόλις Μασσαλίας, ὡς Ἀρτεμίδωρος. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀλωνίτης. It is to be noted that he does not place it in Iberia (whereas he normally gives this indication when appropriate); and it is not clear whether Alonis is a city with a like-named island (as generally assumed) or an island with a like-named city on it. Pomponius Mela records an Allo or Allon or Allone in the sinus Ilicitanus (2.93): *sequens Ilicitanus Allonem habet et Lucentiam et unde ei nomen est Ilicem*. Since Mela's orientation is from north to south, Allo (Allon, Allone) would be north of Lucentum; but he is not reliable: for instance, he lists the rivers of the sinus

not lie any further south than Calpe and Peñon de Ifach: which, if not Hemeroskopeion as Rhys Carpenter argued,⁷³ is very likely the site of one of the *πολίχνια*, while Denia and Javea are suitable candidates for the other two.⁷⁴

It is thus possible that these three outposts were not within the area of Punic domination at the time of the Hasdrubal pact. But we do not know if they were still of concern to Massilia. If they were, it might be expected that Hasdrubal's agreed boundary would be set south of them. But a firm conclusion is hardly possible.

In looking for a suitable river-boundary, it would be logical to work northward from Cartagena. We come first to the Segura. According to Pliny its name was the Tader (*N.H.* 3.9, *qui Carthaginiensem agrum rigat*); Theodorus/Θεόδωρος (Avienus *Or. mar.* 456; *De mirab. ausc.* 46) is apparently a hellenised form of this. However, the Segura is much too close to Cartagena to have made an acceptable boundary from the Carthaginian viewpoint; it appears unlikely that Hasdrubal's domain was limited by it; and it was probably crossed by Hannibal in 221, in the campaign against Althaea and the Olcades. The same goes for the river of Elche, the Vinalapo (ancient Alebus — Avien. 466).⁷⁵

Next are some insignificant streams whose ancient names are not recorded. We need only mention the Guadalest at Altea, the Gorgos at Javea, and the Ebo or Girona a little north of Denia. Then the Serpis at

Sucronensis out of order (*Sorobin et Turiam et Sucronem*) and, evidently for stylistic reasons, names Valentia before its northern neighbour Saguntum (2.92). Ptolemy 2.6.14f has an *Ἀλωναί* on the coast of the Contestani. He seems to place it near Alieante (12°40', 38°36' as compared with 12°30', 38°30' for the mouth of the Segura), but there is much disorder in his notes (e.g. Lucentum is put southwest of New Carthage). The Ravennas (1.4.42, p. 304, 6ff, cf. 2.5.3, p. 342, 14ff) places Allon between Lucentum and Ilici on the route from Valentia to New Carthage. This gives a fairly definite indication that the place *was* not more than a few kilometres south or southwest of Alicante; cf. Hübner, *CIL* 2, p. 482. It cannot therefore be identified with Benidorm and the I. de Benidorm (where Schulten, *FHA* 6.232, cf. *Arch. Anz.* 1927, 215, claims traces of a Greek factory; denied by Garcia y Bellido, *Hisp. Graeca* 59, "la reducción nos parece aceptable, si bien aun no ha sido comprobada arqueologicamente" and so again in Menéndez Pidal, *Hist. de Esp.* 1.2.586), and is too far south to be one of Strabo's *πολίχνια*.

⁷³ *The Greeks in Spain* 20ff, 117ff (not accepted by Garcia y Bellido, *Hisp. Graeca* 53f, cf. *id.* in Menéndez Pidal, *Hist. de Esp.* 1.2.526ff, 552 n. 62).

⁷⁴ Cf. Rhys Carpenter, *The Greeks in Spain* 122f, "the coasting distance from river-mouth to Cartagena is about 140 nautical miles, so that the stretch of coast lying between 20 and 60 miles from the Jucar would agree with the strict letter of the Strabonian passage. This gives us precisely the region of the Cape from about Denia (25 miles) to Calpe (50 miles) with the three ancient sites of Denia, Javea, and Ifach to assign as we choose."

⁷⁵ Schulten *FHA* 1.118, *Iber. Landesk.* 319.

Gandia, which is named by Mela (2.92) the Sorobis.⁷⁶ The Jucar we have already examined. We need not go further than the river of Valencia, the Guadalaviar or Turia: the latter is in fact one of the variants of its ancient name (Sallust *Hist.* 2.54M, cf. 2.98.6; *Tyrius*, Avien. 481f; *Turium*, Plin. *N.H.* 3.20; *Toûρις*, Ptolemy 2.6.15).

It seems evident that if the Iber of the Hasdrubal pact was not the Ebro, then it is more likely to have been an insignificant and little-known stream rather than one of the more important Spanish rivers. The names of the latter are known, and the chance that any of them ever bore the name Iber is minimal.

Avienus (474f) registers an Ilerda as the first city of the Iberians, north of the Alebus (465) and south of Hemeroscopium (476f) and of *Sicana civitas* on the Sucro (479f). Schulten⁷⁷ put Ilerda at Javea, as lying between Denia and Cape de la Nao. (But Avienus does not mention the Cape.) Ilerda is of course also the name of a well-known place, the capital of the Iberian tribe the Ilergetes on an important tributary of the Ebro, the Sicoris (Lerida on the Segre). The interest of Avienus' reference is that it shows the possible presence of this Iberian people in the vicinity of Cape de la Nao. At that time the Ebro was perhaps not called the Iber (Avienus 505).⁷⁸ Possibly the Ilergetes and their cousins the Ilergavones brought this name with them when they settled near the middle Ebro and on the lower Ebro (respectively).⁷⁹ There is a corresponding possibility that they left the name behind them, applied to one of the streams in the vicinity of Cape de la Nao.

Of the three insignificant streams we mentioned above, the Guadalest lies a fair way south of Cape de la Nao and thus allows the three Massilian outposts to be the other side of Hasdrubal's boundary. But if Althaia of the Olcades is rightly identified as Altea, Hannibal's first campaign shows him besieging a city on the Guadalest, and the subjection of the Olcades as a whole possibly takes him across the line.

The Gorgos debouches slightly north of Cape de la Nao, between C. de S. Antonio and C. de S. Martin. Its name (presumably connected with *gorga*, *gorgona*, Latin *gurges*) may not be pre-Roman. It lies a little south of Denia (Hemeroskopeion?). But this is not too significant in view of the uncertainty as to the precise location of Hemeroskopeion (whose iron mines were certainly south of the river, probably at C. de S. Martin),⁸⁰ and also the possibility that one or other of the *πολίχνια* may

⁷⁶ Schulten, *Iber. Landesk.* 319.

⁷⁷ Schulten, *FHA* 1.118.

⁷⁸ Cf. n. 54 above.

⁷⁹ Cf. Schulten, *Iber. Landesk.* 309; Plin. *N.H.* 3.21; Strabo 3.4.10.

⁸⁰ Cf. Schulten, *FHA* 6.232, *Iber. Landesk.* 232.

have been situated further south (e.g., at Calpe-Peñon de Ifach). A boundary at the Gorgos would hardly count as a safeguard for the *πολίχνια*.

Consequently, there would not be much to choose between the Gorgos and our third rio, the Ebo, whose name is certainly interesting. If either of these streams was the Iber, any notion that the boundary was delineated for the benefit of Hemeroskopeion and the other *πολίχνια* might as well be ruled out.

In the earlier treaties between Carthage and Rome, the Carthaginians had made a practice of specifying certain geographical points beyond which the Romans and their allies might not proceed. In the first treaty "the Romans and their allies are not to sail beyond the Kalon Akroterion unless compelled by tempest or enemies" (Polyb. 3.22.5). According to the usual interpretation the point referred to was the Promunturium Pulchri (Cap Farina).⁸¹ In the second treaty, "the Romans are not to raid, trade, or colonise beyond Kalon Akroterion, Mastia of Tarsis" (Polyb. 3.24.4). It is notable that here a natural geographical feature on the Spanish coast is not named. One might have expected the equivalent of Cape Palos to be specified.⁸² But it may be that no name of this cape was sufficiently well known to be used.⁸³

In view of the precedents it would not be particularly remarkable if, when a geographical feature was sought as a limit for Punic military advance, the Cape de la Nao complex should have presented itself; no doubt the Roman envoys had sailed past it. But whereas a promontory would be an obvious nautical landmark, it would not be very satisfactory as a military limit. From this point of view a river would be preferable.

An obvious objection occurs. The Gorgos and the Ebo are brief, insignificant streams, that constitute nothing of a barrier. This might be met by suggesting that the chosen river was not intended as a barrier but simply as a marker (rather like the Rubicon); and further that the Romans were concerned only with the coastal strip.

⁸¹ Cf. Walbank, *Comm.* on 3.22.5.

⁸² Schulten, *Iber. Landesk.* 233, even states, rather loosely, that "Kap Palos bildete im 2. karthagisch-römischen Vertrag von 348 v.C. die Nordgrenze des karthagischen Gebiets und die Südgrenze des römischen Schiffahrt."

⁸³ Iugum Trete (or Traete) in Avienus *Or. mar.* 452 is rather "la hauteur littorale très accentuée (444 m.) qui se termine au cap de Palos" (Berthelot [above, n. 52] 99) than simply "Kap Palos" (Schulten, *Iber. Landesk.* 233, cf. *FHA* 1.116). Cape Palos is apparently the Promunturium (*quod vocatur*) Saturni in Pliny (*N.H.* 3.19); *Σκομβραία ἄκρα* in Ptolemy (2.6.14) may rather be Punta Aguillones, as suggested by the nearby place names Escombreras and I. de Escombrera.

One way of explaining the fact that the Hasdrubal covenant was brought up by the Romans in the diplomatic exchanges preceding the Hannibalic War is that the Senate was convinced that Saguntum lay north (or east) of the Iber River. The senators would hardly be concerned about the geographical position of the boundary, only about the essential point, that Saguntum was the right (the Roman) side of it. Thus it may be possible to believe that the average senator supposed Saguntum to lie north (or east) of the *Ebro*.⁸⁴ It is less easy to believe that the senators who made the agreement were under this delusion. It might be assumed that they reported to the Senate that Hasdrubal had given an undertaking not to cross for military purposes "the river called by the local inhabitants the Iber" (the phrase Polybius, 3.6.2, apparently cites from *ἐνιοὶ τῶν συγγεγραφότων τὰς κατ' Ἀννίβαν πράξεις*); and explained that the effect of this was to safeguard Saguntum which was *cis Hiberum*, as also Emporion and Rhode.

The above hypothesis appears to make good sense from a historical viewpoint, but it has the grave disadvantage of resting on a completely unknown factor, namely, the existence of another river called Iber in the vicinity of the Cape de la Nao; although this would serve to explain the confusions and contradictions in our sources,⁸⁵ it is something that can neither be proved nor disproved. On the other hand, any alternative explanation, based on the natural assumption that the Iber was the Ebro, is bound to involve a rather drastic handling of the evidence, as decades of discussion of the problem have shown.⁸⁶

III. THE EMBASSY TO HANNIBAL

After Hasdrubal had given his undertaking, the Romans could and did turn their attention away from unfamiliar questions of Spanish policy and devote it to the more pressing problem of Cisalpine Gaul. Polybius notes that the Saguntines constantly sent reports to Rome on Carthaginian progress in Spain (3.15.1, *τὴν γινομένην εὐροίαν Καρχηδονίοις τῶν κατ' Ἰβηρίαν πραγμάτων*), and that until 220 the Romans paid no heed on the several occasions (3.15.2, *πλεονάκις*). The Saguntines will hardly have sent such missions more than once a year; each

⁸⁴ Cf. Badian, *For. Client.* 293.

⁸⁵ The assumption made here is that even when Polybius and others imply the existence of an Iber south of Saguntum, they are not actively conscious that this cannot be the Ebro (cf. pp. 227f above).

⁸⁶ Nor has the historical question — why the Ebro? — been faced or answered. It was the service of Carcopino to expose its difficulty; hence the welcome accorded to his thesis in certain quarters.

delegation might take about three months from departure to return. The series of embassies obviously began before Hannibal took command in 221. In other words, the Saguntines were performing their duty to keep Rome informed. But Hasdrubal's policy of consolidation by diplomacy rather than war gave Rome no cause for immediate action.

On the other hand, the apparent lack of interest that the Saguntines encountered at Rome probably aroused uneasiness in the Iberian city. The combination of Roman apathy and Punic intrigue is the natural explanation of the party strife that developed in Saguntum (Polyb. 3.15.7; 3.30.2).⁸⁷ The Carthaginians were near at hand, the Romans far away. The promise of Roman protection might well appear to some Saguntines a faint and feeble support against the Punic threat. Inevitably a faction favouring accommodation with the Carthaginians came into being.

When Hannibal took over the command, apparently at an advanced date in 221, he immediately initiated an active policy of aggression. The capture of Althaia and the submission of the Olcades (if properly located round Altea and, perhaps, Alcoy) represent a swift advance northward bringing the Punic dominion right up to the military limit agreed by Hasdrubal. After collecting tribute from the new conquest, Hannibal returned to winter in New Carthage (Polyb. 3.13.6-8). He ensured the loyalty of his troops by giving them part of their back pay and promising the rest.⁸⁸ The attack on the Olcades had probably been intended as a relatively easy campaign, to raise money and spoils and to blood the troops under their new command.

In such a campaign of late summer or autumn 221, the Saguntines had good cause for agitation and alarm. Not later than spring 220 they sent yet another embassy to Rome (Polyb. 3.15.1). This time the Romans responded; they dispatched a *legatio* to investigate the state of affairs that the Saguntines reported (3.15.2), but not only to investigate, as the event shows.

We now approach the point at which the tradition becomes clamorous and discordant. According to Polybius (3.15.3ff) Hannibal returned to winter at New Carthage after his campaign against the Vaccaeii and others (220) and found the Roman *legati* awaiting him. They warned him emphatically to stay clear of Saguntum, as it was in Rome's *fides*, and not to cross the Iber River, in accordance with the agreement made

⁸⁷ Cf. Walbank, *Comm.* on 3.15.7, "the party struggle must have been between pro-Roman and pro-Carthaginian factions" (citing Meyer, *Kl. Schr.* 2.361 n. 2, against Täubler, *Vorgesch.* 44).

⁸⁸ Cf. Liv. 21.5.5, with the variation that the troops got all their back pay.

in Hasdrubal's time. Hannibal replied with his own complaint: the Roman intervention at Saguntum to arbitrate party strife and the execution of Saguntine leaders. Polybius here interrupts the interview, in order to contrast Hannibal's avowed solicitude for Saguntum with his actions: "to Carthage, however, he sent asking for instructions, because the Saguntines, relying on their Roman alliance, were wronging some of the peoples subject to Carthage" (3.15.8). Polybius does not amplify this point, or give the reply. The digression continues with an attack on Hannibal's behaviour. When we are brought back to the Roman *legati*, the interview is over and they are off to Carthage (3.15.12f).

The affair Polybius alludes to in digression is handled in more detail by Livy and Appian. According to the former (21.6.1f) there were disputes between the Saguntines and their neighbours, especially the "Turdetani"; Hannibal was fostering the disputes and supporting the adversaries of Saguntum.⁸⁹ Livy has this in an impossible chronological framework; the Saguntine embassy sent to Rome to complain about the situation arrives at the beginning (March) of 218 — two years late.⁹⁰

Appian (*Iber.* 10) offers a more detailed account. He calls the neighbours of Saguntum the Torboletai (or Torboletes). Hannibal instigated them to complain to him that the Saguntines were overrunning their land and wronging them in general. He then sent the embassy of the Torboletai over to Carthage and himself wrote *ἐν ἀπορρήτοις* that the Romans were trying to incite Carthaginian Spain to revolt, and the Saguntines were collaborating in this. He kept sending messages to this effect, until the Carthaginian Senate instructed him to deal with Saguntum as he saw fit. (The missing answer to Hannibal's question, Polyb. 3.15.8.) He thereupon arranged for the Torboletai to renew their complaint, and invited Saguntum to send an embassy. When the Saguntine delegation arrived, he told the representatives of the two sides to discuss their differences in his presence. The Saguntines refused, saying that they would entrust the case to Rome for arbitration (i.e.,

⁸⁹ Cf. Liv. 21.12.5; in 28.39.8 (speech of Saguntines) they are called Turduli, but in 28.39.11 their land is Turdetania. (According to Strabo 3.1.6, Polybius [34.9.1f] placed the Turduli north of the Turdetani, "but nowadays there appears to be no distinction between them"; in 3.2.15, however, Strabo assigns Augusta Emerita [Merida] to the Turduli; Pliny [*N.H.* 3.13f] puts the Turduli in Baeturia, between the Baetis and the Anas, assigned to the *conventus Cordubensis*.)

⁹⁰ Worth considering is the suggestion of J. Vallejo (in his edition of Livy 21) that in 21.6.3 there has been confusion between P. Cornelius Scipio, cos. 218, and P. Cornelius Scipio Asina, cos. 221 (i.e. 15 March 221–14 March 220). This would allow the Saguntine embassy to be dated to the winter 221/220, in agreement with Polybius.

would not accept Hannibal as arbitrator). Whereupon he ordered them out of his camp. The following night (!) he crossed the Iber with his whole army, proceeded to ravage the land, and brought up siege engines against the city.

Typically inaccurate as this account is, not all of it is nonsense, and some of it is needed to fill the gaps in Polybius. The names given to the neighbours of Saguntum can hardly be right. The Turdetani of Andalusia have no place in these events. The Torboletai are not otherwise known. They can hardly be the people of Turbula, a place named by Ptolemy (*Geog.* 2.6.60) and located by him in the territory of the Bastetani.⁹¹ It seems probable that Appian's Torboletai is simply a garbled form of Turdetani or Turduli.⁹² If a name needs to be given to the people involved, one might substitute for the Turdetani the Edetani (or Sedetani) who really were neighbours of Saguntum.⁹³ The chronology of the affair is not made altogether clear. By Livy's account it is one of the matters complained of by the Saguntine embassy to Rome, but since his chronology of the embassy is two years out, we cannot depend on that. As Hannibal was absent in the north during the campaign season of 220, his involvement in the quarrel between Saguntum and the Edetani (?) must belong either to winter 221/220 or winter 220/219. If Polybius is to be followed, the subject appears to arise only in the second winter. The dispute is not brought up by the Roman *legati*, so that, although Polybius alludes to the affair in the course of his account of their interview with Hannibal, he probably does so by anticipation. The sequence of events in that case will be: interview of *legati* with Hannibal at New Carthage (beginning of winter 220); Hannibal receives complaint of Edetani (?) against Saguntum; sends to Carthage for instructions; receives free hand; holds conference of embassies; moves against Saguntum (end-April/begin-May 219).

According to Hannibal's complaint to the *legati* (Polyb. 3.15.7), the Romans had intervened at Saguntum μικροῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις. There had been party strife; the Romans had assumed the role of arbitration and had wrongfully put to death some of the leading Saguntines: οὗς οὐ περιόψεσθαι παρεσπονδημένους. This, too, implies that the intervention was of the very recent past; μικροῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις is to be taken literally. According to Polybius, the Romans had paid no attention to

⁹¹ The statement of Schulien, *FHA* 3.28, that Ptolemy places it northwest of Saguntum, is false. The identification with Teruel (cf. Carcopino, *Les Étapes* 58f) is without foundation (cf. Forbiger, *Hdb. d. alt. Geog.* 3.50 n. 36).

⁹² Cf. J. Vallejo, *Emerita* 11 (1943) 153ff.

⁹³ Their capital, Leiria (Ptolem. 2.6.62; modern Liria), lay about 25 miles inland from Saguntum; cf. *CIL* 2, p. 509; *RE* 5, s.v. Edetani, 1938f.

Saguntum in the period before the *legatio* was sent. It follows that the arbitration at Saguntum must either have been performed by these same *legati* or by a commission sent to Saguntum simultaneously. The former is more probable.⁹⁴ At any rate the revival of active Roman interest in Spanish affairs was as late as 220.⁹⁵ It follows soon after Hannibal's assumption of the governorship.

The Roman *legatio*, it appears, was sent by the Senate with an extensive commission. First, they were to proceed to Saguntum to investigate the situation there and settle political conditions. They were then to warn Hannibal to respect the integrity of Saguntum and the sanctity of the Hasdrubal pact. Finally, it is said, they were to proceed to Carthage, with a similar message (cf. Polyb. 3.15.12). The *legati* must have set out during the summer of 220. Their arbitration of Saguntum's political affairs took the form of helping the pro-Roman party get rid of its leading pro-Carthaginian opponents. This matter is highly relevant to their subsequent interview with Hannibal at New Carthage. The warning *Ζοικανθαίων ἀπέχεσθαι* (*abstinere*) signified not only "do not attack Saguntum" but also "do not interfere in the internal affairs of our client." It was to the second aspect that Hannibal's reply was addressed. Polybius gives a very convincing account of it, mainly from a pro-Carthaginian source.⁹⁶ "As though concerned for the Saguntines, he accused the Romans on the ground that a short time previously, when there was party strife at Saguntum, having assumed the role of arbitration, they had unjustly executed some of their leaders. He would not, he said, stand by and do nothing about the faithless treatment of these men. For it was a traditional principle of the Carthaginians not to leave in the lurch any victim of injustice" (Polyb. 3.15.7). The ambiguous *παρεσπον-δημένους* probably accuses the Romans of a breach of *fides*, not of *foedus*.⁹⁷ The implication is that the Romans have thereby forfeited their patronal rights and have no entitlement to order Hannibal not to interfere in Saguntine affairs. He reserves his right to intervene "in the best interests of Saguntum." Polybius rightly sees this as purely a

⁹⁴ Cf. Liv. 21.6.3, *cum . . . placuissetque mitti legatos in Hispaniam ad res sociorum inspiciendas* (etc.). This corresponds to Polybius' embassy of 220 (3.15). Behind it lies an account to the effect that the *legatio* went to Saguntum before meeting Hannibal at New Carthage (as would be expected); this is obscured in Livy because of chronological displacement (cf. pp. 238f below).

⁹⁵ Cf. F. Oertel, *Rh. Mus.* 81 (1932) 225. See n. 29 above on the Saguntine coinage.

⁹⁶ Cf. Polyb. 3.30.2. The ironical colouring is supplied by Polybius; I see no reason to attribute it to a Roman source (as Walbank, *Comm.* on 3.15.7).

⁹⁷ Walbank, *Comm.* on 3.15.7; Badian, *For. Client.* 293.

diplomatic scoring point.⁹⁸ Hannibal keeps up the pose in Appian's account of the "Torboletae"-Saguntum dispute, representing himself as an arbitrator; the Saguntines could hardly accept his arbitration without abandoning their *fides* to Rome; hence their insistence on Roman arbitration.

The second part of the warning (μη διαβαίνειν . . . κτλ.) was not, it must be assumed, an improvisation but was contained in the instructions given to the *legati* by the Senate. It should be obvious that at the time when the Senate gave the instruction, it cannot have been informed of Hannibal's "grossen Eroberungen"⁹⁹ of 220. The Saguntine embassy could only have reported on the campaign of 221, the conquest of the Olcades. From the Saguntine point of view this must have appeared the prelude to a northward advance in their direction. They could report to the Senate that Hannibal was already poised on the Iber line, that he had a party working for him in Saguntum, that an attack on Saguntum was clearly imminent. (The Senate preferred not to take the report on trust.)

Polybius records no reply from Hannibal to the second part of the Roman warning. It is quite probable that there was no reply. Hannibal evaded the issue, just as he avoided a direct answer to the warning not to attack Saguntum. He probably held the Carthaginian view that the Hasdrubal covenant bound only Hasdrubal.¹⁰⁰ But it would have been less than diplomatic for him to show his hand by avowing that. Had he done so, the *legati* might well have demanded a new covenant.

Polybius polishes off the *legatio* in two sentences of staggering brevity (3.15.12f): οἱ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις, ὅτι μὲν εἷη πολεμητέον σαφῶς εἰδότες, ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Καρχηδόνα, τὰ παραπλήσια θέλοντες ἐπιμαρτύρασθαι κακέινους· οὐ μὴν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γε πολεμήσειν ἤλπισαν, ἀλλ' ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, χρήσεσθαι δὲ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὀρμητηρίῳ τῇ Ζακανθαίων πέλει. That ends his account of the embassy. The next sentence (3.16.1) presupposes that the Roman Senate has heard its report and has accepted its conclusion.

Thus in Polybius' account the Roman embassy has nothing further to say in reply to Hannibal; that is quite probable. They are convinced that war is inevitable; that is somewhat elliptical. They could infer that Hannibal would defy the Roman warning. Implicit in the warning was

⁹⁸ Polybius hastens to underline Hannibal's insincerity, 3.15.8 — the complaint to Carthage about Saguntum. It is probably in order to make this contrast (πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνους [the *legati*] . . . πρὸς δὲ Καρχηδονίους) that he interpolates the complaint to Carthage before he has finished dealing with the Roman embassy.

⁹⁹ Gelzer, *Kl. Schr.* 3.83.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. n. 49 above.

the threat that Rome would regard defiance as a *casus belli*. (Later, Polybius contradicts his own narrative — and probability — by making the threat explicit, 3.20.2.) The *legati* proceed to Carthage, intending to repeat their *démarche*. And Polybius shows no interest in the exchanges there! In 3.20.2, polemicising against historians who reported a senatorial debate on the fall of Saguntum, he ridicules the idea that the Romans could have debated whether or not to go to war — *πῶς γὰρ οἶόν τ' ἦν Ῥωμαίους τοὺς ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον ἐπηγγελκότας πόλεμον Κερκηδονίοις, ἐὰν ἐπιβαίνωσι τῆς Ζακανθαίων χώρας . . . κτλ.* This is obviously a free interpretation of the meaning of the Roman warning, and cannot be taken as supplementing the narrative. The *legati*, then, “called the Carthaginians to witness the same sort of things” as Hannibal: i.e. (we must assume), they said that Hannibal and his army must stay clear of Saguntum and not cross the Iber line, in accordance with the agreement made in Hasdrubal’s time. Yet the Carthaginians claimed “a whole year” later that no such agreement had been made and that, if it had, it did not apply to them, having been made without their sanction (Polyb. 3.21.1). Evidently this claim ought to have been registered with the first Roman embassy.¹⁰¹ If it was not, it surely went by default. If it was, its lack of effect on Roman policy is hard to explain.

It must be admitted that the credibility of the *legatio*’s visit to Carthage is open to question. The tradition on this embassy is extraordinarily confused. After Polybius the next extant source is Cicero (*Phil.* 5.27). By his account (which is not, of course, a straightforward narrative but part of a rhetorical analogy, with the siege of Saguntum compared to Antony’s siege of Mutina), the Senate sent P. Valerius Flaccus and Q. Baebius Tamphilus to Hannibal to order *ut a Sagunto recedat*. This is based on the version that Hannibal was actually besieging Saguntum when the *legati* were sent. Then, *si Hannibal non pareret, Karthaginem ire iussi sunt*. That is all Cicero needs for his purpose. He is of course drawing on a Roman orator’s stock of historical knowledge, not on any particular source. In so far as one *can* speak of a source for this, its character is clearly late annalistic.

Livy’s account is complicated, combining more than one version. Everything happens with terrible compression at the beginning of the consular year 218. In response to the Saguntine *legatio* (21.6.2) the Senate decides to send *legati* to Spain to investigate the affairs of their

¹⁰¹ Täubler, *Vorgesch.* 57ff, saw this; his solution was to transfer the Carthaginian reply from the second to the first embassy. So also Otto, *Hist. Zeitschr.* 1932, 509f.

allies, and, if appropriate, to warn Hannibal *ut ab Saguntinis . . . abstineret* (not *recedat*), and then to go on to "Carthage in Africa" and convey the complaints of Rome's allies. This corresponds generally to Polybius' account, chronological displacement apart. It is striking that Livy is careful to distinguish *Carthaginem in Africam*. We note that he does not here specify where the *legati* were instructed to encounter Hannibal. The hand of the synthesising historian on whom Livy relies is to be discerned. He has probably argued: the *legati* did not meet Hannibal at Carthago in Spain (as Polybius etc.); this tradition must be due to confusion with Carthago in Africa. The next step brings in the version found in Cicero. Before the *legatio* can set out, news comes that Saguntum is besieged (21.6.5). After debate the Senate decides to send the *legati* (only now named — P. Valerius Flaccus and Q. Baebius Tamphilus) *Saguntum ad Hannibalem atque inde Carthaginem, si non absisteretur bello, ad ducem ipsum in poenam foederis rupti deposcendum* (21.6.8). The change of meeting place with Hannibal has now been effected, together with a change of message — "stop the siege." Further a new explanation of why, and under what circumstances, the *legati* were to go on to Carthage — *rerum repetitio*: a wholly erroneous explanation, of course; it properly belongs to the final embassy conveying the Roman ultimatum (Polyb. 3.20.8; Appian *Iber.* 13; Dio fr. 55.9; Zonaras 8.22). A further refinement follows. The *legati* do not succeed in interviewing Hannibal (21.9.3f). The bulk of Livy's treatment is consequently given over to their appearance at Carthage, mostly in the form of a speech by Hanno supporting their case. Reduced to essentials, the story goes thus: the *legati* were admitted and given a hearing (10.1); the Carthaginians replied that the Saguntines, not Hannibal, were responsible for the outbreak of war; Rome would be in the wrong if it preferred the Saguntines to the longstanding alliance with Carthage (11.2). There is nothing here to restore faith in the supposed mission to Carthage.

The process of chronological displacement and fictional composition is naturally taken a stage further by Silius Italicus who, with poetic logic, combines into one the embassy to Hannibal (besieging Saguntum) and to Carthage and the embassy conveying the final ultimatum to Carthage (1.565-575, 584-694; 2.1-35, 44-53, 270-390).

Appian's version (*Iber.* 11) likewise makes the Saguntines send their embassy to Rome after the siege has begun. The Senate sends a *legatio* back with the Saguntine embassy. Its instructions: *πρωτον μὲν Ἀντίβαν ἔμελλον ὑπομνήσειν τῶν συγκεκλιμένων, οὐ πειθομένου δὲ ἐς Καρχηδόνα πλευσεῖσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ*. As in Livy and Silius, the *legati* fail to gain access to Hannibal (at Saguntum). At Carthage (still with the Saguntine

embassy in tow) τῶν συνθηκῶν ἀνεμίμνησκον αὐτοὺς. The Carthaginian reply does not concern itself with the συνθήκαι, but accuses Saguntum of ἀδικία against Carthaginian subjects. The Saguntine envoys offer to submit to arbitration with the Romans as umpires. The Carthaginians answer that they do not need arbitration. That is the end of the account of the embassy, in which the Roman rôle is peculiarly diminished. It is clear that the story of the Roman embassy has been eked out by incorporating with it the story of a Saguntine embassy (which is probably a doublet of the Saguntine embassy to Hannibal in *Iber.* 10).

Dio's version survives only in Zonaras' epitome (8.21). Again, the attack on Saguntum precedes their embassy to Rome. The Roman *legatio's* instructions are indicated thus: οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πρέσβεις πρὸς ἐκείνους πέμψαντες μὴ πελάζειν τοῖς Ζακυνθίοις ἐκέλευον, καὶ εἰ μὴ πείθοντο, εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα πλεῦσαι εὐθὺς καὶ κατηγορῆσαι αὐτοῦ ἐπηπείλησαν. Again, the *legati* do not get to see Hannibal (at Saguntum). Their presence at Carthage occasions a debate: one side is for keeping the peace with Rome (cf. Hanno in Livy), the other, pro-Hannibal, asserts that the Saguntines are in the wrong and the Romans are meddling with what concerns them not: καὶ τέλος ἐπεκράτησαν οἱ πολεμῆσαι σφᾶς ἀναπαίθοντες.

It becomes clear that the annalistic sources had difficulty with explaining the embassy at Carthage, and resorted to diverse expedients to fill the void. Καρχηδών/Carthago was the name of the place where the Roman *legati*, in Polybius and in reality, were to interview Hannibal and did interview him. There is a strong possibility that their going to Carthago (in Spain) for this purpose came to be misinterpreted as a going to Carthago (in Africa); we have seen a reflection of this in Livy. If so, the distortion of the *legatio* in Roman sources began early. Polybius suppressed most of their fictions, but did not realise that the whole story of a visit to Carthage was fictitious.¹⁰²

In sending an embassy to Hannibal alone, not on to Carthage, the Senate would have followed its own precedent. On Polybius' testimony this was what was done when the agreement with Hasdrubal was made. The Senate then had deemed it sufficient to deal directly and solely with the governor of Spain and his council.¹⁰³ It is not at all improbable that

¹⁰² It may be significant that Q. Baebius Tamphilus is named as a member of the first embassy — to Hannibal and "Carthage" (Cic. *Phil.* 5.27; Liv. 21.6.8) — and again of the final embassy to Carthage (Liv. 21.18.1). If he really was a member of both embassies, this too could have caused confusion.

¹⁰³ And, of course, there is no indication in Dio fr. 48 that the embassy to *Hamilcar* was to go on to Carthage.

they followed that precedent in 220 when they proposed to bring up the matter of the agreement.

IV. THE EMBASSY'S RETURN AND THE FATE OF SAGUNTUM

The last phase of Roman policy towards Spain before the outbreak of war was one that obviously caused Roman apologists pain and embarrassment. The result was the tortured chronology we have already seen, and further, that very little is said about Roman reaction to events in Spain in 219.

We left the Roman *legati* at New Carthage, having cancelled the account of their visit to Carthage in Africa. We are now in a position to understand a matter that has generally baffled explanation. Livy reports that the final Roman embassy (218), after delivering the ultimatum at Carthage, proceeded to Spain and then to Gaul, and gives a long and detailed account of their experiences (21.19.6-20.9). This of course is ridiculous and impossible. But it is none too satisfactory to dismiss the whole elaborate story as annalistic fiction. The solution is to transfer it to the earlier embassy, just as the *rerum repetitio* of this embassy has to be transferred to the final *legatio* (p. 239 above). The pivot, as before, is the ambiguity of *Carthago*. One may glean, and winnow, from Livy the following story (cf. also Dio fr. 56).

The Roman envoys, leaving Carthago (New Carthage), proceeded, as they had been instructed, to approach states in Spain with a view to establishing friendly relations. They came first to the Bargusii and were well received. (This fits Polybius' account, 3.35.2-4, of Hannibal's operations against tribes north of the Ebro in 218, where the *Βαργούσιοι* are singled out for special treatment *διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὐνοίαν*.) Then they came to the "Volciani," but were ordered out of their territory and had no further success in Spain. (The Volciani are not mentioned elsewhere, and should probably be identified with the Volcae of western Narbonensis;¹⁰⁴ i.e., they belong to the story of the embassy in Gaul, not in Spain.) They had a cold reception in Gaul, apart from Massilia. They returned to Rome shortly after the consuls had set out for their provinces, to find the capital excited by a report that Hannibal had crossed the Hiberus (i.e., had attacked Saguntum? But it is very doubtful if the material here is usable, being inextricably bound up with the chronological displacement from 219 to 218. It is probable

¹⁰⁴ Strabo 4.1.12 is the *locus classicus*; cf. Forbiger, *Hdb. d. alt. Geog.* 3.125, for other references. Livy mentions the Volcae under their proper name in 21.26.6.

that the *legati* returned before the beginning of summer 219, whereas the consuls may have set out in May, and the news of the attack on Saguntum probably did not arrive till June).¹⁰⁵

Thus the embassy returned with a discouraging report. According to Polybius, the Senate accepted their view that the war would have to be fought in Spain with Saguntum as base (3.15.13–16.1). However, this did not result in the Senate's taking any steps to strengthen Saguntum against the threatened aggression. It is evident that Polybius' view makes the Roman attitude much firmer and more decisive than it really was.¹⁰⁶ What Polybius presents as the senatorial consensus was probably a view developed in the Scipionic family tradition. Publius and Gnaeus Scipio, who were sent to fight Hannibal in Spain and failed to arrive in time, very likely did argue that if only Rome had acted sooner, Hannibal could have been stopped in Spain. The reflection of this kind of discussion of what might have been is clear in Polybius (3.16.4–6).

The Senate actually decided, when it settled the provinces for the consuls of 219 (one of whom, L. Aemilius Paullus, was the grandfather of Polybius' patron), that it was necessary "to secure the situation in Illyria" (Polyb. 3.16.1). According to Polybius they were persuaded that they would have time to deal with this (*καταταχῆσιν*) — i.e. before turning to affairs in Spain. But, says he, they were deceived in their calculations. Hannibal forestalled them (*κατετάχῃσε γὰρ αὐτούς*) by taking Saguntum (3.16.4f). The Senate of course was making no such calculation (though there may well have been a *hope* that the Spanish crisis would hold off). The consular provinces had to be fixed, the consuls and their armies dispatched to the East, before any news about Saguntum could reach Rome. The consuls in fact left the city while Hannibal was advancing towards Saguntum (Polyb. 3.16.7–17.1); and news of the assault could have taken three or four weeks to get to Rome. Polybius says nothing of the Roman reaction to the news when it did come — a serious omission. Nor is much help to be got from the other sources, owing to their falsified and foreshortened chronology.

Appian may preserve a vestige of the Roman deliberations, supplementing that of Polybius (*Iber.* 11f): *ὦν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπαγγελθέντων, οἱ μὲν ἐκέλευον ἤδη συμμαχεῖν τοῖς Ζακανθαίοις, οἱ δ' ἐπεῖχον ἔτι, λέγοντες οὐ συμμαχοῦς αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις σφῶν ἀλλ' αὐτονόμους καὶ ἐλευθέρους ἀναγεγράφθαι, ἐλευθέρους δ' ἔτι καὶ τοὺς πολιορκουμένους εἶναι. καὶ ἐκράτησεν ἡ γνώμη. Ζακανθαῖοι δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀπέγνωσαν . . . κτλ.* A free interpretation, ignoring Appian's context, might

¹⁰⁵ Cf. my discussion of the chronology (see n. 43 above).

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Walbank, *Comm.* on 3.15.12, 13.



be: when the report of the Roman *legatio* (that an attack on Saguntum was likely) was received, some proposed sending military assistance to Saguntum, but the majority favoured delay, arguing that Saguntum was not strictly an ally of Rome. The fact that Appian's version has an inkling of this last point¹⁰⁷ (which goes dead against the normal tradition) suggests that, though inaccurate as usual, it is not utterly worthless. It is obviously true that in 219 the majority of the Senate was not anxious to intervene in Spain on Saguntum's behalf.

Rome was under a moral, not a legal, obligation to aid Saguntum.¹⁰⁸ But, conveniently, the nature of the Roman system was such that, in the summer of 219, to have given effective aid to Saguntum would have required extraordinary measures: e.g., the recall of the consuls from campaign or the creation of an extraordinary command. In these circumstances it is not at all surprising that nothing was done. It might have been a different matter had Saguntum not been so far away.

There must of course have been another Saguntine embassy, sent when Hannibal's assault began. Polybius suppresses it, but it is preserved in the distortions of our other sources (Silius, Appian, Dio, and, implicitly, Livy). The envoys will have made contact with the friends and patrons of Saguntum among the Roman senators; it seems possible that the Scipiones were prominent among these.¹⁰⁹ It is not unlikely that this group, while explaining that it was not feasible for Rome to act immediately, encouraged the Saguntines to hope for aid the following year *if they could hold out*; P. Scipio, a candidate for the consulship, was no doubt considered sure of election. Hence an incentive for the long and desperate resistance of the Iberian city. All this is reflected in Polybius' talk about the Romans' calculations (3.16.4ff). It was not so much a calculation as a slim hope, but in this context Polybius' observations (no doubt derived from the Scipionic family tradition)¹¹⁰ make

¹⁰⁷ On which cf. Badian, *For. Client.* 51, 293.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 51.

¹⁰⁹ It was not necessarily the mere chance of the lot (Liv. 21.17.1) that sent P. Scipio, with his brother Gnaeus, to the *provincia* of Spain in 218. The lot could be manipulated.

¹¹⁰ The Scipionic character of Polybius' account is, of course, manifested at several points even for this early period: e.g. the elimination of M. Livius Salinator from the Second Illyrian War for the enhancement of Scipio Aemilianus' grandfather (cf. Walbank, *Comm.* on 3.16 [p. 325] and 3.16.7); the suppression of the name of the leader of the Roman embassy in 218 — a Fabius (M. Buteo, Dio fr. 55.10, Zonar. 8.22, not Q. Maximus, Liv. 21.18.1, 3); the polemic against the "authority" of Fabius Pictor, 3.8.1–9.5; the treatment of P. Scipio's colleague, Ti. Sempronius Longus (esp. 3.41.3, which again involves suppression of the consul's achievements; 3.70.1–8, with Walbank's note on 3.70.5).

sense. Hannibal captured Saguntum too soon for the Scipiones, even though it took him eight months.¹¹¹

CONCLUSION

Roman policy in Spain before the Hannibalic War was, so far as can be seen, entirely concerned with the curbing of Carthaginian expansion. This appears to be the significance of the embassy to Hamilcar. It is explicit in the agreement made with Hasdrubal, and in the embassy to Hannibal in 220. To watch over Spanish developments Rome engaged an interested party, the state of Saguntum, whose role was to keep Rome informed and, in effect, to reinforce the frontier imposed on the Carthaginians. This policy was double-edged because it made the frontier inflexible. Roman interest in Spain during the period was evidently not strong or sustained. Without Saguntum the frontier might have been capable of some adjustment — as far as the Ebro! As it was, the *fides* of the Saguntines ensured the inevitability of a clash between Romans and Carthaginians in Spain.

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APPENDIX

Chronological Table

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| 237, spring | Hamilcar sets out to begin Spanish command. |
| 231(/230) | Roman embassy to Hamilcar in Spain. |
| 229/228, winter | Hamilcar, defeated by Oretani, dies. Hasdrubal succeeds to the Spanish command. |
| 228 | Hasdrubal defeats the Oretani. |
| 228/227 | Hasdrubal founds New Carthage. |
| 226 | Roman embassy to Hasdrubal at New Carthage. He covenants not to cross the R. Iber for war. |
| 221, summer/autumn | Death of Hasdrubal. Hannibal succeeds to the Spanish command; captures Althaea, subdues Olcades. Hannibal winters at New Carthage. |
| 221/220, winter | Saguntine embassy to Rome. |
| 220, spring | Hannibal begins campaign against Vaccaeï etc. |
| —, summer | Roman <i>legatio</i> settles <i>stasis</i> at Saguntum. |
| —, beginning winter | Hannibal meets Roman <i>legatio</i> at New Carthage. |

¹¹¹ See further the article "The Chronology of the Outbreak of the Second Punic War" referred to above (n. 43).

220/219, winter

Hannibal intervenes in dispute between Saguntum and "Turdetani" (Edetani?); receives carte blanche from Carthage.

Returning Roman *legatio* visits NE. Spain (Bargusii) and S. France ("Volciani," Massilia).

219, end-April/begin-May

Hannibal sets out from New Carthage against Saguntum (crossing R. Iber?).

—, May

Roman consuls start for Illyrian War.

—, June

Saguntine embassy brings news of Hannibal's assault to Rome.

THE FAMILY CONNECTIONS OF M. LIVIUS DRUSUS LIBO

E. J. WEINRIE

IN the consular *fasti* for 15 B.C. appears the tantalizing name M. Livius L. f. Drusus Libo, indicating a connection between the families of Augustus' last two wives, the Scribonii Libones and the Livii Drusi.¹ In the next generation the nomenclature of a well-attested personality reflects the same connection in an inverted order: M. Scribonius Libo Drusus.² But despite the prominence to which the Scribonii Libones and related families attained during the Julio-Claudian period — a prominence which culminated in a brief and tragic tenure of imperial power in A.D. 69 by the unfortunate Piso Licinianus — all attempts to place the consul of 15 B.C. on a stemma and to demonstrate the precise nature of his connection with the first imperial house have proved signally unsatisfactory.³ This in turn has impeded the elucidation of further personages of moment under the early Principate, namely L. Furius Camillus, the last *triumphator* of a famous family, L. Arruntius the *capax imperii*, and L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus, the leader of an abortive military revolt against Claudius.⁴ The purpose of this paper

¹ For Scribonia and Livia, Augustus' second and third wives, see *PIR*¹ S 220, L 210. The consul of 15 B.C. is registered as *PIR*¹ L 205.

² *PIR*¹ S 214.

³ The only serious treatments of the problem are by B. Borghesi, *Œuvres* (Paris 1869) V 301ff, and T. Mommsen, *Eph. Ep.* 1 (1872) 146. Subsequent scholars have tended to follow either Borghesi (e.g. Nipperdey and Furneaux in their respective commentaries on Tac. *Ann.* 2.27) or Mommsen (e.g. *RE* II A 1264, *PIR*¹ S 214, V. Strazzuola, "Il Processo di Libone Druso," *Riv. Stor. Ant.* 12 [1908] 74f, 257f, Syme, *RR* table V). E. Koestermann does not advert to the problem of the consul of 15 B.C. in his recent commentary on Tacitus' *Annals*. For Syme's most recent comment, see "The Consuls of A.D. 13," *JRS* 56 (1966) 58: "the mysterious M. Livius Drusus Libo (cos. 15 B.C.) — only a name on the *Fasti* but far from negligible if families and family politics are under scrutiny," and n. 36.

⁴ *PIR*² F 576, A 1130, and A 1140 respectively. For the connections between the Scribonii Libones and the other persons mentioned, cf. Syme's despairing remarks, *RR* 425 and table V. The relations between the Scribonii and the Licinii Crassi have now been masterfully elucidated by Syme in "Piso Frugi and Crassus Frugi," *JRS* 50 (1960) 12-20 and are therefore completely ignored in this paper.

is to examine the connections between these interrelated family groupings *de integro* and to propose a stemma which is more comprehensive and, it is hoped, more plausible than those recommended by previous investigators.

The enquiry can begin on comparatively firm ground with L. Scribonius Libo, cos. 34 B.C. This figure was obviously the founder of future family fortunes. From his first appearance in 56 B.C. until after the battle of Naulochus twenty years later he consistently supported the Pompeian house, and in 34 B.C. he became the first in his family to hold the consulship.⁵ His intense political activity is reflected in the marriages contracted by the women of his family. His daughter was married to Sex. Pompeius, probably in the forties,⁶ and when Octavian was desperately searching for allies before the expected confrontation with Antonius after Perusia, he married Scribonius' sister as a gesture of reconciliation to the Pompeians.⁷ This was not the first time, nor perhaps the last, that this unfortunate woman was exploited for dynastic purposes.⁸ Each of these Scriboniae bore a daughter to her illustrious husband: Julia the only child of Augustus, and Pompeia the daughter of Sextus. The latter, in turn, was soon sucked into the vortex of dynastic politics: at Puteoli in 39, it was agreed that the new alliance between Octavian, Antonius, and Sex. Pompeius should be cemented by the betrothal of Pompey's daughter to M. Claudius Marcellus, the stepson of Antonius and nephew of Octavian.⁹ Marcellus was then only three

⁵ *PIR*¹ S 210, *RE* II A 881ff.

⁶ Appian *BC* 5.217, 222, 312, 579; Dio 48.16.3. Appian *BC* 5.303, giving Julia as the name of the wife, is an inexplicable slip. The date of the marriage is unknown, but since Sex. Pompeius' daughter was probably an infant at the time of her betrothal in 39, a marriage in the mid-forties seems most reasonable. Münzer (*RE* II A 882f) postulated a date a decade earlier, but it is not likely that Pompeius Magnus would have chosen a daughter-in-law from a praetorian family at the height of his power. If Münzer is right, Scribonius will have been born about 90 B.C. at the very latest; this is consonant with Münzer's hypothesis that Scribonius held the praetorship before he held high positions under Pompey in the civil war. But this is unnecessary, as it appears that Scribonius was only a legate under Pompeius, not a *propraetor* (*MRR* II 248). Even if he were a *promagistrate* during the civil wars, that would not necessarily presuppose a praetorship. One can, for instance, adduce Q. Cassius Longinus (tr. pl. 49) as governor of Hispania Ulterior in 49 "pro praetore" (*MRR* II 261).

⁷ Appian *BC* 5.222; cf. Syme *RR* 213.

⁸ "Mox Scriboniam in matrimonium accepit nuptam ante duobus consularibus, ex altero etiam matrem" (Suet. *Aug.* 62.2). For the problem of identifying the two consulars, see *PIR*² C 1395, Syme, *RR* 229f; connections with the Corneliū Lentulī Marcellini and the Corneliū Scipionē are indicated.

⁹ Appian *BC* 5.312; Dio 48.38.3.

years old,¹⁰ and his fiancée possibly younger. Almost certainly, the marriage never took place. Pompeia was still with her father when he fled from Sicily, after his power had been destroyed at Naulochus and any marriage connection with his house rendered superfluous and undesirable.¹¹

The female descendants of L. Scribonius Libo, cos. 34 B.C., are thus certified as the wife and daughter of Sex. Pompeius. But the next generation on the male side is not quite as clear. There is no explicit record that the consul of 34 B.C. had a son. Nevertheless the existence of at least one son bearing exactly the same name as his father is not in doubt, since the children of this son are in turn well attested. These are the consul for A.D. 16, L. Scribonius L. f. Libo, and his brother M. Scribonius Libo Drusus who was praetor the same year and who committed suicide in a *cause célèbre* after being accused of *maiestas*.¹² More problematic is the identification of the mother of the two magistrates of A.D. 16 and the wife of the otherwise unknown Scribonius Libo. The only clue is provided by Tacitus, who reveals that the conspirator of A.D. 16, Libo Drusus, had resplendent connections: "proavum Pompeium, amitam Scriboniam, quae quondam Augusti coniunx fuerat, consobrinos Caesares, plenam imaginibus domum."¹³ This shows that his father had married a granddaughter of Pompeius Magnus. Since the Scribonii were *adfines* of Sex. Pompeius and since there is an unmarried granddaughter of Pompeius Magnus attested, namely Pompeia the daughter of Sextus, standard opinion holds that the father of the magistrates of A.D. 16 married this available Pompeia, thus reinforcing the connection between the Scribonii and the family of Pompeius.¹⁴

Now this enticing hypothesis will simply not do, since it would have Pompeia marry her mother's brother. According to Roman law such a marriage between uncle and niece was *incestum*. When Claudius wanted to marry Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, in A.D. 49, elaborate staging was necessary. Tacitus specifically says that such a union was both unprecedented and incestuous.¹⁵ The legal effects of Claudius' innovation are explicitly given by the jurist Gaius: marriage of a brother's daughter was henceforth permissible, but marriage of a sister's daughter continued to be *incestum*.¹⁶ Other references in Roman legal literature

¹⁰ PIR² C 925.

¹¹ Dio 49.11.1.

¹² PIR¹ S 212 and S 214 respectively.

¹³ Tac. *Ann.* 2.27.

¹⁴ The stemma as now universally accepted was laid out by Mommsen in 1872 as a correction of Borghesi. See above, n. 3.

¹⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 12.5.

¹⁶ G. 1.62.

are completely consistent with this. Marcian records the case of a woman who had in ignorance of the law married her uncle forty years earlier; the marriage had been arranged by her grandmother, and there were children. By rescript the *divi fratres* legitimized the children in this one case because of the extenuating circumstances.¹⁷

It is thus apparent that Scribonius could not have married his sister's daughter and that he must have married some other granddaughter of Pompeius Magnus. Despite the five marriages of Pompeius himself and the four marriages contracted by his three children, there is only one known granddaughter who is eligible. The sole evidence for her existence is a single inscription (*ILS* 1946) mentioning one slave and two freedmen of Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus (cos. A.D. 5) and a certain Magna, presumably a sister. This Magna and her consular brother were the children of Pompeius Magnus' daughter and her second husband L. Cornelius Cinna (pr. 44 B.C.).¹⁸ If any descendant of Pompeius Magnus must be singled out as the wife of Scribonius, Magna is the most natural choice. It will also be noticed that she brings to her son's "plenam imaginibus domum" the busts of one praetor (44 B.C.) and four consuls (127 B.C., 87 B.C., 32 B.C., A.D. 5) from the patrician family of the Cornelii Cinnae.

It is now time to ask how M. Livius Drusus Libo, cos. 15 B.C., adheres to these Scribonii. Borghesi's solution was bold and forthright: he proposed that the consul of 15 B.C. was none other than the father of the two Scribonii Libones who held office in A.D. 16, and that he had passed from the house of the Scribonii to that of the Livii Drusi by being adopted by M. Livius Drusus Claudianus, the father of the future empress.¹⁹ This scheme had obvious advantages. Not only did it account for the two *cognomina* in the nomenclature of the consul of 15 B.C., but it also provided a career and a consulship for the man whose existence must be postulated into the missing generation in the Scribonian family tree. The Scribonii Libones, despite miscalculations during the civil wars, had passed into the Principate unscathed. Paradoxically, the prestige of the family was now greater than it had been at any time in its history, due entirely to the determined opportunism of the consul of 34 B.C. in winning connections with the Pompeii and with the *princeps*. When the Scribonii first re-emerge into the clear light of history in

¹⁷ D. 23.2.57a; cf. also *h. t.* 12.4, J. 1.10.3.

¹⁸ *PIR*² C 1489, cf. 1339. Magna was presumably born about 40 B.C. Her father, who had taken part in Lepidus' revolt in 78 (Suet. *Jul.* 5) must have been in his fifties when he married Pompeia, whose first husband, Faustus Sulla, did not die until 46 B.C. (*Bell. Afr.* 95.1).

¹⁹ Borghesi, *Œuvres* V 301ff.

A.D. 16, one brother is *consul ordinarius* and the other is dining with the emperor and contemplating his "plenam imaginibus domum." This prominence was not a sudden phenomenon; already in 21 B.C. a member of the family is found among distinguished company in the recently reconstituted *collegium fratrum Arvalium*.²⁰ If there was an eligible candidate for the consulship in the missing generation, it would be natural to assume that he reached it.²¹ On Borghesi's hypothesis the related difficulties of the unattested generation and the unattested consulship are solved with economy and dispatch.

And yet, doubts and objections supervene, marshalled with impeccable logic by the formidable Mommsen.²² Firstly, and decisively, the nomenclature of the two sons. Not only were they both called Scribonii Libones but the filiation of the elder is known to have been L. f.²³ Therefore at their time of birth about 20 B.C. their father must clearly have borne the name L. Scribonius Libo. But this is impossible on Borghesi's theory, for the supposed adoptive father M. Livius Claudianus died at the battle of Philippi in 42 B.C.,²⁴ and thus the name M. Livius Drusus Libo found on the *fasti* of 15 B.C. must go back at least seventeen years. Therefore the two magistrates of A.D. 16 could not have a son of Livius Drusus Claudianus as their father without themselves being Livii Drusi.

Secondly, the full nomenclature of the consul for 15 B.C. is M. Livius L. f. Drusus Libo.²⁵ The lack of uniformity between the personal *praenomen* and the *praenomen* of the filiation militates against any adoption, for the adoptive son normally assumes the *praenomen* of his new father. Since in this case the supposed adoptive father has the *praenomen* Marcus, the Lucius in the filiation must refer to the natural father. But it is unlikely that an adoptive son would call himself the son of his natural father after the adoption. Therefore there probably was no adoption.

These two criticisms convincingly demolish Borghesi's hypothesis at

²⁰ *CIL* VI 32338. All that survives on stone is]s Libo. It could be either the consul of 34 B.C. if he survived that long (he is unattested after his consulship) or a son bearing the name Scribonius Libo, or even the enigmatic M. Livius Drusus Libo himself.

²¹ Though Syme has noticed that not everyone with Pompeian connections prospered under Augustus. See *JRS* 50 (1960) 17f.

²² Mommsen, *Eph. Ep.* 1 (1872) 146. Cf. also Mommsen's note in Borghesi's *Œuvres* (above, nn. 3 and 19).

²³ Superscription to Dio 57.

²⁴ Velleius 2.71.1, Dio 48.44.1.

²⁵ Superscription to Dio 54; *Fasti Colotiani* (*CIL* I² p. 64).

both ends. The first proves that the enigmatic consul of 15 B.C. could not be the father of the magistrates of A.D. 16. The second shows that he could not be the adoptive son of Livia's father. Borghesi's hypothesis is thus untenable, and the putative father of the two magistrates of A.D. 16 must not be amalgamated with the consul of 15 B.C.

Mommsen's own attempt to formulate an elucidation of the consul of 15 B.C. on the ruin of Borghesi's, however, was uncharacteristically vague and implausible. Since he had ruled adoption out, he postulated that the consul of 15 B.C. was the natural son of a L. Livius Drusus and that he derived his *agnomen* from his mother, who was from the Scribonii Libones. As an explanation this does not take us very far: the mysterious consul is provided with two parents, both of whom are unattested and completely unknown. Presumably the L. Livius Drusus would be politically active in the fifties and forties and, while the *argumentum ex silentio* must be applied cautiously, it strains credulity that a member of the distinguished family of the Livii Drusi should completely disappear without a trace in the best documented period in the whole of ancient history.

Moreover, Drusus Libo would provide the earliest example of the assumption of the *cognomen* of a maternal grandfather. Such metronymics do not become fashionable until later in the Julio-Claudian Principate, and even then they more usually take the form of *gentilicium* with an -anus ending rather than a retained *cognomen*.²⁶ That the *cognomen* Libo should be added as a metronymic to the name of a person born before 50 B.C. is very peculiar indeed. Clearly Mommsen's solution will not do and is in fact little more than a desperate guess. The problem subsists: who was the consul of 15 B.C.?

Mommsen's second criticism of Borghesi can serve as a point of departure. It is of course perfectly true that according to a standard rule of Roman nomenclature, the personal and filiative *praenominu* of an adoptive son will be identical, since the adoptive son assumes the name of his new father. The clearest example is the nomenclature of the *fratres germani* who were consuls in 179 B.C., L. Manlius L. f. L. n. Acidinus Fulvianus and Q. Fulvius Q. f. M. n. Flaccus. The reason for this well-known rule is that adoption in both of its classic juristic forms, *adrogatio* and *datio in adoptionem*, involves the removal and transfer of the *adoptandus* from the *patria potestas* of one man to that of another.

²⁶ E.g., T. Flavius Vespasianus, L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus, L. Annius Vinicianus, L. Apronius Caesianus, etc. Apparently the earliest example of the assumption of the maternal grandfather's *cognomen* is Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus (cos. A.D. 5); cf. Syme, *JRS* 56 (1966) 57 n. 34.

Thus, as Mommsen saw, the filiation L. f. in the name of M. Livius Drusus Libo precludes any adoption by either of these two forms.

There is however another form of adoption, testamentary adoption, referred to by ancient authors, but never by the jurists themselves, which betrays a significant anomaly.²⁷ The paradigmatic instance is that of Cn. Domitius Afer (cos. A.D. 39) who is known to have adopted by testament the two brothers Titius Lucanus and Titius Tullus.²⁸ As a result of this transaction, the elder brother bore the name Cn. Domitius Sex. f. Afer Titius Marcellus Curvius Lucanus.²⁹ Clearly, he adopted the full name, including the *praenomen*, of the *de cuius*, but in contrast to a normal adoption, he retained his natural father's name in the filiation. This model allows us to recognize other instances of testamentary adoption. The younger Pliny, after adoption by his uncle, C. Plinius Secundus, had the name C. Plinius L. f. Caecilius Secundus.³⁰ If, as has been suggested,³¹ C. Iulius P. f. Plancius Varus Cornutus Tertullus (cos. A.D. 100) is the natural son of a P. Plancius Varus adopted by a C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus, his adoption too will have been by testament. It is agreed among all scholars that the reason for the retention of the

²⁷ Brief discussions of this problematic institution will be found in any of the standard manuals of Roman law, e.g. F. Schulz, *Classical Roman Law* (Oxford 1951) 145, M. Kaser, *Römisches Privatrecht* (Munich and Berlin 1960) 231, W. Kunkel, *Herkunft und soziale Stellung der Römischen Juristen* (Weimar 1952) 88 n. 46, W. Buckland, *Textbook of Roman Law*⁸ (Cambridge 1963) 127, H. J. Roby, *Roman Private Law in the Times of Cicero and of the Antonines I* (Cambridge 1902) 59 n., P. F. Girard, *Manuel Élémentaire de Droit Romain*⁸ (Paris 1927) 187ff, O. Karlowa, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte II* (Leipzig 1901) 246ff. The seminal treatment is, as usual, Mommsen's in *Ges. Schr.* IV 394ff, and (less thoroughly) *Staatsrecht* III 39. Adherents of Mommsen's doctrine are A. Lefas, "L'adoption testamentaire à Rome," *Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit Français et Etranger* 21 (1897) 721ff, M. H. Prévost, "L'adoption d'Octave," *RIDA* 5 (1950) 361ff. Opposition comes from N.-Henry Michel, *Du Droit de Cité Romaine* (Paris 1885) 240ff, H. Siber, "Zur Entwicklung der römischen Prinzipatsverfassung" *Abh. d. Sächs Ak. d. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 42.3 (1933) 27ff, W. Schmitthenner, *Oktavian und das Testament Cäsars* (Munich 1952), and G. E. F. Chilver's review of the latter, *JRS* 44 (1954) 127. Perplexity still subsists; cf. R. Syme, "Ten Tribunes", *JRS* 53 (1963) 56 n. 14: "Not everything is clear about adoption, and 'testamentary adoption' in this age. Fresh investigation is called for."

²⁸ Pliny *Ep.* 8.18.

²⁹ *ILS* 990 (Fulginiae); *PIR D* 152.

³⁰ The elder Pliny is "per adoptionem pater" in Pliny *Ep.* 5.8.5. The filiation of the adoptee is given in *ILS* 2927. The question at hand is not affected by the identity of the personages in *ILS* 6728.

³¹ S. Jameson, "Cornutus Tertullus and the Plancii of Perge," *JRS* 55 (1965)

natural father's *praenomen* in the filiations of these cases from the first century A.D. is that testamentary adoption was not a real adoption at all but merely the institution of an heir on condition that he take the decedent's name. Indeed the Digest on one occasion mentions this *condicio nominis ferendi*,³² and an epigraphic example of such a *condicio* survives in the testament of Dasumius.³³ The *heres* continued in his natural family and thus retained his old filiation; only a change in his personal name, not in his agnatic position was involved. Pliny does call his uncle "per adoptionem pater," but this must be regarded as a loose and untechnical usage of the word *adoptio* deriving from the superficial onomastic resemblance between real adoption and the institution of an heir with a *condicio nominis ferendi*.³⁴

All the examples of testamentary "adoption" adduced so far come from the first century A.D. If these are to be of any assistance in the elucidation of M. Livius L. f. Drusus Libo (cos. 15 B.C.), it must be demonstrated that the practice had the same significance in the previous century. Mommsen, and subsequent *iuris Romani peritissimi*,³⁵ have denied that this was so. According to Mommsen, testamentary adoption during the Republic was a real adoption involving a change of family and agnatic position and validated by a kind of posthumous adrogation in the *comitia calata*. Mommsen's method was impeccable: he argued from the one case for which the procedure is known, the famous testamentary adoption of Octavius by Julius Caesar. The hypothesis was strengthened by the observation that in only two cases besides Octavian's is the nomenclature of a Republican testamentary adoptee known, and in both cases there is the same uniformity of personal and filiative *praenomina*

³² D. 37.1.63.10 (Gaius, with a reference to an opinion by Julian); cf. D. 39.5.19.6 (Ulpian quoting Pegasus) for this *condicio* in a different legal setting.

³³ CIL VI 10229 = Bruns, *Fontes* 7 304 (no. 117).

³⁴ Pliny *Ep.* 5.8.5. For a clear example of the use of the word *adoptare* to indicate a change of name rather than a formal change of agnatic status, cf. the case of C. Staienus "qui se ipse *adoptaverat* et de Staieno Aelium fecerat" (Cic. *Brutus* 241). Staienus had unilaterally assumed the name Aelius without going through any formal ceremony of adoption or adrogation (Cic. *Clu.* 72: "quid tu" inquit 'Paete?' hoc enim sibi Staienus cognomen ex imaginibus Aeliorum delegerat").

³⁵ See above, n. 27. Chilver (above, n. 27) is not quite accurate in saying that the historians have followed Mommsen and that the legal scholars have opposed him. Girard, Lefas, Prévost, and Schulz were all legal scholars. Lefas, while adhering to Mommsen in the main, introduced certain variations which tended to a compromise position by allowing both real adoption by testament and the *condicio nominis ferendi* to exist side by side during the Republic. Although disagreeing, I ignore his arguments here since his theory would in any case allow a *condicio nominis ferendi* for the figure under discussion, the consul of 15 B.C.

which is characteristic of real adoptions. T. Pomponius Atticus, adopted in the will of his uncle Q. Caecilius, is once jokingly saluted by Cicero as Q. Caecilius Q. f. Pomponianus Atticus, and P. Cornelius P. f. P. n. Scipio Nasica (cos. 52 B.C.) through testamentary adoption by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius was able to parade the name Q. Caecilius Q. f. Metellus Pius Scipio.³⁶

By comparing these cases with the instances cited above from the Principate, Mommsen concluded that there had been a change in the legal significance of the institution. Under the Republic, he thought, testamentary adoption in no way differed from *adrogatio* in the eyes of the law, and both brought about a complete change of agnatic position for the adopted son; there was only the circumstantial difference that since the testamentary *adrogans* was dead, he could not be present at the *comitia calata* and the testament had to serve as the required evidence of his consent to the transaction. Under the Empire, however, the situation had changed. As seen from the filiation of Lucanus and Pliny, testamentary adoption no longer involved a change of family or agnatic position, but only a change of name as a condition of inheritance.

This is Mommsen's theory, but it involves grave difficulties. It must first of all be stated that there is no reference to posthumous adrogation by testament in the whole corpus of Roman juristic literature.³⁷ Even Gaius, whose interest in Roman legal history was strong enough to allow him to indulge in a description of such obsolete practices as *legis actiones* and *testamentum in procinctu*,³⁸ betrays no awareness of the existence of this institution. It is not merely a question of arguing against Mommsen from silence; the implications of this particular silence should be carefully considered. The Roman jurists fondled the law of succession with thorough and loving care, and regarded it almost as an intellectual game in its own right, exhausting their ingenuity in elucidating the infinite possible complications.³⁹ Often the details had little relevance for day-to-day life. The most fertile breeding ground for complexity was the problem of succession on intestacy, although it is clear that in Roman, as in modern, times this branch of the law was

³⁶ For Atticus, see Nepos *Atticus* 5, Val. Max. 7.8.5, Cic. *Ad Att.* 3.20. For Metellus Scipio, see Dio 40.51.3, Cic. *Ad Fam.* 8.8.5, *ILS* 8777.

³⁷ In fact, D. 1.7.25 forbids adrogations *in absentia* or by proxy. Schulz (*loc. cit.*, above, n. 27) in effect thinks that the Digest and other evidence indicating the impossibility of adrogation *in absentia* are in error. Cf. below, n. 43.

³⁸ G. 4.11ff; 2.101ff; for Gaius' opinion of the importance of legal history, see D. 1.1.2.1 and F. Schulz, *Principles of Roman Law* (Oxford 1936) 105.

³⁹ Cf. Schulz, *Classical Roman Law* 203, who notes their "obvious predilection" and their "professional relish for details" in this branch of the law.

rarely invoked. A hardheaded Roman who had "made his pile" knew better than to die intestate.⁴⁰ Now Mommsen's theory of testamentary adoption postulates a development from posthumous adrogation to *condicio nominis ferendi*. This requires a corresponding change in the position of the heir from agnate to *heres extraneus*. It follows that at some time during this period of transition, the status of the heir as agnate would have been ambiguous, and caused embarrassing legal difficulties. For instance, suppose father F instituted as heirs his natural son S and his testamentarily adopted son T. If F, S, and S's son die, is T an heir of S's son on intestacy? Or if F and T die, is S an agnate of T's natural son? Or if F and S die in that order, does T succeed S on intestacy? Such obvious complications must have occurred to the jurists at some time and would have led to a lively controversy. That absolutely no trace of this would survive in the literature is highly unlikely. If on the other hand it is conceded that during the Republic, just as during the Principate, testamentary adoption never involved a change in agnatic position, the difficulty vanishes.

Further problems are involved in the actual operation of Mommsen's theory of posthumous adrogation. In his account of Tiberius' childhood, Suetonius records: "post reditum in urbem a M. Gallio senatore testamento adoptatus hereditate adita mox nomine abstinuit, quod Gallius adversarum Augusto partium fuerat."⁴¹ The implications of this sentence have never been completely explored. Since Tiberius was still in the *potestas* of his father, the posthumous adoption could not have taken place by *adrogatio*, for *adrogatio* was confined to *adoptandi* who were *sui iuris*.⁴² But it is equally impossible for the transaction to have been accomplished by the form *datio in adoptionem*, for here the presence of the *adoptans* was necessary for the collusive *in iure cessio*.⁴³ One could postulate that Tiberius was emancipated by his father first and then adrogated as a *sui iuris*. This hypothesis has two defects. Firstly, it would mean either that Tiberius was for the next four decades until his adoption by Augustus not a member of the *gens Claudia* but of the *gens Gallia* or that despite the adrogation he did not change *gens*. Two decades earlier, Clodius had apparently pretended that no change

⁴⁰ Cf. Plut. *Cato Maj.* 9.6.

⁴¹ Suet. *Tib.* 6.3.

⁴² G. 1.99; Aulus Gellius 5.19.

⁴³ D. 1.7.25: "neque adoptare neque adrogare quis absens nec per alium eiusmodi sollemnitate peragere potest." Despite this, Schulz (*Classical Roman Law* 144f) has claimed that the presence of the *adoptans* at an *adrogatio* was theoretically not mandatory. But no theoretical considerations can explain away the need for the *adoptans*' presence at a *datio in adoptionem*.

of *gens* had resulted from his adoption by Fonteius, but in doing so he exposed himself to the criticism of Cicero.⁴⁴ Secondly, even the expedient of emancipation would, in this instance, not have made an adrogation possible. After emancipation, Tiberius would become a *pupillus*, and the adrogation of *pupilli* was not legalized until the time of Antoninus Pius, and then only in certain special circumstances.⁴⁵

All these difficulties vanish if it can be accepted that Tiberius was not adrogated posthumously by M. Gallius, but merely instituted as his heir on condition that a promise be made that he will bear Gallius' name. On this interpretation the position of Tiberius as heir would be exactly the same as that indicated in the later testament of Dasumius (A.D. 108), in which a son in *potestas* was instituted heir on condition that the father promise that the heir will bear the decedent's name.⁴⁶ In both cases the crucial legal act would be the *aditio hereditatis*, and adoption proceedings play no role. Significantly Suetonius' language implies as much: the only act in law ascribed to Tiberius is that of entering upon the inheritance, and the phrase "testamento adoptatus" is merely an example of the same loose use of *adoptare* which we have already met in the case of the younger Pliny. Tiberius' subsequent abstention from the name, an awkward detail if there had been a real adoption, causes no problem for a *condicio nominis ferendi*. Presumably Tiberius took the precaution of applying for *bonorum possessio secundum tabulas* when he accepted the inheritance. When he renounced the name, his right to Gallius' estate became questionable; an adversary could claim that Tiberius was no longer the rightful heir since he had refused to comply with the conditions of the will. Tiberius would then have to fall back on his *bonorum possessio* to protect his rights to Gallius' property. This would suffice in most cases, but it would not give him the protection he needed most, namely, protection against the heirs on intestacy, since *bonorum possessio secundum tabulas* remained *sine re* until the time of Antoninus Pius.⁴⁷ In this case, however, Tiberius probably did not have to worry about any heirs on intestacy and could thus renege on the conditions of the will with impunity. M. Gallius must have died without leaving any civil law heirs who could challenge the *bonorum possessio*. His only attested relative in this period, his brother Q. Gallius (pr. 43 B.C.), had died earlier in

⁴⁴ Cic. *Dom.* 35; *ibid.* 116.

⁴⁵ Aulus Gellius 5.19.10; Ulp. 8.5; on the difficulties of G. 1.102, see M. David and H. L. W. Nelson, *Gai Institutionum Commentarii IV: Kommentar* (Leiden 1954) I 124ff.

⁴⁶ Above, n. 33.

⁴⁷ G. 2.120f, 149a.

mysterious circumstances after allegedly conspiring against Octavian.⁴⁸ Thus on the hypothesis that M. Gallius' will involved only a *condicio nominis ferendi* and not a real adoption the following sequence can reasonably be postulated: Gallius died instituting young Tiberius as conditional heir; Tiberius cerned and also applied to the praetor for *bonorum possessio* while indicating his willingness to take the decedent's name (these acts in law probably involved declarations by Tiberius' father as in the case of Dasumius; cf. D. 29.2.8.1); later (*mox*) Tiberius dropped the name, and henceforth had to protect the property not as *heres* but as *bonorum possessor*; since Gallius had left no civil law heirs, there was no one who could dispute Tiberius' *bonorum possessio*, and so the renunciation of the *condicio nominis ferendi* had no practical adverse effects.

The inability of Mommsen's theory to account for all the known cases of Republican testamentary adoption is not confined to the incident in Tiberius' childhood. Cicero's son-in-law P. Cornelius Dolabella was named joint heir to the estate of a certain Livia on condition that he change his name.⁴⁹ If Dolabella accepted, he would have taken Livia's *gentilicium* and *cognomen*, and since women did not have a *praenomen* he would presumably have taken the *praenomen* of Livia's father, as can be seen from the parallel practice in providing a woman's *libertus* with the *praenomen* of the woman's father. It must be noticed that Cicero's wording does not require more than this acceptance of the name on the part of Dolabella: "Dolabellam video Liviae testamento cum duobus coheredibus esse in triente, sed iuberi mutare nomen." There is no hint of adrogation, and the language involves nothing more than the institution of an heir on condition that he perpetuate the decedent's name.

Mommsen's attempt to interpret the Dolabella case as a posthumous *adrogatio* by Livia gives rise to fantastic and grotesque difficulties. Militating heavily against it is Gaius' unequivocal statement "feminae

⁴⁸ App. *BC* 3.394, Suet. *Aug.* 27.4. D. 37.1.63.10 does not quite cover Tiberius' case exactly, though it comes close. There Julian is referring to cases in which the praetor will make a person *bonorum possessor secundum tabulas* when he applies for the property but indicates his refusal to bear the name, and then will protect him with the praetorian remedies of *actiones utiles*. Tiberius, however, did not follow that sequence; he first took the decisive step of becoming heir and then (*mox*) reneged on the condition. The principle, though, is the same, and possession could be maintained only if there was no civil law heir on intestacy.

⁴⁹ Cic. *Ad Att.* 7.8.3. The similar adoption of the future emperor Galba by his stepmother must also have been testamentary (Suet. *Galba* 4).

vero nullo modo adoptare possunt.”⁵⁰ Moreover, if there is a real adoption, the adoptive son would take his new parent's *praenomen* in his filiation; but when a woman is the *adoptans* (as here), there is a mechanical problem in that a woman has no *praenomen*. Mommsen tried to cut through both these difficulties by postulating that the adoptee of a woman became legally not the son of the woman herself but the son of the woman's father, and he therefore took the father's *praenomen* in his filiation. Now this is patently impossible. If the woman could make a legal will she must have been *sui iuris*. Thus, on Mommsen's hypothesis a *paterfamilias* could find himself provided with a new son *in potestate* through the action of a woman who was herself no longer in his *potestas* and who in fact had no civil law tie with him at all.

The cases of Dolabella and Tiberius show that “testamentary adoption” even during the Republic had nothing to do with the legal modes of adoption but is solely a conditional *heredis institutio*. There is thus no reason to assume that the rules of nomenclature of Roman adoption will automatically apply in cases of “testamentary adoption.” All that was necessary for the fulfillment of the conditions of the will was that the heir should assume the name of the decedent. It was a matter of indifference whether he also changed his filiation or not. Some, like Metellus Scipio, preferred to do so; others, such as Lucanus and the younger Pliny, preferred to retain their natural filiations. Since “testamentary adoption” was not an autonomous legal institution like *datio in adoptionem* or *adrogatio*, it had no rigid rules of its own and a certain degree of flexibility was to be expected. This freedom of choice of filiation should not cause excessive surprise. One could adduce in comparison the option available, in practice if not in theory, to a newly adopted son of either remaining in his old tribe or of being enrolled in the tribe of his new father.⁵¹ Indeed, some traces of confusion in choice of filiation still survive. Livia, adopted in the will of Augustus, is usually given the filiation Drusi f. even after the death of her husband, but in at least one inscription she is called “Iulia divi Augusti f. Augusta.”⁵² Even more significantly the name of Octavian himself, Mommsen's primary exhibit, was at one time inscribed in the *fasti triumphales* for 40

⁵⁰ G. I. 101.

⁵¹ O. Karlowa, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte* II 245, L. R. Taylor, *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic* (Rome 1960) 280ff. The crucial piece of evidence is Aulus Gellius 5.19.

⁵² For Livia's “adoption” by testament, see Tac. *Ann.* 1.8, Suet. *Aug.* 101.2. The usual filiation is given in *CIL* X 799 = *ILS* 122 (Pompeii), *CIL* VI 882a (Rome), *CIL* IX 4514 (Ager Amertinus), *CIL* X 459 (Buxentum), *CIL* II 2038 (Anticaria). The exception is *CIL* XI 1165 (Veleia).

B.C. and 36 B.C. as "Imp. Caesar divi f. C. f." It was Mommsen himself who was the first to suggest that Octavian is here given both his adoptive and his natural filiation.⁵³

One could perhaps go further and speculate over the motivation for the occasional and voluntary change in filiation. By this act the heir was apparently attempting to assimilate his position as much as possible to that of an adoptive son, i.e., he was trying to give the appearance of being not an *heres extraneus*, as in fact he was, but of being an *heres suus*. Now there is one great advantage that a *suus* has over an *extraneus*: whereas the latter inherits only the estate with its accompanying legal benefits and obligations, the former inherits the decedent's *clientela* as well, an item of no small significance.⁵⁴ That this was a consideration in the case of Octavian is explicitly noted by Appian.⁵⁵ Thus Metellus Scipio may have adopted the stratagem of changing his filiation as an attempt to win from Pius' freedmen and clients an esteem to which he was not legally entitled. It may even be that Octavian's adrogation, far from being the norm as Mommsen would have it, was an innovation and a scandalous distortion of legal forms, devised by Octavian to procure a quasi-legal power over the *clientela* of the *de cuius* and thus remedy the legal defect inherent in a mere change of filiation.⁵⁶

Furthermore, the operation of "testamentary adoption" as the institution of an heir conditional upon a change of name though not of filiation may explain some isolated peculiarities in Republican nomenclature. The son of L. Calpurnius Bestia (tr. pl. 62 B.C.), adopted by a certain L. Sempronius Atratinus, is recorded with the nomenclature $\Lambda[\epsilon]\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\iota\omicron\nu\ \Sigma\epsilon\mu\pi\rho[\acute{\omega}]\nu\iota\omicron\nu\ \beta\eta\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\ \text{'}\text{Α}\tau\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\nu$.⁵⁷ In view of the filiation, which is exactly parallel to Livia's "Drusi f.," might this not be a case of

⁵³ Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.* IV 401. One should also notice that even after his "adoption," Metellus Scipio could count both as a plebeian and as a patrician (cf. R. Syme, *JRS* 53 [1963] 56 n. 14). Although such a self-contradictory phenomenon is inexplicable on any hypothesis, it indicates at the very least that testamentary adoption allowed for ambiguity and did not have the clearly defined consequences of an autonomous legal institution such as *adrogatio*.

⁵⁴ See, above all, the works of M. H. Prévost, *Les Adoptions Politiques à Rome sous la République et le Principat* (Paris 1949) 65ff, and "L'Adoption d'Octave," 372ff. M. Prévost does not, however, subscribe to the views on testamentary adoption expressed in this paper (cf. above, n. 27).

⁵⁵ App. *BC* 3.39of.

⁵⁶ Cf. G. F. F. Chilver, *JRS* 44 (1954) 127. Schulz's pronouncement (*Classical Roman Law* 145) that "anyone who knows Augustus' methods will be satisfied that here as always he scrupulously observed legal rules" will not command credibility among the readers of Syme's *Roman Revolution*.

⁵⁷ *ILS* 9461. Cf. R. G. Austin, *Cicero: Pro Caelio*³ (Oxford 1960) 154f.

"testamentary adoption"?⁵⁸ Similarly, D. Iunius Brutus Albinus, whose coins are marked "Albinus Bruti f."⁵⁹ may be another instance. If Brutus Albinus is a case of "testamentary adoption" his peculiar nomenclature can finally be explained. It is commonly accepted that he is the natural son of D. Iunius Brutus (cos. 77 B.C.) adopted by a Postumius Albinus.⁶⁰ But if a normal mode of adoption was employed, his name should be Postumius Albinus Brutus rather than Iunius Brutus Albinus; the inversion in his name is unique for his period.⁶¹ If, on the other hand, Postumius Albinus did no more than institute Brutus as heir with a *condicio nominis ferendi*, the explanation is ready to hand. Brutus fulfilled the condition of bearing the decedent's name in the minimal fashion: he attached only the decedent's *cognomen* to his name and left his own original nomenclature intact.

All these considerations point to the conclusion that even in Republican times "testamentary adoption" was an institution of an heir with a *condicio nominis ferendi*, and that such an heir could assume the name of the *de cuius* while retaining his natural filiation. We can now return to our point of departure, M. Livius L. f. Drusus Livo, cos. 15 B.C. As has been pointed out above, Mommsen demonstrated on the basis of the nomenclature of the Scribonii Libones who held office in A.D. 16 that this enigmatic figure could not be their father, but his further contention that the consul of 15 B.C. was excluded by his filiation from being the natural son of L. Scribonius Libo, cos. 34 B.C., and the adoptive son of M. Livius Drusus Claudianus can now be corrected. L. Scribonius Libo (cos. 34 B.C.) may have had two sons. One of these is the L. Scribonius Libo who fathered the two Scribonii Libones, consul and praetor in A.D. 16, and whose existence must be postulated for purposes of stemma. The other may have been instituted heir or partial heir with a *condicio*

⁵⁸ The man became consul suffect in 34 B.C. His filiation is attested as L. f. L. n., which could refer either to his natural or to his adoptive line. Münzer assumes that it refers to the adoptive line (*RE* XL 1366 s.v. Sempronius 26), as it would perforce if the adoption was a normal one.

⁵⁹ *RE* Supp. V 369.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, cf. R. Syme, *Sallust* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1964) 134.

⁶¹ D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus* (Cambridge 1965) I 358 suggests possible parallels in Balbus Theophanes and Cn. Lentulus Vatia. But the latter is, as he admits, highly hypothetical (see his article "The Roman Nobility in the Second Civil War," *CQ* n.s. 10 [1960] 258 n. 3) and the former is too confident an inference from the "Balbus Cornelius Theophanes" in the *Historia Augusta's* life of Maximus and Balbinus (7.3) in a passage which betrays other confusions. The *Historia Augusta* cannot be considered a reliable guide even for Imperial nomenclature (see, e.g., *PIR*² C 605), much less for Republican nomenclature.

nominis ferendi by Livia's father M. Livius Drusus Claudianus who died at Philippi in 42 B.C. without leaving any known male issue. The heir complied with the condition by assuming the *tria nomina* of the testator, but, like Pliny, he preferred to retain his natural filiation. He also decided to adopt the fashionable expedient of retaining his former *cognomen* as an *agnomen* like M. Terentius Varro Lucullus and Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio Nasica, thus creating his new name M. Livius L. f. Drusus Libo.

Nothing stands in the way of the hypothesis that M. Livius L. f. Drusus Libo was the natural son of L. Scribonius Libo, cos. 34 B.C. Various and considerable advantages accrue. Firstly, the mysterious filiation of the consul of 15 B.C. is explained in a manner perfectly consistent with the evidence as it now stands. In the standard doctrine first enunciated by Mommsen, since adoption had been ruled out, it had to be assumed that the consul of 15 B.C. was born a M. Livius Drusus, son of an unknown L. Livius Drusus. This should have been immediately suspect, for although the *praenomen* Lucius is attested in other branches of the *gens Livia* such as the Salinatores and Ocellae, it is nowhere to be found among the Livii Drusi. Of the eight known examples, six have the *praenomen* Marcus and two have the *praenomen* Gaius. On the other hand the *praenomen* Lucius is so dominant among the Scribonii Libones that every known male member of the family has it except the praetor of A.D. 16, who was excluded from it only because it had already been preempted by his elder brother.⁶² Thus instead of having to postulate the existence of an unknown and onomastically improbable L. Livius Drusus as father of the consul of 15 B.C., we can now assert that the Lucius referred to in the filiation is the natural father, none other than the comparatively well-attested L. Scribonius Libo, cos. 34 B.C.

Secondly, the "testamentary adoption" of a Scribonius Libo by M. Livius Drusus Claudianus, bears witness to a friendship between two families which is reflected in the historical circumstances as well as in the exigencies of nomenclature. When Claudianus' distant cousin and son-in-law, Ti. Claudius Nero, fled from Octavian after the debacle at Perusia, he went to Sex. Pompeius, the leader of a faction in which L. Scribonius Libo was highly influential.⁶³ In Suetonius' own day, the play-toys that Claudianus' infant grandson received in Sicily

⁶² So common is the name Lucius among the Libones that in some sources (Suet. *Tib.* 25.1, Dio 57.15.4) even the praetor of A.D. 16 is erroneously endowed with it.

⁶³ Suet. *Tib.* 4.2-3; cf. Velleius 2.77.3.

from the sister of Sex. Pompeius were still on public display in Baiae.⁶⁴

Thirdly, it has long been noticed with despair and perplexity that the names of M. Livius Drusus Libo (cos. 15 B.C.) and M. Scribonius Libo Drusus (pr. A.D. 16) reflect the same family connections in inverted order. On the reconstruction being proposed here, the exact connection between the two men and their nomenclatures can receive some much-needed elucidation. Drusus Libo (cos. 15 B.C.) was the paternal uncle of Libo Drusus (pr. A.D. 16) and the latter received his *agnomen*, and possibly his *praenomen* as well, as a tribute to the former. Names commemorating relatives or friends are not unusual and can be either given at birth or assumed during the course of one's mature life. Thus L. Seius Strabo named his younger son L. Seius Tubero in honour of a friendly family, the Aelii Tuberones.⁶⁵ P. Suillius Rufus, who had been a quaestor of Germanicus, named one son Nerullinus in honour of Germanicus' son Nero and the other Caesoninus in honour of Rufus' half sister Caesonia.⁶⁶ On the other hand, P. Clodius Thrasea Paetus, the famous Neronian Republican, may have assumed his *agnomen* after his marriage to commemorate his father-in-law, A. Caecina Paetus, who had been involved in the military rebellion of Camillus Scribonianus.⁶⁷ Similarly, on the death of his brother, M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus annexed his brother's name, Messalinus, to his own nomenclature.⁶⁸ Libo Drusus could have received his *agnomen* either at birth or later. Though certainty is unattainable, it is not improbable that, like Aurelius Cotta, he added this new name when its old bearer, M. Livius Drusus Libo, died.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Suet. *Tib.* 6.3. It may be worth remembering that Sextus' elder brother had been married to a Claudia Pulchra (Cic. *Ad Fam.* 3.4.2); Claudianus had originally been a Claudius Pulcher (Suet. *Tib.* 3.1). These prosopographical speculations, however, cannot and should not be pressed. Claudianus' son-in-law was an officer under Caesar in the civil wars (Suet. *Tib.* 4.1) and it has been very tentatively suggested that Claudianus himself supported Caesar (D. R. Shackleton Bailey, "The Roman Nobility in the Second Civil War," *CQ* n.s. 10 [1960] 262 n. 2).

⁶⁵ Cf. Syme, *RR* table VI. Although this idea is now not in favour (see G. V. Sumner, "The Family Connections of L. Aelius Seianus," *Phoenix* 19 [1965] 134ff), it may still be tenable; but this is not the place to discuss this complex question.

⁶⁶ See the comments of Nipperdey and of Furneaux on Tac. *Ann.* 11.36.5 and 12.25.1.

⁶⁷ *PIR*² C 103. Cf. Syme, "The Historian Servilius Nonianus," *Hermes* 92 (1964) 416.

⁶⁸ *PIR*² A 1488; Velleius 2.112.2.

⁶⁹ Mommsen's instinctive suggestion of a testamentary adoption by Drusus Libo may be correct (*Eph. Ep.* 1 [1872] 146). In this case the nomenclature would be exactly parallel to that of Brutus Albinus (above, p. 261).

The proposal of Cn. Lentulus after the fall of M. Scribonius Libo Drusus, "ne quis Scribonius cognomentum Drusi adsumeret,"⁷⁰ implies that the offender had incorporated the item Drusus into his nomenclature through his own volition rather than that he possessed it from birth on the decision of his father.

It can therefore be established with a fair degree of confidence that M. Livius Drusus Libo (cos. 15 B.C.) was the son of L. Scribonius Libo (cos. 34 B.C.) and the paternal uncle of the Scribonii Libones who spectacularly occupied public attention in A.D. 16. Is there anything further which is known or can be surmised? Attention must turn to the leader of the abortive rebellion against Claudius, L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus. It is now commonly accepted that this personage was the natural son of M. Furius Camillus (cos. A.D. 8), adopted by L. Arruntius (cos. A.D. 6) the famous *capax imperii*.⁷¹ This being so, it is apparent that the *agnomen* Scribonianus was not attached to his nomenclature because he had formerly been a Scribonius; it must be a metronymic. That is to say, either Scribonianus' natural father M. Furius Camillus or his adoptive father L. Arruntius had married a Scribonia. Of these alternatives the latter is by far the less satisfactory: it would involve the peculiar hypothesis that the son of Furius Camillus, on being adopted by L. Arruntius, took the name not only of his new father but of his new mother as well — a procedure for which there is no known parallel. Moreover, as will be seen below, the honour of being the wife of L. Arruntius probably belongs to a different lady. A more plausible supposition would be that the onomastic item Scribonianus derives from his natural mother, the wife of M. Furius Camillus. The element Scribonianus must therefore have been present in his name before he passed into the house of the Arruntii. Furthermore, since he had a natural brother called M. Furius Camillus like his father,⁷² his own *praenomen* was probably Lucius, the other *praenomen* current among the great Furii Camilli of the Republic. The original nomenclature of the Claudian rebel thus emerges as L. Furius Camillus Scribonianus.

The children of M. Furius Camillus (cos. A.D. 8) provide important clues which have not been fully exploited by previous investigators. His elder son, known only as a member of the *collegium fratrum Arvalium* under Gaius or Claudius to which he had been co-opted *in locum patris*, bore the same name as his father.⁷³ The younger son bore the *agnomen*

⁷⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 2.32.2.

⁷¹ *PIR*² A 1140, Syme, *Tacitus* 382.

⁷² *PIR*² F 577.

⁷³ *PIR*² F 577, cf. 574. The date of the son's co-option cannot be fixed, since it

Scribonianus. There is also attested a third child, a daughter, who flits across the stage of history for one brief and pathetic episode. She was betrothed to the future emperor Claudius, but died on the day scheduled for the wedding. She is identified by Suetonius as "Liviam Medullinam, cui et cognomen Camillae erat, e genere antiquo dictatoris Camilli."⁷⁴ The notice is crucial: M. Furius Camillus (cos. A.D. 8) had a daughter called Livia as well as a son called Scribonianus. This indicates that the mother of these children and the wife of the elder M. Furius Camillus bore in some combination and under some guise the names Livia and Scribonia; let us call her, for simplicity's sake, Livia Scriboniana.⁷⁵ In the present state of the evidence, there is only one woman who could have borne two such names: the daughter of M. Livius Drusus Libo. This lady is nowhere attested, but her existence can reasonably, indeed almost certainly, be postulated from the names of the children of M. Furius Camillus. The two names Scribonianus and Livia commemorate the family of his wife, the daughter of a Scribonius who had by testament become a Livius and who retained in his *agnomen* Libo a reminder of his original name and the family to which he technically still belonged.

One conspicuous gap remains in the elucidation of this nexus of families and relationships: who was the wife of L. Arruntius, the great figure who bulks so large in the *Annals* of Tacitus? Again, this lady has

is impossible to tell whether the M. Furius Camillus in the *acta fratrum Arvalium* for 38 (*CIL* VI 2028) is the father or the homonymous son and therefore whether the fragment recording the co-optation (*CIL* VI 2031) follows or precedes 38. Unfortunately only the name Germanicus survives from the nomenclature of the co-opting emperor. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* (Berlin 1874) LII dated *CIL* VI 2031 to the year 43 on the misconception that the first M. Furius Camillus mentioned in the *acta Arvalium* was identical with Scribonianus, the rebel of 42 — excusably, since *ILS* 5950 giving the rebel's *praenomen* as Lucius had not yet been discovered. Groag (*PIR*² 574) following Mommsen (*Ges. Schr.* IV 466 n.) decided that *CIL* VI 2031 must precede the *acta* of 38, but this is completely arbitrary. This early date is followed by M. W. H. Lewis, *The Official Priests of Rome under the Julio-Claudians* (Rome 1955) 125, on the grounds that Claudius would not honour the Furii after the revolt of 42. But caution against *a priori* assumptions of this sort is in order in view of Claudius' attempts to conciliate the opposition even after the revolt. For instance, Q. Pomponius supported Scribonianus (*Tac. Ann.* 13.43), but his brother Pomponius Secundus is subsequently found in command of armies (*Tac. Ann.* 12.27f). Scribonianus' own son was an augur and *praefectus urbi feriarum Latinarum* (*ILS* 976; cf. *PIR*² A 1147).

⁷⁴ Suet. *Claud.* 26.1. Cf. *ILS* 199.

⁷⁵ Scribonia Drusilla and other possibilities also suggest themselves; the exact form does not matter.

no explicit attestation in the ancient sources and her identity must be postulated on the basis of other evidence. The prime exhibit is an inscription, now fragmentary, recording the *cursus* of a L. [A]rruntius Scribon[ianus] L. f., apparently the son of the rebel Scribonianus and the grandson of L. Arruntius (cos. A.D. 6).⁷⁶ This person stood in direct descent to Pompeius Magnus, either as *abnepos* or *adnepos*. One might at first sight be tempted to elucidate the Pompeian connection by exploiting the Scribonianus part of the name and postulating some direct connection with Scribonii Libones, consul and praetor in A.D. 16 who were certainly descended from Pompeius.⁷⁷ This seductive procedure, however, cannot yield results. For we have seen that the Scribonianus element in the nomenclature of the Claudian rebel is ultimately derived from M. Livius Drusus Libo, whereas the Scribonii trace their Pompeian descent from the marriage of Drusus Libo's brother with the granddaughter of Pompeius Magnus. Thus the Scribonianus element provides no clue for direct descent from Pompeius.

The standard approach to the problem has been to postulate a marriage between L. Arruntius, *capax imperii*, and a descendant of Pompeius. His wife is assumed to be an unattested Cornelia, the granddaughter of Pompeia and Faustus Cornelius Sulla, the children respectively of Pompeius Magnus and Sulla the dictator.⁷⁸ The factors leading to this hypothesis can be briefly indicated:

- i) Marriage between Arruntius and a descendant of Pompeius is historically plausible; the father of the *capax imperii* L. Arruntius (cos. 22 B.C.) had been a follower of Sex. Pompeius.⁷⁹
- ii) The inscription *ILS* 976, mentioned above, reveals that Arruntius' grandson was the *abnepos* or *adnepos* of Pompeius Magnus.
- iii) Arruntius is numbered by Tacitus among the *propinqui* of L.

⁷⁶ *ILS* 976; cf. *PIR*² A 1147.

⁷⁷ So Syme, *JRS* 50 (1960) 18: "The *cognomen* 'Scribonianus' indicates descent from Pompeius Magnus." Cf. also *JRS* 45 (1955) 23 n. 7, *Tacitus* 382, *RR* 425.

⁷⁸ *PIR*² A 1130; cf. the stemma in *PIR*² C, facing p. 362, followed by Syme, *RR* table V. The Pompeian connection with the Arruntii cannot result from the marriage of the Claudian rebel, since his wife was apparently a Vibia (*Tac. Ann.* 12.52; the reading is uncertain but sufficient to disqualify her from being a descendant of Pompeius. If Vibia is correct, she is possibly a daughter of C. Vibius Marsus, cos. A.D. 17, later a joint defendant with L. Arruntius on a *maiestas* charge [*Tac. Ann.* 6.47-48]). For the marriage of Pompeia and Faustus Sulla, see *Bell. Afr.* 95.2, *Tac. Ann.* 3.22.1.

⁷⁹ Velleius 2.77.3.

Sulla (cos. A.D. 33).⁸⁰ The common hypothesis thus makes Arruntius an uncle of L. Sulla.

- iv) An inscription implies the existence of a Faustus Arruntius, probably the son of the *capax imperii*. The *praenomen* "Faustus" is the hallmark of the descendants of L. Cornelius Sulla Felix (cos. 88 B.C.).⁸¹

The effect of this evidence is to show beyond doubt that there was a connection between the Arruntii and the descendants of the Republican dynasts Pompeius and Sulla. Certainly at least one unattested lady with resplendent connections must be postulated. But must she be the Cornelia who now holds the field? In the traditional reconstruction, meagre but significant evidence has been overlooked. Josephus notices that at the time of his assassination Gaius was in the company of a certain Paullus Arruntius,⁸² who is probably a son of the *capax imperii*. The *praenomen* *Paullus* patently proclaims a connection with the Aemilii. In other words, the sons of the *capax imperii* numbered among their ancestors not only Pompeius and Cornelius Sulla, but also the Aemilii Lepidi. One could also adduce, though more hesitantly, the inscription *CIL* VI 1334 which records the death in infancy of an Aemilia Cornelia C. f. Scribonia Maxima c. p.; admittedly this inscription must date from a much later period in Roman history, but the conjunction of these three magnificent names is tantalizingly suggestive.

Aemilii, Corneli, and Pompeii — this grouping among the forebears of Arruntius Scribonianus is not fortuitous. The early Principate knew of other figures who could claim ancestors in all three families. In A.D. 20 a spectacular feud erupted, replete with ugly overtones of class consciousness and social snobbery. The capable and cautious *novus homo* from Lanuvium, P. Sulpicius Quirinius, accused his wife of sundry nefarious crimes. She was an Aemilia Lepida, the sister of M'. Lepidus (cos. A.D. 11). Not only could she point to Pompeius and Sulla as *proavi*,

⁸⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 3.31.5.

⁸¹ *CIL* VI 5942, attesting an Arruntia Musa Fausti l. Cf. *PIR*² A 1128, 1130. For Sulla's revival of the *praenomen* "Faustus" see J. P. V. D. Balsdon, "Sulla Felix," *JRS* 41 (1951) 1f, and R. Syme, "Imperator Caesar: A Study in Nomenclature," *Historia* 7 (1958) 173.

⁸² Jos. *AJ* 19.102. Cf. *PIR*² A 1135 where, however, Groag's dubitations are to be disregarded. The Greek is corrupt and the name must be restored from Cassiodorus' Latin version, but this in no way invalidates the passage as evidence; cf. G. C. Richards and R. J. H. Shutt, "Critical Notes on Josephus' Antiquities," *CQ* 31 (1937), 170ff, drawing attention to the usefulness of the Latin version in restoring proper names.

but as the proceedings reached a climax, she made a desperate appeal to public sentiment based on a pointed contrast between her ancestry and the *obscurissima domus* of her tormentor. The stemma is fairly clear: Pompeia, the daughter of Magnus, had married the dictator's son Faustus Cornelius Sulla, and their daughter (otherwise unattested) in turn had married Q. Aemilius, the son of the triumvir and the father of M'. Lepidus (cos. A.D. 11) and of his sister.⁸³

To return to L. Arruntius (cos. A.D. 6). His children, on the basis of their names Faustus and Paullus and on the basis of *ILS* 976, must be able to claim Pompeius, Sulla, and an Aemilius Lepidus among their ancestors. This means that the Cornelia who is commonly postulated as his wife will not do, because she cannot account for the Aemilian connection. It would be much more satisfactory to dispense with her and to postulate instead a second sister of M'. Lepidus (cos. A.D. 11) as the wife of the *capax imperii*. All the evidence can be accounted for on this hypothesis, as the blood of all three of the required families runs in her veins. This would still allow Tacitus to call Arruntius a *propinquus* of L. Sulla⁸⁴ by virtue of his marriage to Sulla's first cousin once removed. Tacitean usage easily allows the word *propinquus* to denote a distant cousin of one's spouse. Tacitus calls Sulpicius Quirinius, for instance, a *propinquus* of Libo Drusus, although the only known connection between the two men (and probably the only one that existed in view of Quirinius' *novitas*) was that Quirinius was unhappily married to Aemilia Lepida, Libo's second cousin.⁸⁵

It might be objected that the silence of Tacitus militates against such a close and obvious connection between L. Arruntius (cos. A.D. 6) and the Aemilii Lepidi. But such inconvenient silences in Tacitus are actually quite common, and can be ascribed to a variety of reasons: deliberate suppression, ignorance, a standard of relevancy, or the vicissitudes of the text. One would like to know, for instance, whether the Othonian general Flavius Sabinus (cos. II A.D. 72) mentioned in the *Histories* was related to Vespasian's brother of the same name,⁸⁶ or

⁸³ The incident of A.D. 20 is given in Tac. *Ann.* 3.22–23. Quirinius' obituary is in Tac. *Ann.* 3.48. The marriage of Pompeia and Faustus Sulla is independently attested in *Bell. Afr.* 95.2. For the stemma, see *PIR*³ C facing p. 362, *RR* tables IV and V. The Augustan Aemilii Lepidi are brilliantly elucidated by Syme, "Marcus Lepidus: *Capax Imperii*," *JRS* 45 (1955) 22ff, cf. *Tacitus* 751f.

⁸⁴ Above, n. 80.

⁸⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 2.30.4 and Furneaux *ad loc.* Cf. above, n. 83.

⁸⁶ *PIR*² F 354. Cf. G. Townend, "Some Flavian Connections," *JRS* 51 (1961) 54ff, suggesting a father-son relationship which Tacitus mentioned in a part of the *Histories* no longer extant.

whether the apparently cold-blooded murder of Calpurnius Galerianus by Mucianus was due to any connection on the victim's part with Vitellius' wife Galeria,⁸⁷ or how Sex. Pompeius (cos. A.D. 14) was related to Augustus,⁸⁸ or Seius Tubero (cos. A.D. 19) to Seianus.⁸⁹ Arruntius' *adfinēs* command attention at two points in Tacitus' narrative as it now stands: the trial of Aemilia Lepida and the attack in the Senate of Sex. Pompeius upon M'. Lepidus.⁹⁰ Tacitus' failure to bring Arruntius into the picture at these points is probably due to a lack of active involvement by Arruntius in either of these episodes and the consequent absence of a *sententia* by Arruntius in the *acta senatus*. In the first case Arruntius may have kept neutral out of respect for the *potentia* of Sulpicius Quirinius, and in the second conspicuous interference by Arruntius was unnecessary as the overwhelming majority of senators defended the prerogatives of the inert but inoffensive Lepidus. It should also be kept in mind that Tacitus may have mentioned the Aemilian *adfinitas* in one of the lost books, either at Arruntius' trial in A.D. 31⁹¹ (the contrast between the splendidly aristocratic Arruntius with his many connections and the humble accusers Aruseius and Sangunnius would have been a congenial theme), or while giving the lineage of Scribonianus in the account of the rebellion of 42.⁹²

Accordingly, there is no reason to deny that Arruntius married an Aemilia, and all the evidence can thus be accounted for with plausibility and economy. One unfortunate complication, however, must be

⁸⁷ The murder is told in Tac. *Hist.* 4.11, cf. 4.49; for Galeria Fundana, see *PIR*² G 33. Calpurnius may have been Vitellius' nephew. If so, it would require postulating a third wife, Galeria, for Galerianus' father, the Neronian conspirator C. Piso, between his two known wives Livia Orestilla and Atria Galla. The nomenclature of the son will not fit either of these known wives.

⁸⁸ The connection of Sex. Pompeius (cos. A.D. 14) is mentioned in Dio 56.29.5 and Seneca *De Tranq. Animi* 11.10. Marriage to an otherwise unattested Marcia has been proposed, but this is pure conjecture (cf. Syme, "Personal Names in Annals I-IV," *JRS* 39 [1949] 9). One should also notice the curious and apparently erroneous remark of Tacitus (*Ann.* 3.72) that in A.D. 22 there were no wealthy Pompeii alive. Sex. Pompeius was fabulously wealthy; cf. Ovid *Ex Ponto* 4.5.23ff, 4.15.5, Sen., *loc. cit.* Presumably the connection was made explicit in the missing account of his death by starvation at Gaius' hands. For a contrary opinion, see Syme, "Obituaries in Tacitus," *AJP* 79 (1958) 21 n. 14.

⁸⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 4.29.1 is content to call Seius Tubero one of the "primores civitatis, intimi ipsius (Caesaris) amici" without further specification. For the latest attempt to explain the connection with Seianus, see G. V. Sumner (above, n. 65) 141ff.

⁹⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 3.23-24, 3.32.2.

⁹¹ Dio 58.8.3, the accusers are named in Tac. *Ann.* 6.7.

⁹² Cf. Syme, *JRS* 45 (1955) 23.

confronted: since the wife of the elder L. Arruntius (cos. 22 B.C.) is unknown, there is no absolute need to assume that all three of the requisite connections (Pompeian, Sullan, and Aemilian) were acquired at one stroke by the marriage of his son, the *capax imperii*. It is conceivable that some connection or connections were acquired by the father and the remainder by the son. Theoretically, there are eight (and only eight) possibilities:

- A. The wife of the younger Arruntius had Pompeian, Sullan, and Aemilian descent, whereas the wife of the elder Arruntius had none of these.
- B. The wife of the elder Arruntius had Pompeian, Sullan, and Aemilian descent, whereas the wife of the younger Arruntius had none of these.
- C. The wife of the elder Arruntius had Pompeian descent, whereas the wife of the younger Arruntius had Sullan and Aemilian descent.
- D. The wife of the elder Arruntius had Sullan descent, whereas the wife of the younger Arruntius had Pompeian and Aemilian descent.
- E. The wife of the elder Arruntius had Aemilian descent, whereas the wife of the younger Arruntius had Pompeian and Sullan descent.
- F. The wife of the elder Arruntius had Pompeian and Sullan descent, whereas the wife of the younger Arruntius had Aemilian descent.
- G. The wife of the elder Arruntius had Sullan and Aemilian descent, whereas the wife of the younger Arruntius had Pompeian descent.
- H. The wife of the elder Arruntius had Pompeian and Aemilian descent, whereas the wife of the younger Arruntius had Sullan descent.

It will be noticed that A is the hypothesis which has already been considered. B, G, and H can be eliminated forthwith as chronologically impossible, since each of these requires that the mother of the younger Arruntius (cos. A.D. 6) be a sister of M'. Lepidus (cos. A.D. 11). C and D are superfluous since they postulate for the younger Arruntius the same wife as does A, i.e. a sister of M'. Lepidus; the only difference between

them and A is that they also provide wives for the elder Arruntius — an unnecessary procedure since the marriage they postulate for the younger Arruntius already accounts for all the evidence. E is in fact a variation of the now current opinion involving the marriage of the younger Arruntius to an unattested Cornelia; but since this in itself does not account for the Aemilian connection, the further hypothesis is made that the elder Arruntius married an unattested Aemilia, presumably the sister of either Paullus Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 34 B.C., cens. 22 B.C.) or Q. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 21 B.C.). This possibility cannot be disproved, but it is clearly less satisfactory than A in that it postulates the existence of two unattested ladies of well-known families, whereas A requires the creation of only one unattested person. Only F remains, involving a marriage between the younger Arruntius and an Aemilia who is not necessarily descended from Pompeius or Sulla. This scheme has one decided advantage over all the others: there is such an Aemilia attested and available, the daughter of Paullus Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 34 B.C.) who was perhaps born in 22 B.C., the year of her father's censorship.⁹³ The wife of the elder Arruntius, however, poses compensating difficulties. She would have to be an unattested daughter of Pompeia and Faustus Cornelius Sulla. This is extremely awkward. Faustus Cornelius Sulla, on his death after the battle of Thapsus, is known to have left behind only two small children.⁹⁴ Although there is no specific record of their activities, one must have been a son to allow for the continuation of the male line of the Corneliae in subsequent generations, and the other (as we have seen) must have been the daughter who later married Q. Lepidus and bore him M'. Lepidus (cos. A.D. 11) and his sister. There is thus no room to postulate a third child as a wife for the elder Arruntius. It is of course theoretically possible that Sulla's daughter married twice. But to postulate a second unattested marriage for a lady who is herself not specifically attested is a desperate procedure. Nor is it at all probable in this particular case, since M'. Lepidus (cos. A.D. 11) and L. Arruntius (cos. A.D. 6) were, to judge from their consular dates, almost exact co-evals and therefore not the children of the same woman by two different marriages.⁹⁵ It is far preferable to return to hypothesis A and postulate a marriage between the younger Arruntius and an unattested sister of M'. Lepidus. This inevitably involves abandoning any hope of ascertaining

⁹³ Prop. 5.11.67. I owe this reference to Mr. J. H. Corbett.

⁹⁴ App. BC 2.416.

⁹⁵ The career of the sluggish M'. Lepidus must have proceeded several years more slowly than that of the favoured *capax imperii*; M'. Lepidus' father had missed the consulship, and his grandfather was the former triumvir, who survived until 12 B.C., despised and mistreated by Augustus (Dio 54.15).

the identity of the elder Arruntius' wife, but this should not arouse too much disquiet. As a *novus homo* he may have married some obscure person who would have no reason to be noted in surviving historical evidence.

The elucidation of the connections of M. Livius Drusus Libo (cos. 15 B.C.) affects a significant cross section of the Roman ruling class. Eventually Scribonii, Pompeii, Furii Camilli, Arruntii, Aemilii, Cornelii Sullae, and the imperial family itself are all brought within the ambit of the ever-expanding vortex. As the central link in this imposing nexus of *magna nomina* stands M. Furius Camillus (cos. A.D. 8). This will not fail to surprise the readers of the *Annals* of Cornelius Tacitus. That historian records his victory over Tacfarinas in Africa and subsequent *triumphalia* with curious comments: he was the first man in his family to win military glory in many centuries, although war was not his *forte*; rather he was unambitious and unassuming, protected by his *modestia vitae* from the murderous jealousy of the suspicious tyrant.⁹⁶ These comments are not borne out by the plain record of events. The credentials of Furius Camillus are on all accounts impressive: consul, proconsul of Africa, *triumphator* after an energetic campaign against a wily foe, and *frater Arvalis* at a time when that priestly college was still a haven of *primores civitatis*;⁹⁷ he numbered among his family a wife connected with the Pompeii and the Scribonii bearing the nomenclature of the Livii Drusi, a daughter betrothed to the young prince Claudius,⁹⁸ and a son deemed worthy of adoption by one of the great figures of the time and destined to die in an attempt to seize imperial power in his own

⁹⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 2.52.

⁹⁷ So great was the prestige of M. Furius Camillus that on his death the priesthood passed to his homonymous son (cf. above, n. 72). Other Tiberian members of the college include Cn. Lentulus Augur (cos. 14 B.C.), L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos. 16 B.C.), L. Piso Pontifex (cos. 15 B.C.), Paullus Fabius Persicus (cos. A.D. 34), Cn. Calpurnius Piso (cos. 7 B.C.), M. Valerius Messalinus (probably cos. 3 B.C.), Taurus Statilius Corvinus (cos. A.D. 45), C. Appius Iunius Silanus (cos. A.D. 28), M. Silanus (cos. A.D. 15). See Lewis, *Official Priests* 121ff.

⁹⁸ It would be interesting to know the circumstances under which the betrothal took place. Claudius had previously been betrothed to Aemilia Lepida the great-granddaughter of Augustus but the betrothal was broken as a result of the scandal which ruined her parents (Suet. *Claud.* 26.1). The standard date for this scandal is A.D. 8 (Tac. *Ann.* 4.72.7), though a case can be made for an earlier dating (see Syme, *RR* 432 n. 4). M. Furius Camillus was consul in A.D. 8, the year of the younger Julia's exile. Was he successful enough an opportunist to win the betrothal for his sickly daughter immediately after the scandal when, due to his consulship, his own prestige had reached a zenith? Was the betrothal a reward to Camillus for using his consular powers to suppress or detect a conspiracy (or to stage a frame-up, as the case may be)?

right. Tacitus' evaluation is misleadingly inappropriate and deficient. Not *modestia vitae*, but the pursuit of power in the classic Roman mould: *honores* and the quest for connections through adoption and marriage in an attempt to recapture — or to exploit — the glories of an ancient and decayed patrician house.⁹⁹

One should also notice the legal context in which the adoption of Scribonianus took place. The adoptive father L. Arruntius already had two sons besides the new acquisition to the family. Thus the adoption was blatantly political and was not engineered with the reason or excuse that the family and its cult had to be saved from extinction. Investigation by the *pontifices* into the necessity for an adoption applied only in cases of *adrogatio*, where the passage of a person who was *sui iuris* into the *patria potestas* of someone else automatically meant the elimination of the adoptee's family and its attendant cult. In cases of *datio in adoptionem* there was no such enquiry, and greater freedom was allowed.¹⁰⁰ The adoption of Scribonianus was probably such a case of *datio in adoptionem*, since he already bore the name Arruntius in A.D. 32 as consul whereas neither his natural nor his adoptive father died until later in the decade.¹⁰¹ In any case the line of the Furii was continued by the other son, M. Furius Camillus.

The adoption was advantageous for all concerned. L. Arruntius secured another son who was ambitious and perhaps even capable. Himself the embodiment of Pompeian pretensions to the purple,¹⁰² he fashioned a link with the Scribonii, another prominent Pompeian family, as well as with the patrician Furii Camilli and, more tenuously, with the Julio-Claudians themselves. M. Furius Camillus, on the other hand, by giving his son in adoption to the *capax imperii* transformed him into the heir to the glories of the Pompeii, the Cornelii Sullae, and the Aemilii.

Another more mundane consideration may also have supervened upon the calculations. Public life under the early Principate was, as Tacitus avers, an expensive proposition.¹⁰³ The Arruntii, "ditium

⁹⁹ That M. Furius Camillus should be, as Suetonius implies (*Claud.* 26.1), "e genere antiquo dictatoris Camilli" (cf. *Tac. Ann.* 2.52.4f) seems incredible after all those years. Suspicion of genealogical fraud is in order. Cf. Syme, *RR* 377.

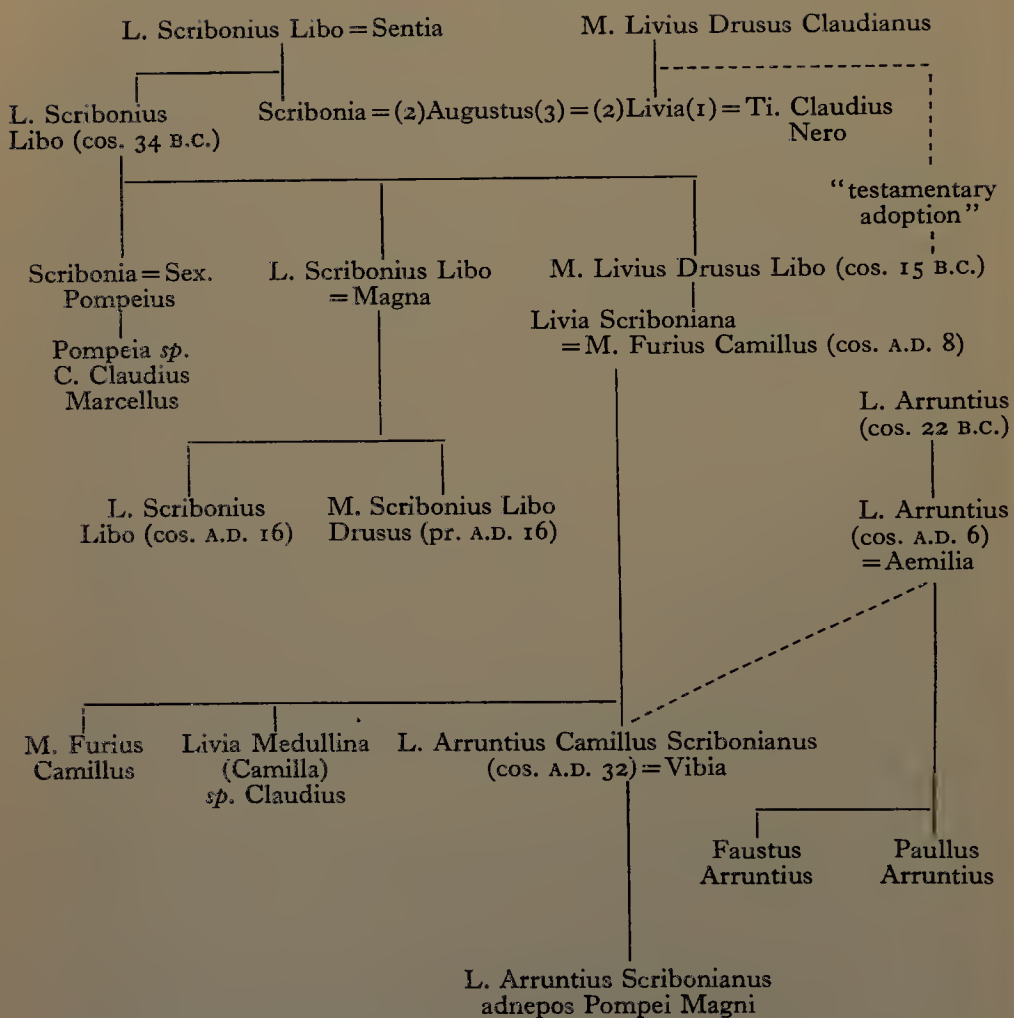
¹⁰⁰ Buckland (above, n. 27) 123-127, Schulz (above, n. 27) 146-148.

¹⁰¹ Evidence of Scribonianus' nomenclature in A.D. 32 is collected in *PIR*² A 1140. The adoptive father died in 37 (*Tac. Ann.* 6.47-48), the natural father shortly after (above, n. 73).

¹⁰² Cf. Syme, *Tacitus* 382.

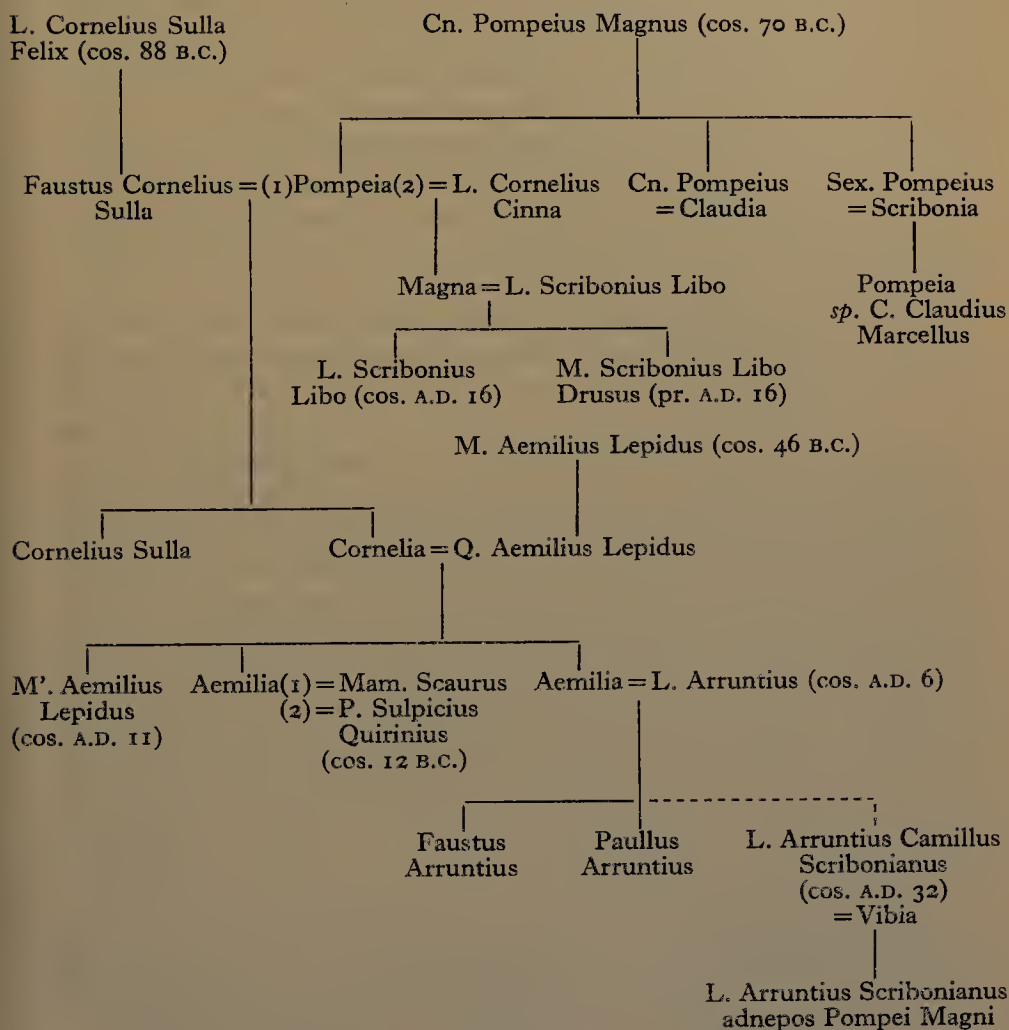
¹⁰³ *Tac. Ann.* 3.55.2: "nam etiam tum plebem socios regna colere et colitum; ut quisque opibus, domo, paratu speciosus, per nomen et clientelas inlustrior habebatur." Public life was a financial burden even in Tacitus' own

SUGGESTED STEMMA—I



(Dotted lines signify adoption; the abbreviation *sp.* means "betrothed to.")

SUGGESTED STEMMA—II



(Dotted lines signify adoption; the abbreviation *sp.* means "betrothed to.")

familiarum heredes" could bear the strain.¹⁰⁴ Older and more distinguished families, however, had by now become financially exhausted. The paradigmatic case elaborated by Tacitus is the plight of the Hortensii Hortali.¹⁰⁵ M. Furius Camillus may also have been financially insecure and unable to support the expense of a political career for both his sons. A similar motive may have influenced M'. Lepidus to marry off one of his sisters to the *capax imperii*. The Aemilii Lepidi had fallen on bad times. M'. Lepidus was the victim of "paternae angustiae"¹⁰⁶ and even the more prominent branch centering around M. Lepidus (cos. A.D. 6) benefited from a disguised imperial subsidy to relieve financial strain.¹⁰⁷ With two sisters whom he would otherwise have to support, M'. Lepidus took care to exploit his name and ancestry to secure prosperous *adfines*. One sister went to L. Arruntius, the other in unhappy succession to Mam. Scaurus and P. Sulpicius Quirinius, the latter a sinister symbol of opulent *orbitas*.¹⁰⁸

In the last days of Tiberius, L. Arruntius decided to commit suicide when charged with *maiestas*. His friends tried to dissuade him with the plea that the *princeps* would soon die and the danger would pass. Arruntius persisted, declaring (so Tacitus would have us believe) that things had been bad under Tiberius and would grow worse under Gaius.¹⁰⁹ It is a curious statement for Arruntius of all people to have made, for his personal position under the second *princeps*, like that of his political ally M. Furius Camillus (cos. A.D. 8), had been unassailably felicitous. He had seen Tiberius quash an indictment against him which had been engineered by his archenemy Seianus and then destroy Seianus himself.¹¹⁰ His own career was crowned with a remarkable tenure of at least ten years as governor of Hispania Citerior in which he enjoyed the substance of gubernatorial power without ever having to sacrifice the gaudy conveniences of Rome for the harsh tedium of his province.¹¹¹

time; see now A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary* (Oxford 1966) 120.

¹⁰⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 11.7.2, cf. 1.13.1.

¹⁰⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 2.37-38.

¹⁰⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 3.32.2.

¹⁰⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 2.48.1, cf. 3.72 "pecuniae modicus."

¹⁰⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 2.22-23, 48.

¹⁰⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 6.47-48.

¹¹⁰ Dio 58.8ff; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 6.48.1.

¹¹¹ Tac. *Ann.* 1.80.3, 6.27.3, *Hist.* 2.65.2; Suet. *Tib.* 63.2; Dio 58.8.3. Too much ingenuity has been expended in trying to find arcane reasons for the retention of Arruntius in Rome. For a summary, see D. M. Pippidi, *Autour de Tibère* (Bucuresti 1944) 114ff. Tacitus' opinion, "ob metum" (*Hist.* 2.65.2), does not explain why Tiberius appointed Arruntius in the first place (it will be

Even the present accusation was suspected to be the work of Arruntius' *inimicus* the praetorian prefect Macro rather than the moribund Tiberius¹¹²— and Macro was not destined to last long under Gaius.¹¹³ Indeed contrary to what Tacitus' Arruntius would lead us to expect, Gaius dispensed honours to the family with an open hand, only to be requited with murderous conspiracy.¹¹⁴ The younger M. Furius Camillus, despite the lack of any indication of personal capacity, may have succeeded to his father's position on the *collegium fratrum Arvalium* during these years.¹¹⁵ Paullus Arruntius is found in the emperor's intimate company moments before the assassination.¹¹⁶ And the senior member of the family, L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus, was entrusted by Gaius with the legions of Dalmatia.¹¹⁷

Scribonianus' abortive proclamation against Claudius in 42 was the culmination of generations of dynastic manoeuvres within the Roman aristocracy. A great nexus of families had been constructed, combining and recalling through the Furii Camilli, the Pompeii, the Cornelii Sullae, and the Aemilii Lepidi the glorious and often ominous achievements in times long since gone. But the pioneer architects of power were

remembered that three legions were stationed in Spain; Tac. *Ann.* 4.5.1) or why he made the parallel appointment of the trusted L. Aelius Lamia as legate of Syria (Tac. *Ann.* 6.27.1). Cf. Syme, *Tacitus* 442f. For criticism of Pippidi's own theory, see J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *JRS* 36 (1946) 172f. The appointment of the senior statesmen Arruntius and Lamia to legateships *in absentia* was a signal privilege since they could hold propraetorian *imperium* without the usual discomforts of provincial living and the tedious gubernatorial routine. For the less glamorous aspects of governing provinces, see now A. J. Marshall, "Governors on the Move," *Phoenix* 20 (1966) 231ff. Tiberius complained of the reluctance of consulars to take up the government of provinces (Tac. *Ann.* 6.27.2). Gallienus' action in finally excluding senators from military commands was partly connected with the difficulty of finding senators willing to assume them. Cf. E. Birley, "Senators in the Emperors' Service," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 39 (1953) 207f.

¹¹² Tac. *Ann.* 6.47.3.

¹¹³ *RE* XVI 1568; the exact date of Macro's death is unknown, though it was presumably late in 37 or early in 38. Philo (*Legatio* 32, 62) places it between the deaths of Gemellus and Silanus, whereas Dio (59.8) has Gemellus and Silanus die in 37 and mentions Macro's death under 38 (59.10.6). Gemellus and Silanus were dead by May 24th, 38 (*CIL* VI 2028c).

¹¹⁴ Note the role of Arruntius Euaristus, a client of the family (Jos. *AJ* 19.145). He is probably referred to again in Jos. *AJ* 19.148 (see L. Feldman's Loeb text and comment *ad loc.*).

¹¹⁵ Above, n. 73.

¹¹⁶ Jos. *AJ* 19.102.

¹¹⁷ *PIR*² A 1140; *ILS* 5950. He succeeded L. Volusius Saturninus (cos. A.D. 3) who is attested in Dalmatia under Gaius (*PIR*¹ V 661).

two men, L. Scribonius Libo (cos. 34 B.C.) and L. Arruntius (cos. 22 B.C.), who exploited the chaos of the dying Republic to become the first consuls in their families and to oversee, in their separate ways, the first stages in the evolution of imperial aspirations. And linking their efforts like a golden thread are the connections and descendants of M. Livius Drusus Libo.¹¹⁸

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¹¹⁸ I should like to thank Professors G. W. Bowersock and H. Bloch for examining an embryonic draft of this paper, Professors D. Daube and C. Fried for reading an earlier statement on testamentary adoption, and Professor G. V. Sumner for discussing some of the prosopographical points with me. Of course none of these scholars must be assumed to be in any way responsible for the remaining defects.

JULIUS NASO AND JULIUS SECUNDUS

C. P. JONES

ABOUT the year 107 Pliny wrote to his friend C. Minicius Fundanus to recommend a protégé called Julius Naso who was seeking election as quaestor.¹ To prepossess Fundanus, a man of considerable culture, in Naso's favour Pliny supplies details about the youth's late father.² "Est mihi cum illo non sane paterna amicitia, neque enim esse potuit per meam aetatem; solebat tamen uixdum adulescentulo mihi pater eius cum magna laude monstrari. Erat non studiorum tantum uerum etiam studiosorum amantissimus, ac prope cotidie ad audiendos, quos tunc ego frequentabam, Quintilianum Niceten Sacerdotem uentitabat, uir alioqui clarus et grauis et qui prodesse filio memoria sui debeat. Sed multi nunc in senatu quibus ignotus ille, multi quibus notus, sed non nisi uiuentes reuerentur. Quo magis huic, omissa gloria patris in qua magnum ornamentum gratia infirma, ipsi enitendum ipsi elaborandum est."³

Naso's father was clearly a person of importance. Pliny omits his name from the published version of his letter, as often, to avoid cluttering it with unliterary details. Even now, indeed, the name might not matter — except that Pliny's description enables the man to be identified with a prominent figure of the previous generation. That in turn has consequences for the history and literature of that generation, and Pliny's own.

Some things can be affirmed immediately. Naso's father was a senator ("uir clarus et grauis," "multi nunc in senatu quibus ignotus

My thanks are due to Professors G. W. Bowersock of Harvard University and G. V. Sumner of University College, Toronto, for their friendly criticism.

¹ *Epp.* 6.6. The only securely dated letters of this book are from 107 (10, 27), and there is no good reason to suggest 106 for this one, as Sherwin-White does (*The Letters of Pliny: a historical and social commentary* [1966] 361 [henceforth cited as "Sherwin-White"]).

² On Fundanus see E. Groag, *RE* 15.1820ff, R. Syme, *Tacitus* (1958) 800-801 (henceforth cited as "Syme"). Pliny may also have been eager to emphasise that Naso was fatherless, since Fundanus had no sons (*Epp.* 5.16.4). Pliny elsewhere recommends to him the young Asinius Bassus "quem more maiorum in filii locum adsumas" (*Epp.* 4.15.9).

³ *Epp.* 6.6.3-4.

ille"). He was a distinguished orator ("magna laus," "studiorum amantissimus," "gloria patris"),⁴ and in that field a follower, like Pliny, of Quintilian and the Smyrnaean rhetor, Nicetes Sacerdos.⁵ The same passage fixes the date of his death with some precision. Pliny was too young to be his friend, but only saw him "uixdum adulescentulus." The man will have died, then, when Pliny was between about sixteen and eighteen, and so between 77 and 80 A.D. or thereabouts.⁶ He was still quite young, unless the career of his son, who was standing for the quaestorship in about 107, was much retarded (twenty-five was the minimum age). A possible cause of the father's premature death can be suggested. The reign of Titus was vexed by a plague which could still be said, forty or fifty years later, to have been "quanta non temere alias."⁷

Two things more can be said about him. First, he was apparently from Gallia Comata or Narbonensis. The link with Pliny suggests a northern origin: "Julius" as a senator's name, however, appears to exclude Transpadana, whereas several well-known orators with the name had originated across the Alps in previous decades.⁸ Second, there was a connection with Cornelius Tacitus, for Tacitus, perhaps unaware that

⁴ For some reason Sherwin-White, 363, holds that "he does not seem even to have been a good orator."

⁵ On Nicetes see L. Radermacher, *RE* 17.319ff.

⁶ So, rightly, Sherwin-White, 362. B. Radice translates inaccurately, "when I was only a child" (*The Letters of the Younger Pliny* [1963] 160). Pliny was born in 61 or 62 (*Epp.* 6.20.5).

⁷ Suet. *Titus* 8.3, on which see G. W. Mooney's commentary (1930) *ad loc.* It would be interesting to know in what year the plague of Hadrian's reign (*SHA Hadrian* 21.5) occurred.

⁸ E.g., Julius Africanus, Julius Florus, Julius Secundus. So Syme, 801 (but the man's origin cannot be further narrowed down on Pliny's evidence to the Tres Galliae, Syme, 462 n. 2). Sherwin-White, 362, finds "no evidence" and suggests Olisipo (Lisbon) in Lusitania on the grounds that a homonym of Julius Naso's brother, Julius Avitus (see below, p. 281), is attested there in 121 (*CIL* 2.186) and that "other of Pliny's friends" originate there (355). These "other friends" turn out to be (i) Caecilius Celer (*Epp.* 1.5.8), whom Sherwin-White, 97, connects tentatively with L. Caecilius Celer Rectus "from Olisipo"— but *PIR*² C 29 only said "*II* 190 t. *Olisiponensis*"; (ii) Fabius Justus (*Epp.* *ibid.*), whose "name recurs" at Olisipo (Sherwin-White, 98): the sole occurrence is *CIL* 2.214, and that Fabius Justus is stated by the stone to be from Clunia; (iii) Luceius Albinus (*Epp.* 3.9.7), whose "family comes from Olisipo" (Sherwin-White, 232): the evidence is an inscription there recording a "Servilia wife of Albinus" conjointly with a "Luceia Albina" (*CIL* 2.195), interesting but scarcely conclusive. And that is all. Nothing therefore connects the Julius Avitus of Olisipo with Naso's brother, and in fact there are half a dozen other occurrences of the name in the Spains (*CIL* 2.61, 300–301, 519, 820, 1000, 4122; 5221 is the Julius Avitus of 186). Its distribution in the Gauls is much more significant; see below, p. 285.

Naso was already known to Pliny, recommended him at the same elections to his Transpadane friend.⁹

Lastly, two other letters of Pliny supply a little more information about Naso, but nothing directly about his father. One of them — the only one addressed to him in person — is a note, perhaps written about 104–105, which reveals merely that he was planning to buy land.¹⁰ The other, the last of Pliny's fifth book and so probably composed about 106, records the death of a man called Julius Avitus: "decessit dum ex quaestura redit . . . procul a fratre amantissimo, procul a matre a sororibus . . . in flore primo."¹¹ Though, from the same desire to avoid irrelevant detail, Pliny does not name the "frater amantissimus," Dessau rightly divined him to be Julius Naso.¹² In his letter to Minicius Fundanus, the sixth of the following book, Pliny mentions that Naso has been recently bereft of an elder brother "immatura morte indignissime raptum";¹³ and it also accords with Dessau's conjecture that the death of Avitus after his quaestorship was shortly followed by Naso's candidacy for the same office.

Is it possible to go further, and to give a name to the father of Avitus and Naso? The clue to identification might be sought in the pages of Quintilian: the man had been his follower. Now the *Institutio oratoria* mentions few of the author's contemporaries, but the description of one might draw attention. "Iulio Secundo si longior contigisset aetas, clarissimum profecto nomen oratoris apud posteros foret: adiecisset enim atque adiciebat ceteris uirtutibus suis quod desiderari potest, id est autem, ut esset multo magis pugnax et saepius ad curam rerum ab elocutione respiceret. Ceterum interceptus quoque magnum sibi uindicat locum: ea est facundia, tanta in explicando quod uelit gratia, tam candidum et leue et speciosum dicendi genus, tanta uerborum etiam quae adsumpta sunt proprietates, tanta in quibusdam ex periculo petitis significantia."¹⁴ Elsewhere he calls Secundus "aequalem meum et a me, ut notum est, familiariter amatum."¹⁵ The two were united by more

⁹ *Epp.* 6.9.

¹⁰ *Epp.* 4.6. On the date, see Sherwin-White, 32–34. The sentence "in regione Transpadana summa abundantia, sed par uilitas nuntiatur" hardly shows that Naso was "not from Cisalpine" (Sherwin-White, 362).

¹¹ *Epp.* 5.21.3–4.

¹² *PIR*¹ I 121. Stein, *RE* 10.173, no. 102, is hesitant. Sherwin-White inadvertently makes Naso the "father" of Avitus, 362 (but "brother," 355). Julius Avitus may be the recipient of *Epp.* 2.6. See now *PIR*² I 189, 437.

¹³ *Epp.* 6.6.7.

¹⁴ *Inst.* 10.1.120–121. On him see Gerth, *RE* 10.800ff, Syme, 800, *PIR*² I 559.

¹⁵ *Inst.* 10.3.12. There is also a passing reference to Secundus' "elegantia," *ibid.* 12.10.11.

than community of interest. Both were of provincial origin, Quintilian from Calagurris in Tarraconensis, Secundus from the Tres Galliae, the so-called Comata. For he had been educated, Quintilian reports, in the school of his uncle Julius Florus, "in eloquentia Galliarum, quoniam ibi demum exercuit eam, princeps," and "Galliae," distinct from "Gallia," clearly denotes the Tres Galliae.¹⁶

Secundus is also referred to by Plutarch as a source for the events of 69, in which he had participated as *ab epistulis* to Otho: δοκεῖ δὲ μηδὲ αὐτὸς Ὀθων ἐξαναφέρειν ἔτι πρὸς τὴν ἀδελότητα μηδὲ ὑπομένειν ἀθρείᾳ καὶ μαλακότητι τοὺς περὶ τῶν δεινῶν λογισμούς, ἐκπονούμενος δὲ ταῖς φροντίσι σπεύδειν ἐγκαλυψάμενος, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ κρημνοῦ, μεθεῖναι τὰ πράγματα πρὸς τὸ συντυχόν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν διηγείτο Σεκοῦνδος ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν γενόμενος τοῦ Ὀθωνος· ἑτέρων δὲ ἦν ἀκούειν κτλ.¹⁷ But the fullest portrait of him that survives is given by Tacitus in the *Dialogus de oratoribus*. There he appears in converse with the tragedian Curvatus Maternus, at whose house the company had assembled, with M. Aper, another orator from the Tres Galliae, and with the young Vipstianus Messalla; and he was a friend also of the poet Silius Bassus.¹⁸ There was another person at the house of Maternus, silently observing the conversation. Cornelius Tacitus, still a very young man, was there as an admirer of Aper and Secundus, "celeberrima tum ingenia fori nostri, quos ego utrosque non modo in iudiciis studiose audiebam, sed domi quoque et in publico adsectabar."¹⁹

The evidence of Quintilian, Plutarch, and Tacitus can be satisfactorily combined with that of Pliny to identify Julius Secundus as the father of Julius Naso. Both were from Transalpine Gaul. Both were prominent orators, close to Quintilian. Both died prematurely, and their deaths can be shown to have closely coincided. The *terminus post quem* of Secundus' death is 74-75, the dramatic date of the *Dialogus*.²⁰ The *terminus ante* can be roughly calculated by Quintilian's references. As an *aequalis* of his Spanish friend, born about 33-35, Secundus could have been perhaps as much as three years older or younger,²¹ while "si longior

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 10.3.13. On "Galliae," see Syme, 456 n. 3.

¹⁷ *Otho* 9.

¹⁸ On Maternus, see *PIR*² C 1604, Syme, 798-799; on Aper, *PIR*² A 910, Syme, 799-800 (his origin is revealed by his reference to "Gallis nostris," *Dial.* 10.2, cf. n. 16 above); on Messalla, *PIR*¹ V 468, Syme, 104-108; on Bassus, *PIR*¹ S 50.

¹⁹ *Dial.* 2.1. Tacitus' age: *ibid.* 1.2.

²⁰ Syme, 670-671.

²¹ Quintilian's birthdate is put c. 33 by Syme, 108 n. 6, c. 35 by Schwabe, *RE* 6.1847. For the meaning of *aequalis*, cf. Pliny, "propemodum aequalis" (*Epp.* 7.20.3) to Tacitus five or six years his senior.

contigisset aetas" might be taken to imply death at any age between about thirty-five and forty-five. Even if Secundus was a younger contemporary of Quintilian, and lived as long as the vague phrase allows, his death cannot reasonably be dated after 83 or so.²² These limits, 74 and 83, amply accommodate the identification with Naso's father, who himself died between about 77 and 80. Lastly, Secundus counted among his most devoted disciples the youthful Tacitus. He, M. Aper, and Fabius Justus are in fact the only men with whom Tacitus anywhere professes a near acquaintance, apart from his *adfinis* Agricola. In the correspondence of Pliny, Tacitus is connected with similarly few people: the author himself, Verginius Rufus, Asinius Rufus, and distantly with Minicius Fundanus.²³ Though there are more letters to him than to anybody else, once only does he appear writing to Pliny on a personal subject; otherwise the matter of their correspondence is exclusively literary.²⁴ The exception is the letter written to recommend Julius Naso. That also accords with the identification of Secundus as Naso's father. Tacitus was linked with the youth by the *paterna amicitia* that Pliny lacked.

One major fact is attested about the father of Julius Naso and not about Julius Secundus: he was a senator. None of the authorities state what the rank of Secundus was. The one piece of evidence is his position as Otho's *ab epistulis*.²⁵ That he was a *libertus*, as previous holders of the office had been, is ruled out by the references to his family background and liberal education. What his status in fact was cannot be further defined. He could have been a *plebeius*, as Horace was when Augustus offered him the *officium epistularum*.²⁶ He could equally have been a knight (perhaps elevated specially for the purpose).²⁷ It is true that

²² That is, 38 + 45. W. Peterson, in his edition of Quintilian, Book X (1891) 117, opined that Secundus died "about 88 A.D.": in R. G. Austin's edition of Book XII (1948), 157, this has become "towards the end of Domitian's reign." Peterson had in fact quickly retracted to a date "about the year 80 A.D." in his edition of Tac. *Dial.* (1893), xxxv.

²³ Verginius Rufus, *Epp.* 2.1.6; Asinius Rufus, 4.15.1; Minicius Fundanus, *ibid.*

²⁴ Thus, apart from *Epp.* 6.9, 1.6 (hunting and literature), 1.20 (oratory), 4.13 (a *praeceptor*), 6.16, 6.20 (the *Historiae*), 7.20 (criticism), 7.33 (the *Historiae*), 8.7 (criticism), 9.10 (hunting and literature), 9.14 (literature).

²⁵ Plut. *Otho* 9, quoted above, p. 282.

²⁶ *Vita Hor.*, p. 484 in J. C. Rolfe's Loeb edition (Suet. vol. 2 [1914]).

²⁷ This was the assumption of O. Hirschfeld, who first identified Plutarch's authority with Julius Secundus *apud* L. Friedlaender, *Sittengeschichte*³ I (1869) 170. H.-G. Pflaum suggested that he was specially elevated to equestrian status, *Les Carrières procuratoriennes équestres* I (1960) 90.

Tacitus singles out for comment Vitellius' distribution to equestrians of positions formerly held by freedmen:²⁸ he might also have noticed Otho's choice of an equestrian *ab epistulis*, especially when it fell on a friend of his. On the other hand, a single exceptional appointment of Otho's may not have seemed as worthy of record as Vitellius' considered policy. It could even be that Otho gave charge of his correspondence to a junior senator, as Licinius Mucianus in the next year made the senator Arrecinus Clemens sole prefect of the praetorian guard (and Titus succeeded him);²⁹ stranger things happened in those two years. But even if Secundus' rank was no higher than equestrian in 69, there is no obstacle to supposing that he was a senator at his death. Like other prominent *equites* he could have been adlected into the senate either at the very beginning of Vespasian's reign or, more regularly, in the censorship of 73-74.³⁰ His failure to mention having senatorial status in the *Dialogus* is no difficulty, given his very small part in the conversation. Vipstanus Messalla, who has a much larger one and was certainly a senator, likewise happens not to mention the fact.³¹

The identification of Julius Secundus with the unnamed father of Julius Naso can be exploited.

First, Secundus' place of origin. A recent guess names the Bituriges in Aquitania as his *ciuitas*, pointing to the aqueduct or baths dedicated by a C. Julius Secundus, praetor, at Burdigala (Bordeaux).³² It might be added that Secundus wrote a biography of the orator Julius Africanus,³³

²⁸ *Hist.* 1.58. One of these was Sex. Caesius Propertianus, who became a *patrimonio et hereditatibus et a libellis* (*ILS* 1447), cf. *PIR*² C 204, Pflaum (above, n. 27) 88-90. The *Historia Augusta* incorrectly ascribes to Hadrian the innovation of appointing equestrians as *ab epistulis* and *a libellis* (*Hadrian* 22.8).

²⁹ Tac. *Hist.* 4.68, cf. *PIR*² A 1072.

³⁰ Other equestrians adlected into the senate were Ti. Julius Celsus Polemaeanus, *cos. suff.* 92, in 69 (*ILS* 8971, cf. A. W. Braithwaite's edition of Suet. *Vesp.* [1927] 52), and C. Caristanius Fronto, *cos. suff.* 90, at an uncertain date (*ILS* 9485). On Vespasian's adlections, see Braithwaite, 50-53, Syme, 69 n. 1.

³¹ Secundus has about 25 lines of O. C. T., Messalla about 11 pages (assuming that Gudeman was mistaken in attributing 36.1-40.1 to Secundus, second edition of the *Dial.* [1914] 72-80).

³² Syme, 800 and n. 1 (*CIL* 13.596-600), also adducing the senator attested in 55, Q. Julius Q. f. Qui. Secundus (*ILS* 6103).

³³ Tac. *Dial.* 14.4, where "Africani" is Nipperdey's emendation of the mss.' "Asiatici." Surprising though it is that a scribe should have corrupted a comparatively common *cognomen* into an uncommon one, the emendation imposes itself: for Julius Africanus to be referred to simply as "Africanus" in 15.3, he must have been referred to earlier by his *gentilicium* also, just as the reference to "Afer" (*ibid.*) is preceded by "Afro Domitio" in 13.3.

from the *ciuitas* of the Santoni,³⁴ and the Bituriges and the Santoni were neighbouring tribes, both Celtic.³⁵ Now, however, there is a new piece of evidence. The names of Julius Secundus' elder son, Julius Avitus, appear only once on all the inscriptions of the Tres Galliae and the Germanies: at Burdigala.³⁶ Thus the conjecture that Secundus was from that city may well be correct. That would be the earliest evidence for Burdigala as a centre of culture and rhetoric — almost three centuries earlier than the birth and education there of D. Magnus Ausonius.³⁷

Second, Secundus and Tacitus. The origin of Naso's father can now be narrowed down to the Tres Galliae.³⁸ That is relevant to the theory that makes Tacitus, like his father-in-law Julius Agricola, a Gaul from Narbonensis and not an Italian.³⁹ Pliny paraded his concern for Julius Naso and his admiration of Naso's father before Minicius Fundanus, his fellow Transpadane.⁴⁰ When Tacitus recommended the same youth to him, Pliny's reply had an injured tone ("Nasonem mihi? Quid si me ipsum? Fero tamen et ignosco")⁴¹ that may not have been entirely simulated.

Third, Secundus and Plutarch. His identification with a follower of Nicetes Sacerdos brings Secundus closer to the group of philhellene Roman senators that included, at this date, the unidentified patron of Dio Chrysostom⁴² and the older of Plutarch's Roman friends: the brothers Avidius Quietus and Nigrinus, Arulenus Rusticus, and above all Plutarch's patron L. Mestrius Florus.⁴³ This in turn has a bearing on the debate about Plutarch's sources in the *Lives of Galba and Otho*. The author there explains Otho's hurry to join battle at Bedriacum by his

³⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 6.7 (presumably referring to his father, *PIR*² I 119, 120). Koestermann's n. *ad loc.* (commentary on the *Ann.*, vol. 2 [1965] 255), "die *civitas* ist jedoch unbekannt. Syme, Tac. II 800 denkt an die Biturigen," is an extraordinary confusion.

³⁵ Strabo 4.2.1 (p. 259 Mein.), ἐκβάλλει ὁ μὲν Γαρούνας τρισὶ ποταμοῖς ἀνέχθεις εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ Βιτουρίγων τε τῶν Ὀϊσκῶν ἐπικαλουμένων καὶ Σαντόνων, ἀμφοτέρων Γαλατικῶν ἐθνῶν.

³⁶ *CIL* 13.602 ("litteris non bonis . . . saeculi primi"), D(is) M(anibus) / Iul[iae] / Avitae / flamin(icae) / d(e)f(unctae) an(nō) / []XVIII / [I]ul(ius) Avitus / matri / p[il]e[nt(issimae)] p(osuit).

³⁷ Cf. Ausonius' collection of poems, *Commemoratio professorum Burdigalensium* (H. G. Evelyn White's Loeb edition vol. 1 [1919] 96ff).

³⁸ Above, p. 280 and n. 8.

³⁹ Syme, 611ff, 796ff.

⁴⁰ Syme, 801.

⁴¹ *Epp.* 6.9.

⁴² Perhaps Flavius Sabinus, the cousin of Domitian executed after 82 (*PIR*² F 355).

⁴³ Plutarch's Roman friends: K. Ziegler, *RE* 21.687ff.

inability to endure the suspense of waiting, and the evidence given is a judgement of Secundus.⁴⁴ Now Tacitus passes the same judgement, more briefly and with no authority named, in connection with the *atrocia mandata* sent by Otho to his generals as they deliberated before the battle.⁴⁵ Clearly Secundus formed his opinion from the despatch of Otho which he was uniquely situated to read, and is the ultimate source of both writers. The question is: did Tacitus and Plutarch follow a common written source in which Secundus' name occurred, to be retained by the painstaking Plutarch but to disappear from the swifter narrative of Tacitus?⁴⁶ Or could Plutarch have added this detail independently?⁴⁷ A third possibility, that Tacitus followed Plutarch, seems here at least to be excluded by the divergence in their accounts of the movements and deliberations of Otho's generals before the battle.⁴⁸ The second hypothesis, that Plutarch added the reference to Secundus independently, now gains in force. As a follower of Nicetes, Secundus will have been interested in Greek culture and fluent in the language. Plutarch on his side visited Rome under Vespasian, when his youthful interest in rhetoric was still keen, or recently past.⁴⁹ They may well have come into contact. There was a common link in Mestrius Florus. Mestrius himself was among the Othonians at the second battle of Bedriacum, and later took Plutarch over the site, supplying him with details for the *Otho*.⁵⁰ He could have introduced his Greek protégé to the eminent orator, or have passed on information that he himself had had from him.⁵¹ Since Tacitus was also a friend of Secundus, there is nothing in the way of supposing that he and Plutarch came independently by the same information from the same source.

There exists another connection, perhaps fortuitous, between Plutarch and Secundus: Minicius Fundanus. Pliny recommended Secundus' son to Fundanus, and Fundanus in turn was a friend of

⁴⁴ Plut. *Otho* 9, quoted above, p. 282.

⁴⁵ *Hist.* 2.40.

⁴⁶ So, for instance, E. G. Hardy in his edition of Plut. *Galba* and *Otho* (1890) xxxvi, Syme, 180-181.

⁴⁷ Thus A. D. Momigliano, *Studi It. Fil. Class.* 9 (1931) 176, C. Theander, *Plutarch und die Geschichte* (1951) 10-11.

⁴⁸ Syme, 678-679.

⁴⁹ Plutarch's visit: Ziegler, *RE* 21.655. Interest in rhetoric: *ibid.* 716-717.

⁵⁰ *Otho* 14.

⁵¹ Note that C. Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus, another friend of Plutarch (*quom. adul.* 48E, *quaest. conuiui.* 628A ff), was son of the *rex Epiphanes* who likewise was on Otho's staff in the campaign of Bedriacum (Tac. *Hist.* 2.25, cf. A. Stein, *RE* 10.159ff).

Plutarch, and in the very period of Pliny's letter.⁵² He may have been (not that Pliny need have known it) all the more ready to help the young son of a man whom his Greek friend had known thirty years before. Fundanus, as it happens, seems also to have been a distant friend of Tacitus: Pliny, again writing to him to recommend a young friend, says of his father, "idem Cornelium Tacitum (scis quem uirum) arta familiaritate complexus est."⁵³ It cannot be assumed from this that Tacitus and Pliny were acquainted with Plutarch: but the identification of Julius Secundus with the father of Julius Naso adds to the web of acquaintances that united the chief literary and political figures of Trajan's day.

Finally, Secundus' connection with Plutarch and Nicetes Sacerdos may be seen as another sign of the growing cultural commerce between the Gauls and the Greek East that was soon to produce Favorinus of Arelate. Favorinus counted not least among his remarkable attributes the claim *Γαλάτης ὢν Ἑλληνίζειν*.⁵⁴ He, too, was a friend of both Plutarch and Mestrius Florus.⁵⁵

The scattered facts about Julius Secundus can now be gathered together. He was born about 35 A.D., perhaps at Burdigala, certainly in the Tres Galliae, and educated locally in the rhetorical school of his uncle Julius Florus. But before the year 69 he had moved to Rome.⁵⁶ Caught up in the events of the *longus et unus annus*, he became *ab epistulis* to Otho. What his rank was at this stage is unclear: by his death at any rate he was a senator, perhaps adlected by Vespasian and Titus in 73-74. By the year 74 or 75 he could be called one of the "celeberrima ingenia" of the Roman forum: that did not prevent him from attending the lectures of his friend and contemporary Quintilian and of the Greek rhetor, Nicetes of Smyrna. Among his immediate friends he counted the poet Saleius Bassus and the three men that appear with him in the *Dialogus*, M. Aper, Curiatius Maternus, and Vipstanus Messalla. Among his juniors he was greatly admired by Cornelius Tacitus, pointed out for

⁵² C. P. Jones, *JRS* 56 (1966) 61-63.

⁵³ *Epp.* 4.15.1.

⁵⁴ Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 489. Note also that Nicetes visited Gaul (*ibid.* 512) and that Niger, Plutarch's townsman, died there after declaiming with a fishbone in his throat (Plut. *de tuenda san.* 131A, *quaest. conuiui.* 692E), and cf. Q. Trebellius Rufus of Tolosa, archon and priest in Athens under Domitian (*Hesperia* 10 [1941] 72-77, 11 [1942] 80).

⁵⁵ Plut. *quaest. conuiui.* 734D ff.

⁵⁶ Possibly he was brought there by Galba in 68, picked up in Gaul on the *tardum et cruentum iter* as his friend Quintilian was brought from Spain, Jerome *Chron.* p. 186 H., cf. Syme, 592.

admiration to Pliny, and also known to Plutarch, perhaps through Mestrius Florus. Not many years after the dramatic date of the *Dialogus* he died, possibly in the great plague of Titus' reign, leaving a wife, at least two daughters, and two sons. Of these the elder, Avitus, was similarly to die before his time after holding only the quaestorship. What became of the younger, Naso, after he had been supported for the quaestorship by Pliny and Tacitus is not known. Some of Secundus' writings survived: not only the biography of Julius Africanus, but also certain of the speeches, since Quintilian uses the present tense to discuss his oratorical style.⁵⁷ Thereafter there is no trace of either his works or his posterity.⁵⁸ It was left for his admirers and friends to raise his only lasting monument.

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⁵⁷ *Inst.* 10.1.121, quoted above, p. 281.

⁵⁸ A Ti. Julius Secundus was *cos. suff.* in 116 and a C. Julius Avitus in 149; the Avitus who was *cos. ord.* in 209 may also have been a Julius (A. Degrassi, *FC* 34, 42, 58). Probably not connected; Secundus had no other sons, and Avitus at least died childless (implied by Pliny, *Epp.* 5.21.3).

THE PROCONSULATE OF ALBUS

G. W. BOWERSOCK

THE proconsuls of Asia certified by Aelius Aristides have provided recurring vexation for historians of the Antonine age. The dating of the proconsulates involves urgent and unsolved problems, pertaining to events and personalities of importance. For example, Aristides' Quadratus raises the substantial and thorny issue of the martyrdom of Polycarp.¹ As for Albus, in whose proconsulate a chain of serious earthquakes devastated western Turkey, the recent publication of two new inscriptions by the Austrian Archaeological Institute suggests a new solution to an old problem. When was Albus proconsul of Asia?²

In the third Sacred Discourse, after an account of the death of Zosimus and the dangers of touching cattle flesh, Aristides observes by way of excursus, καὶ χρόνῳ ὕστερον οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ πυκνοὶ σεισμοὶ γίνονται ἐπὶ Ἀλβου ἄρχοντος τῆς Ἀσίας.³ This succession of earthquakes left Mytilene, Ephesus, and Smyrna very badly off, according to Aristides: he mentions those cities not because they were the only ones to suffer — many others did, he says — but because he was himself in Smyrna at the time and won great fame there by sacrificing a βούς and ending the disasters, so great was his influence with divine powers. This, at least, he avers. One indication of the date of these events is, of course, Zosimus' death, which will have occurred, to judge from Aristides' chronological scheme, in the mid-140's sometime,⁴ but the interval

¹ On this notorious issue see the discussion by T. D. Barnes to appear in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, 18 (1967).

² This question was the subject of a long correspondence with my friend Dr. Charles Behr in the summer of 1963, and I am very grateful to him for his criticisms. His own views are to appear in his *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales*. I am also grateful for discussion about Albus during seminars which I conducted at Harvard, Oxford, Leeds, and Toronto in 1966/1967. I owe particular thanks to Prof. C. P. Jones.

³ Aristid. 49.38 K. The excursus is due to the mention of cattle flesh: the god ordered Aristides to sacrifice a βούς at the time of the earthquake.

⁴ Cf. A. Boulanger, *Aelius Aristide* (1923) pp. 136 and 486; W. Hüttel, *Antoninus Pius* (1933) II 48; C. Behr (n. 2 above). This dating of Zosimus' death presupposes that Aristides was born in 117, not (the old alternative) in 129: the

implied by χρόνῳ ὕστερον is unfortunately indeterminable. Expressions of this kind often designate a time lapse of a year or two, but they need not: in one instance χρόνους ὕστερον allows up to thirteen years.⁵ The plain fact is that Aristides' narrative provides no help in placing Albus' proconsulate, — apart from yielding a *terminus post* of c. 145. And the year 146/147 cannot be assigned to Albus, since T. Atilius Maximus is already securely lodged there.⁶ Hüttl, therefore, deposited Albus in the next space, 147/148, as Maximus' successor; and from that date, simply established, Degrassi proposed a consulate in c. 131.⁷ Charles Behr, in his *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales*, prefers 148/149.⁸ No earthquakes are otherwise known for either of those years.

For some time Albus' proconsulate has been independently attested. An inscription from Ephesus records the dedication of a gymnasium by that affluent and important Ephesian, Vedius Antoninus, son of the Asiarch of the same name.⁹ The dedication occurred, it is stated, in the proconsulate of Antonius Albus and under the rule of Antoninus Pius. That was very useful information, but disappointingly imprecise. Another inscription from Ephesus revealed the same Vedius as city secretary when Pius bore the title of consul for the third time, hence between 140 and 144.¹⁰ Here was a clue, perhaps, to the dating of Vedius' active career: he might be expected to be dedicating a gymnasium in the 140's. Thus, confirmation of a date like 147/148 or 148/149.

There is other evidence, suggestive, inconclusive, and frustrating. The Acts of the Arval Brothers exhibit among their number a L. Antonius Albus.¹¹ Until recently this name figured in Arval lists from 117 to 150, but it was conspicuously absent from the nearly complete list for 155. A few years ago new fragments of the Arval Acts turned up from the years 109–112: there is no alternative to restoring L. A[ntonium

fact that M. Nonius Macrinus has to be proconsul of Asia in 170/171 (consul suffect almost certainly in 154) clinches the already strong arguments for the earlier date. Cf. the age of Aristides in the proconsulate of Macrinus according to the subscription of Aristid. 22 K.

⁵ Aristid. 50.9 K (from 153 to 166). Note Boulanger (n. 4 above) p. 136 n. 1 on the phrase χρόνῳ ὕστερον: "une très vague indication chronologique."

⁶ *IGR* 4.1399.

⁷ Hüttl (n. 4 above) I 333, II 48f; A. Degrassi, *I Fasti Consolari dell'Impero Romano* (1952) p. 38.

⁸ Cf. n. 2 above.

⁹ *SEG* 4.533.

¹⁰ *SIG*³ 849.

¹¹ References are listed in *PIR*², A 810. *AE* 1947.59 is referred by R. Syme to 150: *JRS* 43 (1953) 160.

Album] as being co-opted a Brother in 111.¹² However, it is not necessary that the L. Antonius Albus recorded now from 111 to 150 be the same man; father and son could be indicated. There happens to be a L. Antonius Albus who was consul suffect in 102, and he may have been the first or only *Arvalis* of that name. (His survival to the age of ninety cannot be proved or disproved.) Such intelligence about one or more persons called L. Antonius Albus is all very welcome, and one may hope that another item will turn up eventually to permit some precision about these details. At the moment, what we know about Albus the Arval Brother cannot be of any assistance in establishing the date of Aristides' proconsul. There is no way of telling whether the proconsul was son or grandson (or anything else) to the consul of 102, nor whether the proconsul was a Brother at all. The evidence of the Acts must itself be interpreted in the light of conclusions reached without it.

Before an otherwise unattested series of Asian earthquakes, frequent and destructive over a wide area, be enshrined in modern reconstructions of Antonine history, it will be fruitful to consider the datable earthquakes that actually are attested for this period. They are three in number, two of which can be rejected at once in a consideration of Albus: the earthquake of 142 is too early, and the earthquake of 178 is too late.¹³ What is left is a series of earthquakes that can be ascribed to early 161, and these merit special attention. Very soon after becoming emperor, Marcus Aurelius delivered an address on a dreadful earthquake at Cyzicus, and in his correspondence Fronto twice mentions the *Cyzicena oratio*.¹⁴ The calamities at Cyzicus are undoubtedly due to the earthquakes which Dio Cassius describes with particular reference to the destruction of a great temple at Cyzicus.¹⁵ The report of Dio survives in both Zonaras and Xiphilinus, and the identical origin of the two passages is made certain by their common account of the trouble at Cyzicus. Now Zonaras presents the material on the earthquake in a group of events which belong partly to Pius' reign and partly to Marcus'; Xiphilinus, on the other hand, ascribes the same material on the

¹² *Bull. Commiss. Arch. Comunale di Roma*, 78 (1961/1962, publ. 1964) 122-123. There is an egregious mistake in the version of the text in *AE* 1964.70, where Aelium instead of Album appears.

¹³ Earthquake of 142: *SHA* Pius 9.1, *Aristid.* 24.3, 53, 59 K; cf. Hüttl (n. 4 above) II 38-39. Earthquake of 178: *Aristid.* 18 and 19 K *passim*, *Philostr. VS* p. 582.

¹⁴ Fronto *Epist.* pp. 91 and 92 van den Hout. Cf. H.-G. Pflaum, *Historia-Augusta-Colloquium Bonn* 1963 (*Antiquitas*, Reihe 4, n. 2, 1964) p. 113.

¹⁵ Dio 69.15.4. It should perhaps be noted that there was also an earthquake at Dura in October 160: *AE* 1931.114.

earthquake to the reign of Pius. In view of the testimony of Fronto about Marcus' speech soon after his accession, the correct interpretation of the passages in Zonaras and Xiphilinus will be that the earthquakes occurred during the change of emperors, or possibly at the very end of Pius' life (so that when Marcus assumed the power he was left to deal with the catastrophe). In short, we have to do with early 161, for Pius died on March 7th of that year. The earthquakes could naturally be associated with one or the other emperor.

The earthquakes of 161 ought to be connected with a curious document in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. At 4.13 an emperor's rescript to the *κοινόν* of Asia is quoted; although probability is high that the document is fiction, there is no reason why its historical context may not have some verisimilitude. There is a reference to earthquakes that have been occurring and are still occurring: *περὶ δὲ τῶν σεισμῶν τῶν γεγυότων καὶ γιγνομένων*. This rescript is introduced in a dossier of documents which are assigned to the reign of Pius,¹⁶ and yet it is Marcus who appears as the rescript's author.¹⁷ Marcus is there in the fifteenth year of his tribunician power, precisely the year in which he became emperor; hence, as he is here emperor, the document is to fall between March 7 and December 9, 161. In the manuscript of Justin's *Apology* the same rescript occurs, but this time with Pius as author in his twenty-fourth year of tribunician power.¹⁸ That year began on December 10, 160, and Pius died on the following March 7th, still in the twenty-fourth year of tribunician power. The rescript has a genuine historical context, and that is why, bogus as it probably is, it can oscillate between two emperors in the year 161. The earthquakes were connected with both.

It is unpleasant but necessary to record here that some distinguished scholars who have treated the Eusebius passage in conjunction with Albus' proconsulate have through carelessness combined the fifteenth year of tribunician power (which appears for Marcus) with the version ascribed to Pius. They have thus dated the imperial rescript to 152/153, the fifteenth year of Pius' tribunician power. This combination exists nowhere in the ancient texts, but it has been uncritically presented as ancient testimony.¹⁹ The item has to go.

¹⁶ Cf. Eus. *HE* 4.12.

¹⁷ He is there possessed anachronistically of the title *Ἀρμένιος*.

¹⁸ Justin *Apol.* 1.70. Cf. E. Schwartz, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte: Eusebios Werke* II 3, pp. clvi-clvii: Schwartz saw that the *KA* in the tribunician number of Pius had to be a simple corruption in transmission of *KA*.

¹⁹ Important and influential instances of this error: Boulanger (n. 4 above) p. 487; Hüttl (n. 4 above) II 48.

In the face of arguments for a date in the late 140's for Albus in Asia, it would be rash to express a conviction that Albus belongs in 161 solely because the only available attested earthquakes fall early in that year and were — like those under Albus — frequent. But there is happily now more evidence which calls for exploitation. Two inscriptions which affect the present problem appeared in a single volume, dated 1959;²⁰ but just because they were in the same volume (and published by different scholars) their mutual relevance was not noted. Both texts come from Ephesus.

One text is a rescript on port duties by L. Antonius Albus himself, as proconsul; the rescript is dated by the secretaryship of Ti. Claudius Polydeuces Marcellus, called an Asiarch.²¹ This is an edifying detail, because an inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander, not far from Ephesus, is dated by the secretaryship and high priesthood of a Ti. Claudius Polydeuces Marcellus, also called an Asiarch;²² the Magnesian inscription is dated additionally by the sixteenth tribunician power of Marcus, thus between December 10, 161 and December 9, 162. The parallel names and the duplication of the title Asiarch suggest that this is one man. The secretarial posts are probably local in each case, rather than the *κοινόν* magistracy,²³ but the service of a leading citizen of a smaller city like Magnesia in a larger one like Ephesus would not be surprising.²⁴ The Ephesus and Magnesia inscriptions cannot be dated to exactly the same period, since Albus served as proconsul — at least part of the time — under Pius, and the Magnesia text is not earlier than December 10, 161. But the conjunction of the two texts suddenly makes seductive the view that Albus was proconsul in the early sixties, exactly when attested earthquakes occurred. This is the general period to which, on present knowledge, Marcellus the Asiarch belongs.

It will not be forgotten that Albus was in office when Veditus Antoninus dedicated his gymnasium at Ephesus, and Veditus was apparently active in the 140's. That was a strong argument, until another inscription appeared (the second of the two mentioned above).²⁵ It honors the same

²⁰ *JÖAI* 44 (1959).

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 142 = *SEG* 19.684 (with a false report of Keil's view of the date).

²² *Inscr. v. Magnesia* n. 187.

²³ Cf. the remarks of J. Keil in *JÖAI* 44 (1959) 146 and J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1965) p. 50 n. 2. The evidence for Marcellus was insufficient to persuade Keil of a later date for Albus. But note L. Robert, *Rev. de Philol.* 41 (1967) 60: "vers 160."

²⁴ Note the great Polemo from Laodicea (Philostr. *VS* pp. 530-532): he administered public affairs in Smyrna but did not neglect his native city.

²⁵ *JÖAI* 44 (1959) Beiblatt pp. 257-259.

Vedius, son of the homonymous Asiarch; and it contains the unsuspected revelation that he was in charge of preparing the city of Ephesus to receive Lucius Verus during his visit in 162 on his way to the Parthian War. This text establishes instantly, therefore, that Vedius Antoninus was no less active in the early 160's than in the 140's. Accordingly, nothing remains to obstruct the relocation of the proconsulate of L. Antonius Albus to the year 160/161, encompassing the reigns of both Pius and Marcus as well as the earthquakes which were πολλοὶ καὶ πυκνοί. And much exists now to support such a relocation. Nothing remains at all — apart from Aristides' indeterminate χρόνῳ ὕστερον — to support any other date for the proconsulate of Albus.

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A REMARK ON LACHMANN'S LAW

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THE phonetical explanation of the difference between the short *a* of *fāctus*, *iāctus* and the long *a* of *āctus*, *frāctus*, etc., goes back to the middle of the nineteenth century (Lachmann's commentary on *De rerum natura* I 805). Lachmann's argumentation is unsatisfactory. He does not distinguish between secondary and inherited length (as in *ūstus* < *ūrō*), includes cases like *tēnsus* (*ē* < *ě* before nasal + fricative), and is inclined to ascribe *vocalic* length to participles like *morsus* (but cf. Spanish *almuerzo* < *mōrsus*), etc. But even discarding all superfluous and erroneous details his formula (short vowel before *media* > long vowel in participles) has proved a hard nut for the following generations of comparatists. Since the devoicing of voiced stops before *t* (*āgō* : *āctus*) is admittedly an I.E. heritage, how could the etymological value of /k/ in **aktos* have revealed itself many centuries later in causing the lengthening of the preceding vowel? To assume an intermediate phonemic rearrangement, viz. the restitution of *g* under the influence of *agō*¹ and a second devoicing of **agtos*, this time to *āktos*, would be clearly unacceptable. Nowhere and at no period has *gt* been a possible combination in I.E. languages opposing voiced *g d* to voiceless *k t*.

Moreover, the phonetic explanation is hampered by cases like *-sēssus* or *fictus*. If the shortness of the *i* of *fissus* is accounted for by its high (diffuse) character,² we find, on the other hand, *vīsus*³ with a long vowel in accordance with the overall rule. Archaisms like *lāssus*, *tūssis* (?) may also be quoted as arguments in favor of a nonphonetic solution of the problem.

This being the case one must look in another direction. Since both morphological categories (ppart. in *-to-* and related *-t-* formations) and

¹ Thus de Saussure *MSL* 6, p. 256; Sommer *Hb.* (1948) pp. 122f; Niedermann *Précis* (1945) p. 94; Leumann *Lat. Laut- u. Formenlehre* (1963) p. 105.

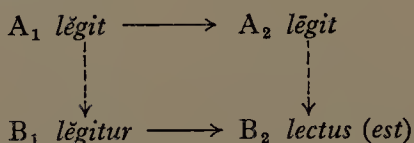
² Meillet *MSL* 15, p. 265; Ernout *Morphologie* (1945) p. 353; Niedermann (above, n. 1) p. 35.

³ Full grade *ei* is scarcely admissible (Leumann, as above, n. 1; cf. n. 5).

a phonemic phenomenon (lengthening of root-vowel) are involved,⁴ a morphophonemic explanation is indicated. Analysis of the pertinent examples distinguishes two different groups of participles with lengthened root-vowel (cases where the length is proper to the verbal root, like *rīdēre*, *confīdere*, *frīgere*, are of course being disregarded).

GROUP I

The conjugational system of Latin is based on two oppositions: *active/passive* and *infectum/perfectum*. The former is more basic than the latter since it implies a change of the *semantic content* of the verb, comparable to Greek ἀπ-όλλυμι : ἀπ-όλλυμαι. On the other hand, the semantic association between the present and the perfect (time reference only, no semantic change) is stronger than that between present active and present passive. Thus:



The lengthening of the root-vowel occurs in two different types of the perfect: the type *lēgit* (as above) and the type *rēxit* (sigmatic perfect). In the first case the lengthening is morphologically conditioned by the perfect endings (-ī, -istī...); in the second case, by the *s*-suffix of the perfect. This distinction is important. Since in *lēgit* the lengthening of the *ē* of the present is conditioned by the desinences of the active perfect, it is liable to be introduced before the endings of the passive perfect (-tus, -ta, -tum, -tī, etc.), the passive being the marked, i.e. founded, member of the contrast *active:passive*.

We find, therefore, the introduction of the long vowel of the perfect in -ī into the past participle in all cases where the root of the perfect in -ī represents the lengthening of the root of the present:

subgroup (a) lēgere: lēgit: lēctus
 ēdere: ēdit: ēsus
 vīdēre: vīdit: vīsus⁵
 ēmere: ēmit: ēm(p)tus
 and ōdium (ōdio is late): ōdit: ōsus.

⁴ The lengthening takes place only in participles in -to- and in related forms like *lēctor*, *rēctor*, *āctitō*, *ēsītō*, etc.; cf. Sommer (as above, n. 1).

⁵ Ernout (as above, n. 2) is inclined to attribute the *ī* of *vīsus* to the influence of the perfect. The same possibility is taken into account for *ēsus* by Niedermann (as above, n. 1).

Ppart. *vēntus* for **vēntus* is phonetic (shortening or no lengthening before *nt*). The perfects *-liquit*, *vīcit* do not contain a simple lengthening of the root of the present, but the suppression of the nasal implying lengthening.

The above subgroup (a) constitutes the basis of a secondary "analogical" expansion of the lengthening. The spread is subject to a double condition:

Phonetically it is limited by the structure of the model, i.e. occurs only in roots in *-g* like *lēgere*, in *-d* like *ēdere*, *vīdere*, and finally (though without practical implementation) in *-m* like *ēmere*.

From the morphological point of view the spread will be justified by the identity of the root of *B₂* with that of *A₁/B₁*, as in **lectus* and *lēgit/lēgitur*. Hence on the model of *lēgere/lēctus*, *ēdere/ēsus*:

| | |
|--------------|----------------|
| subgroup (b) | rēgere: rēctus |
| | tēgere: tēctus |
| | āgere: āctus |
| | cādere: cāsus |

in spite of the perfects *rēxit*, *tēxit*, *ēgit*, *cecidit*.

The double limitation imposed on the spread by the basic subgroup (a) accounts for the short vowel of the ppart. of the following verbs:

(1) in *factus*, *iactus*, *spectus*, **fassus*, *passus*, *messus*, *missus* only the morphological condition is met (*fācere*: *fāctus*, etc., i.e. identity of root-structure between *B₂* and *A₁/B₁*);

(2) in *findo*: *fissus*, *scindo*: *scissus*, *stringo*: *strictus* only the phonetical condition is fulfilled (root-final *g d*);⁶

(3) in *(re)linquere*: *relictus*, *vincere*: *victus* neither condition is met.

The ppart. of *fundere*: *fūdit*: *fūsus* belongs to a tertiary layer. Root-final *-d* meets the phonetic condition, whereas (*fund* >) *fūd* > *fūdit*, leaning upon *ēd* > *ēdit*, explains the long vowel of *fūsus*, parallel to *ēsus*. An extreme offshoot of the spread of the lengthening is represented by *tūsus*. The pattern *fundere*: (*fūdit*:) *fūsus* is directly applied to *tundere*: (*tutudit*:) *tūsus*, just as *ēdere*: (*ēdit*:) *ēsus* entails a *cādere*: (*cecidit*:) *cāsus*. Notice, however, the attested ppart. *tūnsus* (with *u* lengthened before *ns*), which may have exerted an influence on an old **tussus*.

The lack of the lengthening in *-sessus* is only an apparent exception. This participle appears in compounds, and the lack of the identity of

⁶ According to Sommer (above, n. 1) the nasal infix of the present has prevented the pressure of the latter on the ppart. (i.e. the reintroduction of *g, d* into the participle).

the timbre in *-sideo* and *-sēdit* prevents the *ē* of the latter form from being interpreted as a lengthening of (*-sīd-*).⁷

It seems that in spite of contrary opinions the lengthening in the ppart. took place at a time when the I.E. intervocalic *bh*, *dh*, *gh*, *gh^h* were in Latin still voiced fricatives contrasting with the voiced stops *b*, *d*, *g*, *g^h*. The neutralization after nasals in favor of *b*, *d*, *g*, *g^h* (cf. *umbilicus*, *mingere*, *ninguere*, etc.) proves the marked character of the fricatives. The proportion *ōdit* : (**ossus* > *ōsus*) spreading in roots in final stop was not carried over to roots in final fricative (subordinate to the roots in final stop), leaving unchanged the relation **fōdit* : *fōssus*. We find, furthermore, *grādi* : **grāssus* (in *grāssāri*), *trāhere* : *trāctus*, *vēhere* : *vēctus*, *iūbēre* : *iūssus*. The I.E. roots of *fōdere*, *grādī*, and *iūbēre* end in *dh*, those of *trāhere* and *vēhere* in *gh*.⁸ Notice that in all examples with lengthening before *g* *d* these phonemes go back to I.E. nonaspirated stops, thus *lēctus* (λέγω), *ēsus* (ἐδομαι), *ōsus* (Arm. *ateam*), *vīsus* (εἶδον), *rēctus* (Skt. *rāj-*), *tēctus* (στέγος), *āctus* (ἄγω), *cāsus* (Skt. *śad-*).

GROUP II

It consists of only three forms: *pāctus*, *tāctus*, *frāctus*. The chief difference versus group I is the inherited length in *pāctus* as against the short vowel in *pe-pig-it* (and of course in *pango*). The root **pāg* contains an original long vowel; cf. *πήγνυμι* (Skt. has the corresponding voiceless stop in *pās*). Now Greek still preserves the original repartition of the antevocalic and the anteconsonantal zero-grade in *ἐ-πάγ-ην* : *πηκ-τός* and in a whole series of verbs of similar structure; cf. *ἐπλάγην* : *πληκτέος* from *πλήγνυμι*; *ἐλαβον* and *λέλαβον* : *ἐλήφθην*, *ληπτός* from *λαμβάνω*; *ἐπράγην*, *ῥαγή* : *ῥηκτός*, *ῥῆξις* from *ῥήγνυμι*; *ἔτραγον* : *τρωκτός* from *τρώγω*; etc. (*L'apophonie en indo-européen* pp. 203f).

It seems therefore legitimate to regard the relation **pe-pāg-it* : **pāk-tos* as being parallel to Greek *ἐ-πάγ-ην* : *πηκ-τός*, and to consider the length of *pāctus* as an archaism. In the participle of *plangere* we already have the spread of the nasal infix (*planctus* instead of **plāctus*, cf. *plāga*). Unfortunately the isolated Greek form *τεταγών* does not allow

⁷ Still better is Sommer's explanation (above, n. 1): the ppart. *sessus* was originally referred to *sīdō* (**si-sdō*), the old reduplicated present, not to the secondary verb *sēdeō*.

⁸ *Divīsus* from *dīvidō* (**vidh*), perfect *dīvīsī*, became possible only after the phonetic merger of *d* + *s* (in the sigmatic perfect) with *t* + *t* (in the participle). Also *gavīsus* < *gāvīdeo*.

any inference regarding the original quantity of the root-vowel of *tangere*, *tetigit*, *tāctus*. But *frangere*, *frēgit*, *frāctus*, whose original short vocalism is borne out by Germanic **brekan*, must be already regarded as the result of the spread of the pattern *pango* : *pāctus* (= *frango* : *frāctus*).

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THE "INSULAR INTERMEDIARY" IN THE TRADITION OF LUCRETIVS

VIRGINIA BROWN

IN his well-known article of 1888, Duvau presented some conclusions resulting from a study of the manuscripts of Lucretius which constituted a point of departure from the theory of Lachmann and had the solid support of paleographical evidence.¹ Instead of adhering to the German proposal of a fourth- or fifth-century capital manuscript as the archetype for the ninth-century minuscule *Oblongus* and *Quadratus*² in Leiden, Duvau reasoned on the basis of textual errors that *O* and *Q* were descended from a manuscript in minuscules, suggesting that at least two copies separated the text of *O* from its minuscule archetype while the text of *Q* passed through at least three copies.³ The idea of an "intermediary" manuscript was well received by subsequent editors: Diels, Ernout, Smith and Leonard, Bailey, and Martin cite it with approval.⁴ Duff, Brieger, Giussani, Pascal, Heinze, and Merrill fail to mention it but at the same time offer no refutation of, or objection to, Duvau's hypothesis.

There is however a significant difference between Duvau's own statements and the inferences drawn from them by the same editors who accept his postulation of a minuscule exemplar. In order to obtain a clearer perspective of the problem, I shall summarize Duvau's arguments briefly:

There are certain errors in the manuscripts *O* and *Q* which cannot be assigned to the confusions of letters in capital script, such mistakes involving the confusion of *n* and *u*, *iu* and *ui*, *u* and *a*, *e* and *c*, *i* and *c*, *c* and *t*, *d* and *cl*, *n* and *r*, *r* and *p*, *f* and *s* and occurring in minuscule

This article was developed from a seminar paper presented to Professor Wendell Clausen, to whom I am indebted for his kindness and attention in a careful reading and examination of the conclusions offered here.

¹ Louis Duvau, "Lucretiana," *Rev. de phil.* 12 (1888) 30-37.

² Cited henceforth as *O* and *Q*.

³ Duvau, 35.

⁴ Diels (1923) I vii; Ernout (1924) I xvii-xviii; Leonard and Smith (1942) 86-90, 106-107, 123-124; Bailey (1950) I 37-38; Martin (1963) vi.

manuscripts. If the manuscripts present common mistakes resulting from a resemblance which exists in minuscule script and only in minuscule, it follows that these errors, since they are common to all the manuscripts, are found in the archetype. It is necessary then to assume the existence of an intermediary manuscript in a script other than capital if one is to explain the mistakes in *O* and *Q* which cannot be attributed to capital script.

The crux of the problem appears to lie in a kind of misinterpretation and expansion of the original theory. Nowhere in his article does Duvau state explicitly that the lost archetype⁵ of *O* and *Q* was insular, and he mentions such a possibility only very briefly and with the utmost caution. His main purpose is undeniably the establishment of an archetype in minuscules.⁶ "Insular intermediary" therefore must be regarded as the designation of subsequent editors for a "lost" manuscript allegedly copied in insular script in the seventh or eighth century which served as a link between Lachmann's archetype and *O* and *Q* and which had only the most tenuous hypothetical existence in the original theory.⁷

The question of the existence of an "insular intermediary" was treated recently by Brunhölzl in a revolutionary manner. In the tradition of earlier scholars he considers an insular intermediary as an integral part of Duvau's theory but rejects the concept of such a manuscript on the grounds that every alleged "insular" mistake in *O* and *Q* may be traced back to another kind of handwriting as well as to insular. No systematic treatment of specifically insular mistakes is presented, however, and he is concerned not so much with the refutation of the possibility of an insular intermediary as with the establishment of a

⁵ The term "archetype" has often been used indiscriminately of both Lachmann's manuscript in capitals and the so-called insular intermediary; following the example of Duvau, I understand the "archetype" to be the latest independent carrier of the tradition which contains paleographical confusions characteristic of capital and minuscule script and is, therefore, the exemplar of *O* and *Q*.

⁶ Duvau, 36-37: "Il resterait à déterminer quelle sorte d'écriture minuscule a pu donner naissance à ces différentes fautes: peut-être la confusion de *s* et *r* . . . et celle de *r* et de *n* . . . autoriseraient-elles à croire qu'un des intermédiaires était en écriture anglo-saxonne, comme le sont un grand nombre de corrections importantes dans l'*Oblongus*. Mais cela n'est qu'une hypothèse accessoire. Le seul fait sur lequel je veuille insister en ce moment est l'inexactitude de la théorie de Lachmann sur la transmission du texte de Lucrèce, et la fausseté du principe de critique qui découle de cette théorie."

⁷ Of the editors cited above, Ernout, Diels, Smith and Leonard, and Martin assume that the "intermediary" was insular; Bailey reports the opinions of other editors, but draws no conclusion other than that a manuscript later than Lachmann's manuscript in capitals and earlier than *O* and *Q* did exist.

manuscript in majuscule cursive to replace Lachmann's archetype in capitals.⁸

Granted that the Irish and Anglo-Saxon scribes played an important part in preserving their national literature, their activity with regard to the classics is, as Miss Boyer points out, far less obvious because of the meager manuscript remains.⁹ The fact that no insular manuscript of the *De Rerum Natura* survives is not a strong enough argument in itself to abolish the myth, nor is a generality unsupported by detailed instances sufficiently convincing to long-standing adherents of the "insular" theory. Interpreting Duvau's theory as dealing chiefly with the establishment of an intermediary in minuscules and at the same time expanding Brunhölzl's observation to include particulars,¹⁰ I propose to present and evaluate the paleographical evidence for an insular intermediary, to discuss the possible location of such a text (since this has been of concern to scholars to some extent), and to formulate a conclusion on the merits of the case.

I

Adding to the general confusion surrounding the problem is a rather widespread misunderstanding of the type of mistake indicating an insular model. It seems only logical to assume that if paleographical evidence is to present a firm basis for the postulation of an insular intermediary, strict criteria must be used which will establish the presence of such a script without a doubt. The various types of errors listed by Duvau¹¹ illustrate confusions occurring in copies made from a minuscule model, and in his brief reference to an insular intermediary he notes only the confusions of *s* and *r* and *r* and *n*. The confusion of *s* and *r* is evidently not a trustworthy indication since the appearance of these two letters is also very similar in Carolingian minuscules, but the confusion of *r* and *n* as well as that of *r* and *p* and *n* and *p* may be assigned exclusively to insular script.¹² Accordingly these three confusions will form the basis for the postulation of an insular intermediary.

⁸ Franz Brunhölzl, "Zur Überlieferung des Lukrez," *Hermes* 90 (1962) 99-102.

⁹ Blanche B. Boyer, "Insular Contribution to Medieval Literary Tradition on the Continent, Part II," *Class. Phil.* 43 (1948) 33. See her discussion of an insular manuscript in the case of the *Historia Augusta*.

¹⁰ I am not concerned in this article with Brunhölzl's main thesis, viz. his formulation of a third-century manuscript in majuscule cursive.

¹¹ Duvau, 35-36.

¹² Steffens, *Lat. Pal.* (2nd ed. rev.) xiv; W. M. Lindsay, "The Letters in Early Latin Minuscule," *Pal. Lat.* I (1922) 39, 42.

Careful examination of the Leiden codices¹³ has revealed the following confusions of *r*, *n*, and *p*, only one of which occurs more than once in the poem:

1. I 646: *uro* for *uno*
uno: *uro* *OQ*
2. I 884: *tenemus* for *terimus*
terimus: *tenemus* *OQ*
3. II 281: *cona* for *copia*
copia: *cona* *O*: *non legitur* *Q*
4. II 630: *catenas* for *cateruas*
cateruas *O*: *catenas* *Q*
5. II 843: *tepopsis* for *teporis*
teporis: *tepopsis* *OQ*
6. III 994: *curpedine* for *cuppedine*
cuppedine: *curpedine* *OQ*
7. III 1011: *funae* for *Furiae*
Furiae: *funae* *OQ*
8. IV 143: *gerantur* for *genantur*
genantur: *gerantur* *OQ*
- a. IV 159: *geruntur* for *genuntur*
genuntur: *geruntur* *OQ*
9. IV 600: *rerumtant* for *renutant*
renutant: *renuntant* *O*: *rerumtant* *Q*
10. IV 710: *qur* for *quin*
quin: *qum* *O*: *qur* *Q*
11. V 138: *centum* for *certum*
certum *O*: *centum* *Q*
12. V 397: *napax* for *rapax*
Phaethonta rapax: *petontanarapax* *O*: *petontanapax* *Q*
13. V 1184: *venti* for *verti*
verti *O*: *venti* *Q*

¹³ These studies were made from the Sijthoff reproductions with prefaces by Émile Chatelain.

14. VI 466: queart for queant
condensa queant apparere *Lachmann*: condensatque arta parere
OQ
15. VI 862: para for rara
rara: para O: par Q
16. VI 1021: sporte for sponte
sponte O: sporte Q¹⁴

In accordance with Duvau's statement that mistakes common to all manuscripts are found in the archetype, the agreement in error of O and Q will be the decisive factor in the legitimate establishment of an insular intermediary. Of the nine confusions common to both manuscripts (nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 8a, 14, 15), four examples cannot be considered textual confusions since they form actual words (nos. 1, 2, 8, 8a) and it must be granted that the scribe may have had another word in mind while copying these specific passages. Consequently the remaining five confusions (nos. 5, 6, 7, 14, 15) will constitute the corpus of mistakes that justify the claim for an insular intermediary.

A closer examination, however, reveals that this small group disappears entirely. Example 5, tepopis for teporis, is easily explained as a case of dittography. After writing *tep-* the scribe glanced back at the text which he was copying, noticed a *p* in the word, and inadvertently added a second *p*. Example 6, curpedine for cuppedine, is probably a similar mistake. Since the word immediately following *cuppedine* is *curae*, it is very likely that the scribe wrote *cu-*, looked instead at *curae*, and transferred the *r* of *curae* to *cuppedine*. In example 7, funae for Furiae, the scribe seems to have misinterpreted the minuscule letters *ri* and to have

¹⁴ I have omitted one emendation suggested by Chatelain which, if accepted, would be an additional confusion of *r* and *n*:

I 806: arbusta for anbusta (arbusta OQ; ambusta *Lachmann*: anbusta *Chatelain*). The obvious good sense of *arbusta* does away with the need for any emendation and Chatelain's conjecture is not listed in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. I have also omitted such confusions as voluptas for voluntas and vice versa (see II 257 and II 258). These confusions, while also occurring in capital manuscripts (e.g., *Vat. Palat.* 1631, *Georg.* III 130), have led to some uncertainty on the part of editors as to the correct reading. With regard to example 16, sporte for sponte, I see no definite evidence indicating O *correcta* (as do Diels and Martin, who read sporte originally). Numerous identical juxtapositions of *nt* suggest that any correction was made by the scribe himself; and a momentary slip, in any case, might have been caused by his involuntary reference to other words in the line with similar initial and medial letters.

written *n*.¹⁵ The type of mistake which appears in example 12, *napax* for *rapax*, is due to the scribe's misunderstanding of the proper separation of the words and this becomes evident at once when considered in its rightful place in the line:

avia cum Phaethonta rapax uis solis equorum.

Similarly, it is apparent that *queart* should read *queant* when the words are separated correctly in example 14:

et condensa queant apparere et simul ipso.

Example 15, finally, *para* for *rara*, concerns the first letter of the first word in the line and appears therefore to be a mistake involving a rubricated capital letter rather than a valid example of the confusion of *r* and *p* which may be attributed to insular script.

The question of abbreviations as evidence for the existence of an insular model appears to involve a wealth and even overabundance of material. Nevertheless, a closer scrutiny of the manuscripts reveals that there are none of the specific insular abbreviations for such familiar words as *autem*, *con*, *eius*, *enim*, *esse*, *est* in either *O* or *Q*, nor are there any situations where the scribe's unfamiliarity with these symbols resulted in a ludicrous transcription.¹⁶ The symbols for *quoniam* (*qm̄*) and *quae* (*q'.*) occurring in the manuscripts are regarded as "insular" symbols by Lindsay,¹⁷ but these may indicate merely that the scribe had a working knowledge of insular, not necessarily that he was copying from an insular model. It is easier to explain them as an arbitrary choice on the part of a scribe who selected two of the less significant insular abbreviations from a whole store of more imposing symbols. Other abbreviations found in both manuscripts are derived from tachygraphic symbols and the *notae iuris* or found in early minuscule texts.

II

The case for the location of the insular text has been based mainly on hypothesis and conjecture. Various editors have placed it in Britain or Ireland,¹⁸ but the documentary evidence preserved in monastic

¹⁵ This mistake is probably not due to the scribe's misunderstanding of any ligature for *ri*, since none of them bears a close resemblance to the letter *n*.

¹⁶ See Brunhölzl, 99: "Gerade die typisch insularen Symptome aber sucht man in sämtlichen Lukrezhandschriften vergeblich."

¹⁷ W. M. Lindsay, *Not. Lat.*, 208, 263. *Quō*, another symbol for *quoniam*, is also found in *O* and *Q* and was often used by continental scribes.

¹⁸ Ernout, I xviii; Diels, vii; Smith and Leonard, 88-89.

catalogues affords sufficient proof for a reasonable assumption that the manuscript was to be found on the continent. The *De Rerum Natura* is listed in the tenth- or possibly ninth-century catalogue of Murbach, the tenth- or eleventh-century catalogue of Bobbio, and the twelfth-century catalogue of Corbie¹⁹ and there is no mention of the poem in the catalogues of English and Irish libraries. What is known of the history of the manuscripts also links them to the continent. *Q* was brought to Paris from the Abbey of St. Bertin near St. Omer and Corbie in or before 1559 at the request of Pierre Galland.²⁰ Corbie possessed a well-known scriptorium, and it is not improbable that *Q* was copied there and then transferred to St. Bertin. A subscription at the end of *O* shows that this manuscript was in the library of the church of St. Martin at Mainz, and Diels conjectures that it was brought to Mainz by Hrabanus Maurus, who was Abbot of Fulda from 822 to 842 and became Archbishop of Mainz in 847.²¹ This seems reasonable enough in view of the fact that Hrabanus was evidently acquainted with Lucretius.²²

Bischoff's identification of the *Corrector Saxonicus* is most significant with regard to this aspect of the question of an "insular intermediary." After comparing the handwriting in the books bequeathed to Bobbio by Dungal, the expert on astronomy and chronology after the death of Alcuin, with that of the hitherto unknown *Saxonicus*, he concludes that they are the work of the same hand.²³ Bischoff's supposition that *O* was copied shortly after 800 in northeastern France by a scribe who may have received his education in the Court School places *O* (generally acknowledged to be the earlier of the two manuscripts)²⁴ among the earliest Carolingian minuscules, and this may well explain the few insular abbreviations that do appear in *O* and *Q*. It is hardly credible, moreover, that a scribe who may have been trained in the Court School under the direction of Alcuin (an Anglo-Saxon himself) and who may

¹⁹ M. Manitius, "Philologisches aus alten Bibliothekskatalogen bis 1300," *Rh. Mus.* (1892, supplement) 24.

²⁰ Lambinus, "Epistula lectori erudito," ii.

²¹ Diels, viii.

²² Hrabanus Maurus, "De Laudibus Sanctae Crucis," *Pat. Lat.* 107, 146c: "Feci quoque et synaloepham aliquando inscriptus in opportunis locis synaloepharum, quod et Titus Lucretius non raro fecisse invenitur."

²³ Bernhard Bischoff in *Karl der Grosse, Werk und Wirkung* (Aachen 1965), ed. by Wolfgang Braunsfels, 206. See 204 where Bischoff suggests that Dungal may have worked on *Bern. 212* of Optatianus Porphyrius.

²⁴ See the *stemma* offered by Timpanaro, *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann*, 58, in which *O* is traced from the archetype *A* through two copies (α and β), and *Q* through three (α , β , and γ).

have copied the manuscript in a monastery of Irish origin²⁵ would take such great pains to copy an insular model in a new script while at the same time revealing only the scantiest traces of his archetype. If this were the case, he must undoubtedly be credited with an excellent command of Latin as well as superb paleographical skill.

III

Any conclusion based on such evidence as I have set forth is bound to be a disappointing one to the adherents of the tradition of an "insular intermediary." To summarize briefly, there are no valid examples of the confusion of similar letters which can be assigned exclusively to insular script. Only two of the usual insular symbols appear among the abbreviations used by the copyists, suggesting only that the scribe may have had some acquaintance with the script. The evidence provided by the manuscripts themselves supports the view that the model for *O* and *Q* was to be found on the continent (possibly at or near Corbie), while Bischoff's identification points to the absurdity of the possibility that insular-trained scribes would copy a manuscript from an insular model and yet reveal so few traces of a script which would be familiar.

The intermittent use of two of the lesser-known "insular" abbreviations in a poem of over seven thousand lines is certainly far too little evidence for the legitimate postulation of an insular intermediary even without Bischoff's information. Nevertheless the mistakes occurring in *O* and *Q* are such that, paleographically speaking, they cannot logically be assigned to Lachmann's manuscript in capitals of the fourth or fifth century. The simplest way to escape both horns of the dilemma is to revert to Duvau's original theory of an intermediary in minuscules and possibly, upon the basis of the evidence offered here, to give preference to an intermediary in Carolingian minuscules.

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²⁵ I assume that by suggesting *Nordostfrankreich* Bischoff is referring to the area around Corbie.

CULEX 59

O. SKUTSCH

IT seems to have remained unnoticed that the goatherd's praises of the simple life, *Culex* 58-97, which draw heavily on *Lucr.* 2.23-36 and *Verg. Georg.* 2.458-474, fall into two parts almost equally long (58-78; 79-97) and remarkably parallel in structure: each opens with a μακαρισμός (58 *o bona pastoris si quis* . . . ; 79-80 *quis . . . queat esse beatior . . . quam qui* . . .), lists in negative conditional form (58 *si . . . non*; 80-81 *qui . . . non*) the wretched objects of avarice and ambition, and ends with a description of the idyllic life (69-78; 86-97). The first section begins:

O bona pastoris — si quis non pauperis usum
mente prius docta fastidiat et probet illis
<s>omnia luxuriae spretis —

Both sections may be said to assume that ignorance is bliss but a prejudice created by knowledge gained "beforehand" goes a little beyond the confines of a reasonable contrast. The idea that what is learned first makes the most lasting impression (so for instance *Hor. Epist.* 1.2.67f and the parallels cited there by Heinze) is hardly apposite here. *prius* may therefore appear somewhat doubtful,¹ and the beginning of the second section confirms that it is wrong and demands that another adverb should be preferred:

Quis magis optato queat esse beatior aevo
quam qui mente procul pura sensuque probando
non auidas agnouit opes . . .

The countryman who in his rustic innocence does not espy from afar, *mente procul pura non agnouit*, the temptations and dangers of wealth and power, corresponds precisely to the sophisticated man who spurns from afar, *mente procul docta fastidiat*, the life of the poor. Verbal repetition is a

¹ Heinsius wrote *minus*, but *minus docta*, though it has the merit of turning the awkward participle into the expected adjective, ruins the contrast between simplicity and sophistication.

striking idiosyncrasy of our poet.² Here the recurrence of the phrase *mente procul docta* has a certain point. Pointless, on the other hand, is the repetition of *probet* in *probando* but it would seem to confirm that 80 echoes 59.

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² W. Clausen, *HSCP* 68 (1964) 132f. To the long list given there we may add 11/18 *decus* (in 15 I should prefer Heinsius' *specus*), 46/53 *petiuit*, *petuntur*, 199/205 *artus*, 302/304 *referens*, *referat*, 394/398 *memor*. Perhaps also 306 *manaret*/314 *manante* if, as I suspect, that word is to be restored for *lacrimante* in the puzzling phrase *flamma lacrimante*; *lacrima* written above the line to accompany *manante* might have caused the corruption.

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE TEXT OF SERVIUS' COMMENTARY ON *AENEID* III-V

CHARLES E. MURGIA

TO facilitate an understanding of the textual matters to be considered here, I prefix a brief summary of the manuscript tradition, based mainly on my Harvard doctoral dissertation.¹

There are three main sources by which the text of Servius descends to us. The first is the tradition of the **DS** commentary (represented over *Aen.* III-V usually by manuscripts FG and occasionally CPT and the *Ambrosianus*).² The **DS** scholia are those known as *Servius Auctus* or the *Scholia Danielis*, discovered and first printed (1600) by Pierre Daniel. Although Daniel believed that these scholia were the true Servius, and that what had previously been known as Servius was only an abbreviation, it is now known³ that *Servius Auctus* is a conflation of Servius with

¹ "On Relations of the Manuscripts of Servius's *Commentary on the Aeneid*" (April 1966).

² For descriptions of the manuscripts quoted in this paper (except *Leidensis* B.P.L. 52) and for interpretations of their symbols, the reader is referred to the prefaces of the *Editio Harvardiana* of Servius: E. K. Rand *et al.*, *Servianorum in Vergilii Carmina Commentariorum Editionis Harvardianae* vol. 2 (Lancaster 1946) iii-xiv, and A. F. Stocker and A. H. Travis, *Servianorum in Vergilii Carmina Commentariorum Editionis Harvardianae* vol. 3 (Oxford 1965) iv-xiii. Most of the quotations of manuscripts in this paper are derived from the apparatus of the *Editio Harvardiana*, although in a few instances (particularly for vol. 2) I have corrected the apparatus from personal observation of facsimiles of the manuscripts. In one respect my practice in reporting the manuscripts differs from that of the *Editio Harvardiana*: I report correcting hands of manuscripts by superscribing a 2 above the *siglum* for that manuscript: e.g. Pa² is used as a *siglum* for the corrector of Pa. The *Editio Harvardiana* uses the same *siglum* for the hands of the text and for those writing corrections interlinearly or in the margin, even though the correctors usually transmit a different tradition and sometimes are of slightly later date.

³ Georg Thilo, in the preface to his edition of Servius (*Servii Grammatici Qui Feruntur in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii* 1 [Leipzig 1881] iii ff) proved that those scholia found in **DS** but not in the vulgate tradition of Servius were not homogeneous with the scholia of Servius, but must have been added by some medieval compiler. Karl Barwick ("Zur Serviusfrage," *Philologus* 70 [1911] 106-145) showed that the additional scholia of **DS** constituted substantially one ancient commentary fused onto the text of Servius.

another ancient commentary. E. K. Rand⁴ suggested that this other ancient commentary was the commentary of Aelius Donatus, and, so as not to beg the question of the authorship of these scholia, proposed that the *Scholia Danielis* be referred to as **DS** and that the ancient commentary which was conflated with Servius be termed **D**.

In Georg Thilo's edition of Servius, the non-Servian scholia found in **DS** are printed in italics; but where the **DS** commentary presents a variant version of a scholium found in Servius, the version of **DS** is often, of necessity, relegated to Thilo's apparatus. Rand's inquiries into the authorship of the **D** commentary prompted work on an edition of Servius (the *Editio Harvardiana*) in which variant scholia of **DS** and Servius could be compared side by side. Volume 2 of this edition, covering *Aeneid* I–II, was published in 1946; volume 3 (whose text this paper surveys), covering *Aen.* III–V, was published in 1965. These editions have the **DS** scholia printed in the left side of the page, the un-conflated Servius on the right; when the text covers both sides of the page, it is represented as having been possessed by both Servius and the **DS** tradition.⁵

Our interest in the **DS** tradition for this paper is mainly for the evidence which it provides for the reconstruction of the text of Servius; it supplies us with testimony which can go back to the text of Servius available to the medieval scribe who conflated the **D** commentary and the Servian commentary. I use the term **DS** not only to refer to the original commentary as first conflated, but also to refer to the tradition of this commentary, at whatever point we may find it.

The second tradition by which we can reconstruct Servius is that transmitted by δ , which is a symbol that I have given to a lost manuscript, of which three pure descendants survive: *Leidensis* B.P.L. 52,⁶ K, and J.

Leidensis B.P.L. 52 is, except for two quaternions, a direct copy of δ , made in Corbie about 800 A.D. This copy, which I called La in my dissertation, we may here call simply L. We will be able to quote L's readings in this paper only for part of *Aen.* V, since there survive of L only quires 19 through 28 (containing Servius' comment on *Aen.* V

⁴ "Is Donatus's Commentary on Virgil Lost?" *CQ* 10 (1916) 158–164.

⁵ For a fuller explanation of the practices of the *Editio Harvardiana*, consult the prefaces of vols. 2 and 3 of this edition. At the time of this writing, the other projected volumes have not been published.

⁶ A facsimile of *Leidensis* B.P.L. 52 has been published, with introduction by G. I. Lieftinck, in *Umbræ Codicum Occidentalium* 1 (Amsterdam 1960). This manuscript, unlike all the other manuscripts quoted, was not used by the editors of the *Editio Harvardiana*.

93-573; VI 39-VIII 664) and quire 31 (containing commentary on *Aen.* X 775-XI 262). L was copied quaternion by quaternion from δ , after δ had suffered the loss of ten quaternions;⁷ the ten missing quaternions were apparently replaced in *Codex Leidensis* B.P.L. 52 by later scribes (around 850); only two of these later quaternions survive, containing comment on *Aen.* V 573-VI 39, and on *Aen.* IX 715-X 191; these later scribes, whose text belongs to the so-called Tours group (β^2),⁸ I call Lb.

Of the other descendants of δ , K will not concern us here, since it leaves off at *Aen.* I 338. The third pure descendant of δ , J, was copied through at least one intermediary, which I call ϵ . All the other Servian manuscripts are contaminated and may derive readings from δ through ϵ .

Although we can reliably reconstruct the reading of δ when both L and J are extant, there are sections where one or both of these pure descendants of δ have not survived. I will use the symbol Δ in this paper to denote the tradition transmitted through δ , so far as that tradition can be established through extant manuscripts.

The third tradition through which Servius descends I will here call Γ . This tradition is inherited directly by γ (BPbM) and by σ (WN), though all these manuscripts are contaminated; Γ therefore can often be

⁷ Manuscript δ originally contained all of Servius' commentary on Virgil in the order *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, *Aeneid*. Before it was copied by any manuscript of which we know, it suffered the loss of ten quaternions, covering the text listed below:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>E. Prooem.-G.</i> I 21 | 4 quaternions missing |
| <i>G.</i> IV 193- <i>Aen.</i> I 4 | 1 quaternion missing |
| <i>Aen.</i> I 686-II 104 | " |
| III 694-IV 229 | " |
| V 573-VI 39 | " |
| VIII 664-IX 272 | " |
| IX 715-X 191 | " |

The quaternions of δ must have been numbered consecutively in the lower right-hand corner of the final page of each quire, since these quire signatures (the technical name for such numbering) were copied by the scribes of L into the corresponding position at the end of L's quaternions. L's quires were then renumbered by a contemporary hand; quires 19-31 (after the renumbering) correspond to quires 26-41 of δ , by which it is possible to tell that when L was copied δ was missing seven quaternions before quire 26, as well as quires 27, 37, and 39. The precise sections of text covered by these missing quires are determined from the fact that in these sections J and (even where otherwise extant) K and L contain no text. That J derives from δ independently of L is determined from an examination of the text which these manuscripts transmit.

⁸ For a discussion of this group see the preface to vol. 2 of the *Editio Harvardiana* (above, n. 1) viii-ix. I follow the Harvard Edition in using the symbols β^2 , γ , and σ ; I do not use the symbols β and β^1 since these would be equivalent to Δ where Δ is extant, but a branch of Γ where Δ has perished.

recognized only by subtracting the reading of Δ from the reading of $\gamma\sigma$ —that is, the reading of Γ may be found in only one or two of these manuscripts, while the others have a reading descended mainly from δ , or we may find in γ and/or σ a conflation of the two traditions.

Deriving from δ through ϵ are also A, which has some contamination from Γ , and the manuscripts of the Tours group (β^2 , represented in *Harv.*⁹ by PaTa), which is highly contaminated from Γ .

Unfortunately, since δ had suffered the loss of ten quaternions before it was ever copied, in these places, except for the DS manuscripts, all our extant codices (APaTaBPbMWN as used by *Harv.*) transmit only the Γ tradition (except for some interpolations from DS; LJ and K, since pure, are without text in these places; as mentioned above, the vacant quaternions were supplied in *Leidensis* B.P.L. 52 by Lb).

The quality of the various traditions may be seen quickly by comparing the Servian scholium on *Aen.* IV 242 (VIRGAM), lines 10–19 in *Harv.*, with Isidore, *Orig.* VIII 11.48 (which was copied from Servius by Isidore in the early seventh century). There it will be found that the text printed for Servius is mainly that transmitted by δ , which agrees substantially with Isidore; that DS has interspersed other scholia into the same texture; and that the Γ tradition, here represented by γ , has deliberately rewritten and rearranged the scholium.

Now it happens that the most popular tradition in the ninth century was the β^2 tradition. Most of the manuscripts which Thilo used (RLHN according to his *sigla*) were of the β^2 group. Since, being contaminated, β^2 was able to correct Δ 's obvious errors, it naturally appeared to be the most accurate tradition. The custom of β^2 was to follow Δ 's tradition, unless Δ appeared to have an omission or a corruption, when it would switch to the Γ reading; sometimes it would conflate the two traditions, and not infrequently it would contribute conjectures of its own. It thus has happened that the judgment of the early editors of Tours in choosing between readings of the Δ and Γ traditions has had a considerable influence on the establishment of Thilo's text. Thilo's text, in turn, has assumed something of the standing of a *textus receptus*; for the new *Editio Harvardiana* of Servius (vol. 3, covering *Aen.* III–V), in an attempt to produce a text which gives an unbiased parallel presentation of the DS conflation and of the pure Servian commentary, seems to have usually been guided in its presentation of the Servian text by the text adopted by Thilo — even though the editors had much better evidence than Thilo.

⁹ I shall use the abbreviation *Harv.* to indicate the *Editio Harvardiana* of Servius, or the editors thereof.

Let me give an example (Servius in *Aen.* IV 469.21):

secundum Vrbanum *agmina*
serpentum. Pentheus furu-
it etiam ipse secundum
Pacuvii tragoediam.

aut secundum Vrbanum *agmina*
serpentium. Pentheus autem
secundum tragoediam Pacuvii
fuit etiam ipse.

So prints *Harv.*, with **DS** on the left and on the right the reading of all the Servian manuscripts but J. For this section J (δ 's pure descendant) has only *aut secundum pacubii tragoediam*. Usually A and β^2 (PaTa) will follow the reading of δ 's tradition. When they do so, and the **DS** tradition is in agreement, Thilo will adopt the reading, unless it be clearly corrupt. In such a case, the Harvard editors of vol. 3 also will generally follow Thilo. Here however, δ or ϵ (as shown by J's reading) had an omission caused by the scribe's eye passing from one *secundum* to another. Therefore all the Servian manuscripts but J adopted instead the reading of **F**. And so do Thilo and *Harv.* But it can be seen from J's reading that the text it inherited would have followed the order found in the **DS** tradition. Had there not been the omission in ϵ , JA β^2 would have had the order of the **DS** tradition, so would have Thilo, and so, I feel confident, would *Harv.*¹⁰

Since it seemed to me that in a number of instances accident rather than editorial judgment had determined the readings in our texts of Servius, I decided to examine, unprejudiced by the treatment accorded by past editors (including ninth-century ones), the text of Servius for *Aen.* III-V, and to compile a set of critical notes covering passages where *Harv.* appeared to adopt the wrong reading.

This paper makes no pretensions to completeness. Matters doubtful are mostly omitted. Orthography is not considered. I have concerned myself mainly with the text to be read for Servius, except where a

¹⁰ I have no strong feelings myself as to the correct version here, but if I had to choose the reading which I thought to be Servius' it would be this:

aut secundum Vrbanum *agmina* serpentium. Pentheus autem fuit etiam ipse secundum Pacuvii tragoediam.

For the order compare the **D** comment at line 6: *Pentheus autem fuisse traditur secundum Pacuvii tragoediam* — a comment obviously in the same scholiastic tradition to which Servius is an heir.

My point in adducing this passage is not that the reading of *Harv.* is necessarily wrong, but that at no time, not even in the ninth century, does a critical judgment seem to have been made, on the basis of the text itself, as to which reading Servius would have written; modern editors have simply accepted the reading of the bulk of the manuscripts, which represent, nevertheless, only one tradition of three. .

problem in the **DS** scholia happened to catch my attention. Readings not attributed to some other source are suggested on my own authority.

In interpreting the evidence one should not conclude that agreement of two of the three traditions necessarily means that the third is wrong. Examples can be adduced of any of the three traditions bearing the correct reading against the concerted testimony of the other two; over the space covered by vol. 3 of *Harv.*, agreement in error of **DS** Δ is more common than other conjunctions. The tradition is at all points a contaminated one — more complicated than the simplified description given above; of the manuscripts, σ , particularly W, is the most contaminated, agreeing in error with any group, including **DS**. The correct reading in most instances, therefore, must be determined from the requirements of the text itself and Servius' usage. No attempt is made to give a complete proof for every reading — only for those thought to require it. The reader is expected to follow along with page opened to the appropriate scholium in *Harv.*, and to the line in question in Virgil's *Aeneid*.

In the following examples, lemmas, unless otherwise specified, are for Servius' text as read in *Harv.*, and **DS** readings are reported as if errors. Minor errors not germane to the problem are not reported. Where the situation is clear enough to permit it, I will add in brackets after the citations of manuscripts my interpretation of the tradition (**DS**, Δ , or Γ) which such manuscripts have inherited. For instance the previous example from the commentary on *Aen.* IV 469 would be cited so:

IV 469.21

aut secundum Vrbanum *agmina* serpentium. Pentheus autem secundum tragoediam Pacuvii fuit etiam ipse *APaTayσ* [Γ] secundum Vrbanum *agmina* serpentum. Pentheus fuit etiam ipse secundum Pacuuii tragoediam *FG*[**DS**] aut secundum pacubii tragoediam *Ƴ*[Δ].

Note that the symbols in brackets signify not the latest common exemplar that may be reconstructed for the cited manuscripts, but the branch of the tradition inherited by the manuscripts; **DS** is the tradition of the manuscripts which transmit the **DS** tradition; Δ is the tradition transmitted by δ , whose pure descendants here are J and, where extant, L; Γ is the remaining tradition.

III 8.2

Lycios *Tay* lycios a *Pa* lycios fid *Ƴ*[Δ] letior fidumque u. o. *A* lycios fidumque uehebat oronten *FGσ*[**DS**] *recte*.

We should expect the quotation of the full line here because it is required for the sense and because it is given in the following citation. It was common practice of the scribes to write out only the first part of a quotation, abbreviate the rest; the abbreviations tended to drop out or become corrupted.

III 8.3

et *codd.*

For *et* we should read *hic* as the first word of the quotation from *Aen.* XII 516. *Et* is not needed after *item* and not normally so found in Servius. It is normal, however, in a sequence such as this, to begin citations from Virgil with the first word of the line. *H* tends to drop out, which would leave *ic*, which would easily be corrected to *et*.

III 19.4

si *PaTaPbσ*[Γ] cum *ŷAM*[Δ] *recte*; *loc. om.* *F*[DS].

This passage has been rewritten by the Γ tradition; Δ read *cum* both in line 3 and in line 4, Γ read *si* in both places. The fact that β² chose *cum* in the former and *si* in the latter place should not influence us.

III 19.5

de mari *APaTaγσ*[Γ] mari *ŷ*[Δ] *loc. om.* *F*[DS].

The correct reading here is *a mari*: cf. DS in *Aen.* V 801.3 *Venerem dicit a mari procreatam*. In the archetype *a* was omitted by haplography in the environment *prosperāamari*, and *de* was conjecturally supplied by Γ.

III 19.6

non semper *Pb*[Γ?] mos semper *PaTa om.* *ŷAM*[Δ]σ *loc. om.* *F*.

Non semper is probably a gloss. Glosses are found even now superscribed in Pb (and the same ones often in M); the addition of *non semper* as a gloss is easier to explain than its omission would be, but the main reason why I object to it is simply a matter of personal judgment — it sounds-like a gloss to me, not like Servius.

III 20.2

qui arcis *codd.*

Read *quia arcis*. Servius seems not to use *qui* when he could use *quia* with the same sense — still less would he do it in this environment (*quia . . . propter . . . causa*).

III 68.3

elicitam dicit $\gamma\sigma[\mathbf{T}]$ dicit elicitam $F[\mathbf{DS}]Pa$ dicit elictam $\mathfrak{f}ATa[\Delta]$.

Dicit elicitam is probably right. The \mathbf{T} tradition has a habit of “regularizing” word order, particularly putting verbs at the end of their clauses. The following examples of such “regularization” may be added here:

IV *Praef.* 10

iunctus quoque superioribus est \mathbf{T} iunctus quoque est superioribus $FG[\mathbf{DS}]$.

Read *iunctus quoque est superioribus*.

IV 183.2

in quibus fama est \mathbf{T} in quibus est fama $FG[\mathbf{DS}]$ *recte*.

V 529.2

quae caelestibus ignibus semper cohaerent $\gamma\sigma[\mathbf{T}]$ quae coh(a)erent caelestibus ignibus (ignibus ss. \mathfrak{f} , ignis *pro* ignibus *A*) $FG[\mathbf{DS}]L\mathfrak{f}A[\Delta]$ *recte*.

V 755.8

loca murorum designabant \mathbf{T} loca designabant murorum $F[\mathbf{DS}]$ *recte*.

V 613.8

sed participialiter acta significet \mathbf{T} sed participialiter significat acta $FG[\mathbf{DS}]$.

Read *sed participialiter significet acta*.

V 791.3

unam enim navim ex omnibus vertit Pb^2M unam enim ex omnibus uertit $APaTa(B)Pb\sigma[\mathbf{T}]$ unam enim nauim uertit ex omnibus $F[\mathbf{DS}]$.

The order of **DS** is correct. *Navim* is transmitted only through **DS**, and may be merely an addition of that tradition, since **DS** has the habit of supplying ellipses. However, one could argue that it had fallen out in **Γ** due to homoeoteleuton.

For examples of this sort of "regularizing" of word order by **Γ** which are not printed by *Harv.*, one may consult the apparatus at III 165.1, III 407.8, III 517.7, IV 239.1, V 215.2.

III 68.12

ad alios *PaTaPbM* ad aliud *γA[Δ]BW[Γ]* aliut *F[DS]*.

Ad alios is certainly not right — it is simply an error or conjecture of β² adopted by PbM (which are jointly contaminated from β²). The archetype read *ad aliud*, which is probably right: i.e. the Egyptians preserve cadavers in order that the soul may endure a long time and be subject to the body and may not quickly pass to another (body). The parallels in Servius for the transmigration of the soul are:

III 68.16 et ad diversa corpora transitum facere

III 140.3 et ad diversa corpora transitum facere

VI 362 (59.17)¹¹ ut etiam in alia corpora plerumque transeat.

Since the parallels are all in the plural one might conjecture *ad alia transeat* in 68.12; *aliut* (a common spelling of *aliud*) could easily have arisen by confusion of open *a* with *u* and dittography of the *t*. However *aliud* can be defended here as better suited to the sequence, in which the emphasis is not on the continual passage from body to body to body, but rather on a single transmigration.

III 68.21

more sollemni *sic vel sim.* *γAPaTaMW[Δ]* more sollemni id est tertio *vel sim.* *FG[DS]* more sollemniter *BPbN[Γ]*.

Read *more sollemni ter*. For the practice of saying farewell to the dead

¹¹ Both here and elsewhere, the numbers in parentheses refer to the page and line of Thilo's edition of Servius. The appropriate volume of this edition should be readily determinable from the number of the book of Virgil on which the scholium comments.

three times, see Servius in *Aen.* II 644.3 *vale, vale, vale. Id est* (abbreviated *i.*) of **DS** is simply a dittography of the *i* in *sollemni*, *tertio* is simply the medieval equivalent of the classical *ter*. The **DS** tradition does change *ter* into *tertio* several times, but Servius uses predominantly *ter* (there are a few instances where our manuscripts give *tertio* for Servius).

III 75.1

qui ultus *FG[DS]jAPa²Ta[Δ]PbMN[T?]* quia ultus *PaBW recte*.

The latter reading may be conjecture, but that does not make it any the less right.

III 111.3

et *PaTaγσ[Γ] om. FP[DS]jA[Δ] recte*.

Who else besides Cybele was named for Mt. Cybelus?

DS in *Aen.* III 113.31

pardalide libenter *Harv.* parda libenter *FG[DS]* paradalide *TaBPbσ[Γ]*
pardalidem *j[Δ]* parda lidæ *Pa parda AM*.

Parda libenter of *FG* is simply a corruption of *pardalide*. If one wishes to memorialize the corruption by printing it separately (under the assumption, I suppose, that it was in the text at the time Servius and the **D** comment were first conflated into a **DS** commentary), one should not conflate it with the correct reading and come up with *pardalide libenter*, which no early tradition has ever read.

III 183.3

ut (82) Anchisen agnovit amicum et (V 866) sale saxa sonabant *sic vel sim. PaTaPbσ[Γ]* ut sale saxa sonabant *jAB[Δ] recte* ut et sale saxa sonabant *M* ut sale saxos *C[DS]* ut sale saxo *F*.

The traditions of **DS** and **Δ** possessed only one citation, *ut sale saxa sonabant*. *Saxos* of **C** is a corruption of *saxa s.*, the *s.* being the initial of *sonabant*. **F** corrected *saxos* to *saxo*, and *Harv.* corrected this to *saxa*,

omitting *sonabant* from its text of the DS version, though it surely belongs there. This is one of many instances in which *Harv.* (vol. 3) needlessly differentiates the DS and Servian traditions; I do not intend to consume space pointing them out unless they are important.

My main point here is that the citation *Anchisen agnovit amicum* is an interpolation of the Γ tradition. With this scholium compare Servius in *Aen.* II 199.1:

MAIVS MISERIS MVLTOQVE MAGIS TREMENDVM ut (V 816) sale saxa sonabant et (III 183) casus Cassandra canebat] et . . . canebat om. JAMW[Δ] deest C[DS].

In the above example there is no pure representative of the DS tradition, due to the loss of a quaternion of C, so that we have no evidence as to whether DS would also have omitted *et . . . canebat*. The consistent element is that in both examples Δ quotes as a parallel for alliteration only *sale saxa sonabant*. One might argue that the omission of *et causa . . . canebat* is simply an accident, since our passage on III 183 agrees with the citation, and since the similarity of the endings *sonabant* and *canebat* could have led to an omission. But there is no such corresponding scholium at III 82 for *Anchisen agnovit amicum*, nor any reason why *Anchisen . . . et* should be accidentally omitted in III 183. How would the DS and Δ traditions have known which scholium to omit?

Consider Servius in *Aen.* I 73.8ff. For the sake of clarity I will print in the left half of the page the reading of DS(P)Δ(KJA), in the right the reading printed by *Harv.* and Thilo, that of Γ (represented by β²γ; σ has a conflation of the two traditions):

DSA

Γ

ipse alio loco longam posuit, ut
(IV 213)

conubia nostra reppulit.

ipse alio loco longam posuit, ut
est (III 319) *Hectoris Andromache?* *Pyrrhin conubia servas*,
item (IV 213) *quique loci leges*
dedimus, conubia nostra reppulit et
(IV 316) *per conubia nostra* et (IV
535) *Nomadumque petam conubia*
supplex.

With this compare Servius in *Aen.* IV 126:

CONVEIO 'nu' naturaliter longa est ab eo quod est 'nubere,' ut (213)
conubia nostra reppulit; sed modo metri causa corripuit.

We see in IV 126 that Servius quotes precisely the parallel in precisely the form of **DSA**'s quotation in I 73. Obviously the "omissions" of **DSA** are neither accidental nor capricious. The most reasonable explanation of **DSA**'s ability to pick out from a selection of four the parallel which Servius elsewhere would quote is that **DSA** had the correct version of Servius, while the additional quotations were interpolations of **T**.

One might argue that the additional scholia were added by Servius to what he found in his source, that the **D** scholium was equivalent to Servius' source, and that the compiler of **DS** purified Servius to the **D** version. This latter alternative is made unlikely by the fact that there is a definite stylistic difference in the manner of joining citations. Multiple citations are slightly more common in the **DS** tradition than in Servius; there the normal connective of the passages is *et*: see, for example, **DS** in *Aen.* I 1.22, 1.55, *et passim*. In Servius a number of connectives are used, including a few legitimate examples of the simple *et* (mostly for citations of shorter length; there are also some instances where *Harv.* reads *et* where *item* should probably be read, as I 28.4); but by far the most common connective for directly joining two citations is *item*: see I 42.5, 114.2, 162.2, 678.4, 681.2; II 134.6; III 8.3, 41.6, 539.6, 666.2; IV 1.20, 2.6, 159.6, 223.5, 341.5, 413.10, 496.5, 674.5; V 19.9, and so on. Now in the passage quoted from II 73 *item* is one of the three connectives used, but in all other instances where *item* is used as connective **DSA** do not together omit any of the quotations; but in most instances in which *et* is used to join directly two citations, and in two in which *vel* is used, **DSA** (or one of them, when the other is not extant) will transmit only one of the alternative citations. In addition to those already quoted, these examples are:

- I 185.2 *et* . . . silvis *om.* CP[DS]K \mathfrak{f} AB[Δ]
 248.16 *et* . . . refixum *om.* K \mathfrak{f} A[Δ] (*sic*; *app. Harv. non recte legit*)
deest C[DS]
 646.2 *et* . . . silex *om.* C[DS] \mathfrak{f} A[Δ]
 .5 *et* . . . hirsutae *post* videat *add.* PaTa²PbMN[T]
 .8 *et* . . . omnes *om.* \mathfrak{f} AM(*sic*)[Δ] *loc. om.* C[DS]
 676.4 *et* . . . nobis *om.* CP[DS] \mathfrak{f} A[Δ]
 II 209.4 spumas . . . secabant *om.* f[DS] \mathfrak{f} AMW[Δ] *deest* C
 II 377.6 *et* . . . tenetur *om.* C[DS] \mathfrak{f} A[Δ]
 III 611.5 *et* . . . subimus *om.* FC[DS] _{σ} (\mathfrak{f} *perit*)
 II 166.34 vix . . . flammae *vel om.* Fv[DS] \mathfrak{f} AW[Δ]
 711.7 *vel* . . . ripas *om.* \mathfrak{f} AM[Δ] *desunt* CP[DS]

The examples quoted for I 646 are a little different in that Servius would have used *et* in such a sequence. But these citations, transmitted only by **Γ**, seem all to be interpolations of that tradition. I have not found these interpolations anywhere but in the commentary on *Aen.* I-III, so perhaps the interpolator's energy flagged afterwards.

Here we may mention III 464.4:

ut (E. X 69) *omnia vincit Amor,*

et ut (X 394) *tibi,*
Thymbre, caput.

item (X 394) *at tibi,*
Thymbre, caput Evandrius abstulit
ensis.

Item . . . ensis is omitted by γ , which is our clue that this citation is transmitted only by **DS** and Δ . Further, *item* is read only by PaTa, omitted by JA σ ; since JA establish ϵ 's reading, *item* cannot possibly have any authority, but must be a conjecture of the β^2 edition. The reading transmitted by Δ therefore was simply *at tibi Thymbre e.q.s.*; **DS** read *et ut tibi Thymbre e.q.s.* It should be obvious that *ut* of **DS** is simply a variant for *at* of Δ . Since we want a first word for this line, this leaves us with *at*, an error since Virgil read *nam* (*at* begins the preceding line in Virgil). The most likely connective to have preceded *at* was *et* (read by **DS**) which would easily have dropped out in that environment.

There is no pattern of **DSA** interpolation of quotations into Servius. There are a few instances in which **DS** has added a citation joined to a Servian citation by *et* (as the absurd addition in I 319.5); but these are surprisingly few for a conflated tradition such as **DS**. There are also some instances in which genuine Servian citations have been omitted by γ , and even **DS** γ together. Nevertheless, since we have here a parallel citation which is not only omitted by γ but which also, as transmitted, employs a connective more characteristic of interpolations than of Servius, we are justified in being suspicious. The parallel is apt enough, but we should not wish a reading *at* instead of *nam* in *Aen.* X 394 to be attributed unnecessarily to Servius.

III 209.4

suis liberis $\mathfrak{f}APaTa[\Delta]$ liberis suis $C\gamma\sigma[\Gamma]$.

The **DS** tradition here has a different version, so C possesses only a Servian text; I would not put undue stress on the fact that it agrees with **Γ**. The *testimonia* also are of no help, since all are late (the scholium in

Lact. Plac. is an interpolation) and simply follow one branch or the other of the Servian tradition (mostly Γ). But it seems clear that the correct reading is *liberis suis* — the normal order unless special emphasis is intended. What has happened here is that in Δ 's tradition *issu* had dropped out by haplography from the sequence *liberissuisuperduxit*; *suis* was later superscribed by a corrector, and found its way into the text at the wrong place.

III 260.7

ex aliis $A\gamma\sigma[\Gamma]$ om. $FGC[DS]PaTa[\Delta]$ recte.

In this section (242.4-284.10) J has perished, so that $\beta^2(PaTa)$ is the only extant transmitter of δ 's reading here. *Ex aliis* is not wanted here: compare Servius in *Aen.* XII 436 *subaudimus* 'opta'; *nec enim fortuna discitur*.

III 271.1

est ista $PaTaBPb[\Gamma]$ est AM est ista insula σ ciuitas est ista $FPC[DS]$ f perit.

For *est ista* read simply *civitas*. The error proceeded *ciuitas* > *citas* > *ēitas* > *ēista*. DS has a conflation of the correct reading and the error. Schoell's conjecture $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\nu$ for *ista* ignores Servius' vocabulary, in which Same would be called a *civitas*.

III 284.11

dixit $\text{f}APaTa[\Delta]$ dicit $FG[DS]\gamma W[\Gamma]$.

Dicit looks right. Servius normally uses the present tense in such a context (see *dicuntur* in line 9).

DS in *Aen.* III 315.1

\dagger enim et hos FG .

Schoell's conjecture $\eta\theta\iota\kappa\omega\varsigma$ is surely right. This would have been written $H\Theta IK\omega C$. H was taken for the insular symbol for *enim* (\mathcal{H}), Θ was written ϵ by scribes unfamiliar with Greek (see Don. in *Andr.* 637, p. 196, line 18 Wessner, where for $\eta\theta\iota\kappa\omega\varsigma$ codex B has $h\epsilon IKOC$), ι was confused with T (because of the short cross-strokes used on T 's), K

with *H*, and the other letters simply transliterated. For the meaning of ἡθικῶς here, compare the explanation of ἡθικῶς σφόδρα μειδιᾶσας (Plut. Brut. 51) given in Stephanus, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* (sub ἡθικῶς).

III 416.4

continuo *CPaTaPbN*[T] continue *FPT*[DS]†*ABMW*[Δ] recte.

Compare Servius in *Aen.* X 340 PROTINVS *iugiter*, continue. Compare also Nonius, p. 376.3 Lindsay: *Protinus iugiter et continue* — an explanation followed by citations including *Aeneid* III 416 and X 340.

III 475.5

†apud eos *codd.*

There is nothing wrong with *apud eos*. It means *apud Graecos*, a sense required to contrast with *apud Latinos*, line 9; compare Charisius, *Inst. Gram.* I (1.19.6 K): *quia nomina Graeca in as productam terminata vel dissyllaba flexa, cum apud eos per genetivum ou habent syllabam in extremitate, apud nos primae sunt declinationis*. The editors were probably misled by the fact that after stating that it is a question among the Greeks how the vocative should end of nouns whose nominative ends in *es*, Servius then proceeds to quote his examples of the Greek declension from Virgil and Horace. But what illogicality there is here is the fault of Servius, not his scribes.

III 581.2

labori *codd.*

Read *lateri*. 'Dat refectiorem lateri' explains a reading *et fessum quotiens mutat latus* in Virgil.

III 584.1

DET CAUSA *Αγσ*[T] *om.* *FC*[DS]*PaTa*[Δ] recte.

The scholium explains VIDEMVS alone. Again β² alone transmits δ's reading where J has perished. I adduce this lemma *exempli gratia*: it is characteristic of the T tradition that it frequently has longer versions of

the lemma than **DSΔ**. Sometimes this longer version seems right, as in III 226.2, where the fuller QVATIVNT CLANGORIBVS ALAS of γσ seems to be the lemma commented on by Servius (*ut sit 'alas quatiebant cum clangoribus'*), rather than the printed CLANGORIBVS ALAS. But even where it is right, we need have no illusions that it necessarily represents a tradition going back to Servius (though it could); this tradition's quotations of Virgil seem strongly influenced by the text of Virgil available to it. In general, it would be rash to place a great deal of faith in manuscript tradition for determining lemmas; it seems best to be guided rather by the requirements of the scholium. Sometimes it may be necessary to add words not found in the manuscripts: e.g. in V 217.1 the Servian scholium (transmitted only by the **T** tradition) calls for a lemma RADIT <ITER LIQVIDVM>; ITER LIQVIDVM would have been abbreviated I.L., which would easily have fallen out. But I do not intend to comment henceforth on readings of lemmas where the reading does not impair the usefulness of the text. No editor will achieve perfection in the printing of lemmas. I do not mean to imply that a bad job has been done by *Harv.*

III 594.2

sertum *FGC*[**DS**]*PaTaMσ*[**Δ**] (*ſ periiit*) sentum *ABPb*[**T**] *Ter. recte.*

In the context of the scholium (*inligatum spinis*) *sentum* makes sense, *sertum* does not. The error *sertum* was influenced by *CONSERVTVM* in the lemma.

III 611.5

et . . . subimus.

See the discussion of III 183.3.

III 681.7

†inmane autem quod ait et in celso vertice et lucus *ſAPaTa*[**Δ**] (*B*)*σ*[**T**]
inmane autem quod ait etiam uertice celso et lucus *FGC*[**DS**] inmani-
tatem auget quod ait et 'celso vertice' et 'lucus' *Schoell.*

Read *inmane autem quod ait et* (679) *vertice celso et lucus*. There is nothing wrong with *inmane*: cf. Servius in *G.* I 47 (145.9) *VOTIS RESPONDET inmane est quod ait 'votis.'* *Inmane* apparently is scholiastic jargon, akin in meaning to *mirum*.

III 694.7

origo coniunxit *Lion* origon iunxit *Pb*[**Γ**] origo non iunxit *APaTaσ* origo non coniunxit *B* origo iunxit *M* origo coniungit *FPC*[**DS**] *recte; loc. om. J*[**Δ**].

In this section J (and probably δ) had an omission due to a scribe's skipping from *coniungi* (line 6) to *coniungit*; so for *coniungi . . . coniunxit* [*ita*] J reads simply *contangit* (an error for *coniungit*). The other Servian manuscripts accordingly transmit only the **Γ** tradition, which was corrupt. The present tense seems called for by the context.

III 694.14

per secretos meatus venit *FPCσ*[**DS**] per secretos uenit meatos (meatos *in* meatus) *J*A[**Δ**] per secretos uenit *M* uenit (per secretos meatus *post* mutata *ss. Pa*) *PaTaBPb*[**Γ**].

Read *per secretos venit meatus* (**Δ**'s reading). It is a characteristic of the **DS** tradition that it changes to "normal" order many of the phrases which Servius interrupts with the verb (an order of which Servius is fond). For examples of Servius' taste in word order see III 20.3 *ad priuatam pertinent causam*, III 313.1 *hoc ad Aeneae pertinet gloriam*, III 401.1 *unde propter supra dictam pulsus est causam*, III 500.2 *in hunc cecidit fluium*, and many others. For an example of **DS**'s simplifying Servius' order see III 414.5 *tria tenet tempora* (*tria tempora tenet DS*).

In the following section (III 694.3-IV 229) δ was missing a quaternion, so that we have only two traditions extant: those of **DS** and of **Γ**. Since both these traditions frequently make deliberate changes in the text that they transmit, it is especially difficult to establish the text of this section with accuracy. The chances that **DS** alone may transmit the Servian reading are much greater here than where we have all three traditions extant; but the reader should not let agreement of *Pa* and *σ* with **DS** mislead him into giving greater credence to these readings, since these manuscripts are contaminated from **DS** here. Obviously no editor with this evidence will establish the correct Servian text in all instances. But I will comment on those passages where there seems to be good basis for a choice.

III 717.9

conticuit et (II 1) intenti. CONTICVIT TANDEM ut (II 1) conticuere omnes

Harv. conticuit et intenti *vel sim.* *APaTay*[**T**] Conticuit tandem ut conticuere omnes *FGCσ*[**DS**].

The readings of **DS** and **T** are variants, conflated only by *Harv.* Either is presumptively possible for Servius, but to read both together cannot be correct. We must see which fits better.

Servius in 717.8 points out that the first two lines of book II, just as the last three of book III, are in the voice of the poet (everything in between is spoken by Aeneas) and that the end (i.e. of book III) is like the beginning (of book II) — *et similis est finis initio* — to which **T** adds *conticuit et intenti*. Now surely Servius is not trying to tell us that *conticuit* is like *intenti*; rather he means to say that the last line of book III begins like the first line of book II. Read *et similis est finis initio*: (718) conticuit tandem *ut* (II 1) conticuere omnes. *Conticuit tandem* is not a lemma at all, though the **DS** tradition may have so misinterpreted it.

Probably **T**'s *conticuit et intenti* conceals a reading (718) conticuit <*et* (716) intentis *ut* (II 1) conticuere> *et intenti*. This is a possible reading for Servius, but even so I would suspect the **T** tradition of tampering with the text by adding the reference to the similarity of *intentis* and *intenti*.

IV *Praef.* 21

dormire *APaTayσ*[**T**] quieuisse *FGA*²[**DS**].

Quieuisse of **DS** seems correct (see *quievit*, *Aen.* III 718) over *dormire* transmitted by **T** (*quieuisse* was not clear enough for **T**). As to the other variations of **DS** and **T** in this preface, I will simply note that there is no reason to believe that the **DS** tradition inherited anything but a Servian tradition for this (or any other) preface. The variations that may be seen are due simply to the different treatment accorded the passage by the two traditions.

IV 57.14

nec in omnibus sed in his

quae sunt aptae sacrificiis
inveniuntur.

quae aptae sacrificiis
inveniuntur.

This passage explains *bidentes*. Are the two more prominent teeth found in those sheep which are suited for sacrifice (as the **DS** text reads), or

rather do they exist only in those sheep which are *found* suited for sacrifice (as **Γ** transmits)? It occurs to me that there must be sheep having the two prominent teeth and suited for sacrifice, but which have never been examined and so have never been found suited for sacrifice. I am sure that it would have occurred to Servius too. *Sunt* must be read in Servius as well as **DS**. The parallel passage in VI 39 (12.15) has the clause *quae erant aptae sacrificiis* (where *erant* is possibly an error for *sunt*).

IV 82.7

significat *APaTaγσ*[**Γ**] *om.* *F*[**DS**] *recte*.

In this section (IV 82.6-8) **DS** transmits the following reading:

MAERET si dipthongon habeat, ut hoc loco, 'tristis est' significat; aliter 'militat,' ut *aere merent parvo*.

Γ transmits instead simply the following:

MAERET per diptongon est, nam aliter militiam significat.

WN have conflateions of the two traditions; W reads exactly as **DS** except that after 'militat' it adds *significat*, taken from the *significat* after *militiam* in **Γ**. *Harv.* follows W's reading for Servius, but clearly *significat* should be omitted. It is Servius' preference to put the verb with the first of two alternatives and omit it with the latter; the **Γ** tradition prefers to place the verb with the second of two alternatives and sometimes rewrites Servius to do so (e.g. III 7.8 *nec in Thracia nec in Creta permansit γ*). The **DS** tradition has a habit of supplying ellipses, and might have been expected to add *significat* after *militat*; fortunately it did not, so the reading is clear. The reading supplied by most of the Servian manuscripts is a condensation made by the **Γ** tradition. The text as read by **DS** is correct.

IV 159.2

Dardanus *FG*[**DS**] dardanius *APaTaγσ*[**Γ**].

Is not *Durdanius* of **Γ** right? It seems strange for Servius, as proof that Ascanius is called Dardanus, to quote a line (163) in which he is called

Dardanius. I do not believe that *etiam* in line 5 should be pressed to the point of requiring both Ascanius and Aeneas to be called Dardanus (it simply means that even Aeneas had another name, Dardanus), but I do believe that if *Dardanus* is read in line 2 then *etiam* should be omitted in line 8 (as in **DS**). It seems to me, however, that the names Dardanius and Dardanus for Ascanius and Aeneas are simply errors arising from misinterpretations of the adjectives in lines of Virgil (though the errors doubtless go back to quite early times). Ascanius is nowhere called *Dardanus* in the *Aeneid*; but Dardanius, since it can be construed as equalling "son of Dardanus," is a fitting name for one who was thought to be the son of Dardanus. There is apparently no other source extant for Ascanius' being called either Dardanus or Dardanius. For scholiasts' mistakenly deriving a name from the text of Virgil, compare the discussion below of V 30.15.

IV 193.5

pro 'quam longa est ipsa nox' (pro *om.* *FP* quantum *pro* quam σ) *FP* σ [**DS**] *om.* *APaTay*[**I**].

This looks like an addition of the **DS** tradition. It explains not the lemma but the parallel citation (contrary to the normal practice of Servius, who expects the reader to look up his citations). Besides, instead of *quam longa* Servius would have said *in quantum longa* (see VIII 86). Probably *in quantum* was the reading of the interpolator also, since there is no reason to suppose him grossly incompetent: *in* (*i*) may have dropped out by haplography after *leni* (the preceding word in *FP*); *pro* would then be an addition by σ , which had more need of it to smooth the join onto the Servian scholium than did **DS**, which simply quotes for its citation lemma and scholium. The join may still be poor, but is such as may be expected from an interpolator.

IV 196.5

et statim ff.

Here I would suspect a condensation by **I**. It is common in *fabulae* for **DS** to present a longer version (from the **D** comment or conflated with the **D** comment) and for **I** to present a condensed and rewritten version, with **A** transmitting basically the Servian text. Examples of **I**'s revising *fabulae* may be found in the apparatus at I 27.1; 67.23, 26, and 28; III

6.12 and 13; IV 246.2, 4, and 6. In this scholium, *fons secutus est* in line 6 is suspicious, to say the least. The precise reading of Servius is probably irrecoverable here, but the reader should be warned that the correct Servian text probably lies somewhere between the two readings printed.

IV 213.8

Numanus . . . poscunt *FPPaσ*[DS] *om. ATaγ*[T] *recte*.

I will concede that the cited line affords a parallel for *conubia nostra* of Virgil in IV 213 — but hardly, as the scholium now reads, for the use of *nostra* in place of *mea*. It is an interpolation of the DS tradition.

IV 215.5

qui sustulit †pactum *ATaγ*[T] qui sustulit pactam *Paσ* qui sustulit alii matrimonium pactum *FG*[DS].

Alii of the DS tradition is surely right; its omission in T was due to haplography after *-ulit* of *sustulit*. *Matrimonium*, on the other hand, is the sort of word that the DS tradition would add, following its usual practice of filling ellipses; the compiler (editor, or whatever we wish to call the man responsible for giving the DS tradition the form it now has), reading “who took away that pledged to another,” trying to express the neuter word to be understood in *pactum*, supplied *matrimonium*. Actually the simplest correction would be to read *qui sustulit alii pactam*, which gives the desired sense “who stole a woman pledged to another.” *Pactam* is in *Paσ* no doubt by conjecture — an easy conjecture since confusion of *u* and open *a* is extremely common in this tradition.

IV 228.5

ab PaTaγσ[T] *ad A ac FG*[DS] *Verg. recte*.

This line was read with *ab* by T (BPb) in the lemma at II 632 also (where DSA read *ac*), but there is no reason to believe that Servius could have accepted as Virgil's such a ridiculous reading as *ab ducente deo*. Had he possessed *ab*, I feel sure that he would have read *abducente deo* (the reading of Tiberius Donatus), which makes some sense. It is

more likely that the **Γ** tradition had its quotations of Virgil corrected to a text of the *Aeneid* which had the error *ab* at this spot. The change of *ac* to *ab* is influenced by the preceding *descendo*. Note that the evidence for *ab* here is no stronger than in II 632 — it is still the reading of one of three traditions. Note also that *σ* has consistently *dea* (for *deo*) in both places, which we know from the comment on II 632 that Servius did not accept.

Δ now resumes.

IV 323.14

nam recitavit voce optima primum libros tertium et quartum *Pa*
 nam recitavit primum libros tertium et quartum *ATαγσ[Γ]*
 nam recitavit uoce optima ·in·i·ui· *FG[DS]*
 nam recitavit uoce optima iiiiii *γ[Δ]*.

First let us consider the numerals. The numbers in **DS** stand for *iii* 7 *ui*, that is, *tertium et sextum*. The *i* in the middle is a corruption of the Tironian note for *et*; we should hardly expect anyone to have deliberately written *i* (*primum*) between *iii* (*tertium*) and *ui* (*sextum*). For *in* we would like to be able to reconstruct *iu*, but *iu* is not used for *iiii* in this tradition; as we will see, *iii* must be a corruption of *iiii*, one of the *i*'s being omitted by error.

Numerals are easily corrupted, particularly since *i*, *u*, and *n* are all made with virtually identical strokes in minuscule. J's *iiii* *iiii* can thus be interpreted as equaling *iii* 7 *iiii*, as **Γ** interpreted it, or as *iiii* 7 *ui*, *quartum et sextum*. Now there are only two books which it is absolutely certain that Servius believed Virgil recited to Augustus, book IV (on which this scholium is commenting) and book VI, where in 861, commenting on the allusion to Marcellus, Servius says (121.4 Thilo) *et constat hunc librum tanta pronuntiatione Augusto et Octaviae esse recitatum, ut fletu nimio imperarent silentium, nisi Vergilius finem esse dixisset*. In our scholium at IV 323, therefore, where Virgil is described as having recited *ingenti adfectu*, *quartum et sextum* must be read.

Now let us consider the variants *voce optima* (of **DSA**) and *primum libros* (of **Γ**). We must choose between these readings, not conflate them as *Pa* and the editors have done. *Libros* may be omitted with numerals, but in this context there would be a danger that *versus* (line 13) might be understood with the numerals. *Libros* seems desirable then.

We can now see that *voce optima* and *primum* are alternatives for each

other. That is to say, *voce optima* does not mean simply "with his best voice," for which we should have expected *optima voce*, but is best taken as an ablative absolute; it may therefore be taken as temporal, "when his voice was *optima*," and so may be an alternative for (or explanation of) *primum*.

If we were to accept *voce optima*, the implication would seem to be that Virgil recited the other books either when his voice had deteriorated or before it had improved to the point of being *optima*. We learn from the Donatian *Vita* that Virgil recited to Augustus only three books. We need from Servius somewhere, preferably here (the first time Servius mentions the recitations), a statement of which books Virgil recited. Lacking such a statement, a line *nam recitavit voce optima quartum et sextum* could only lead to false conclusions. There is, by the way, no reason to believe that there was a time during Virgil's work on the *Aeneid* when his voice was not *optima* — his final illness seems to have come on suddenly.

It seems most likely that someone reading a line *nam recitavit primum libros quartum et sextum*, trying to understand the meaning of *primum* here, and being unaware that Virgil had recited only three books, supposed that Virgil had been in failing health later and was not able to recite so effectively. The scribe (or editor) therefore superscribed his
uoce optima

interpretation of *primum* so: *primum libros*. *Voce optima*, being written above *primum libros*, was later mistaken for a variant, and so replaced both words.

But if the scribe found it necessary to gloss *primum*, his difficulties with the passage were certainly justified. In fact, a reading *nam recitavit primum libros quartum et sextum* is no more satisfactory in sense than its corruption. We require, as already mentioned, a statement of which books Virgil recited to Augustus, and, since Servius gives us it nowhere else, it is likely that this is the place. I therefore suggest reading *nam recitavit libros primum quartum et sextum*.

Inversions of the order of words are reasonably common in any tradition, as one can discover by scanning critical apparatuses. Sometimes there is a reason why they may have occurred, but at other times they are simply spontaneous and without apparent cause. Here I may note that if *libros* should have been inadvertently omitted and then superscribed, it would most easily have been inserted in the wrong position:

· *libros*

consider · *primum* · *iiii* · 7 · *ui* · ; the corrector would have placed a dot before *libros* and another before the position in the line where *libros*

should have been inserted; but there may also have been a dot before the numeral *iiii* which could have confused whoever copied the manuscript. Similarly, I have seen a correction misplaced because the scribe mistook a punctuation mark for the dot marking the place for insertion. To be sure, this explanation of how *libros* happened to be in the wrong place would work equally for an explanation of *libros* as an interpolation (for those who do not, as I, believe that *libros* is needed here).

I am not the first to suggest that this passage should be corrected so that Virgil should be represented as having recited books I, IV, and VI. H. Hagen, in his preface to his edition of the Donation *Vita* and *Scholia Bernensia*,¹² suggested reading *nam recitavit voce optima primum quartum et sextum*. The basis of his argument, however, was faulty. He supposed that in the DS tradition's reading *iii·i·ui* the *i* stood for *primum*, and, since he found the word also in the briefer manuscripts, that *primum* was therefore established as the reading of Servius. We have seen, however, that *primum* is represented in DS not by *i* but by *voce optima*; Hagen, of course, did not have the evidence of the manuscripts before him so clearly or completely as *Harv.* present it.

Hagen went further and suggested that the Donation *Vita* be corrected on the basis of Servius. The manuscripts of the Donatian *Vita* read as follows (108-109 Brummer):

cui tamen multo post perfectaque demum materia tres omnino libros recitavit, secundum quartum sextum (et sextum *GE*).

Hagen would correct *secundum* to *primum*; in the sequence *i iiii ui*, a scribe could easily have seen one *i* too many. I am in agreement with Hagen in this, as with his opinion, following Ribbeck, that it is more reasonable for Virgil to have read book I than II.

Not only is it more reasonable for a poet to read the first book of his work, but the action of books I and IV are continuous, with II and III integrally connected as the flashback narrated by Aeneas of the fall of Troy and his wanderings before reaching Carthage; indeed the love affair of Dido at the beginning of IV requires for full understanding a knowledge of what has happened in book I. Similarly, *Aeneid* V is concerned largely with the games celebrated in honor of Anchises, and may more easily have been omitted. In I, IV, and VI we have a reasonably connected narrative.

That the books recited to Augustus were I, IV, and VI was argued

¹² *Scholia Bernensia* (Leipzig 1867) 687. This edition is reprinted from *Jahrb. f. class. Philol. Suppl. Bd. IV, Heft 5*.

before Hagen by Ribbeck (*P. Vergili Maronis Opera*, 5, Prolegomena Critica [Leipzig 1866] 58-87). On book I he has this to say (p. 64):

Primus Aeneidis liber et propter Didonis amorem quarto apte praemittatur et qui Augusto ante alios recitaretur praeclaris Iovis de Venere prole promissis regnique inde ab Iulo usque ad Caesarem Octavianum deducti laudibus (257 sqq.) maxime merebatur.

Ribbeck refers to Donatus' statement that Virgil waited till the *materia* was *perfecta* before reciting it. On this basis he finds book II wanting. Among his arguments (p. 69) for a lack of finish in II is the lacuna between verses 566 and 589 which prompted the interpolation of 567-588 — the well-known Helen-episode. Ribbeck's argumentation that these lines are an interpolation may be found in pp. 90-94; it suffices for my purpose here simply to note that even those who consider these lines genuine should concede that they are evidence of a lack of finish in this section of book II.

My own conclusions on the correct reading in Servius were formed before consulting Hagen and Ribbeck. I was pleased to see that Ribbeck, through a consideration of the evidence for the times of composition of the various books and other internal evidence had arrived at substantially the same results as did I mostly from a consideration of the requirements of the text.

IV 331.5

corporis stabilitate aut *PaTa*² corpore aut (aut *eras. f*²) *fAσ*[Δ] corpores *FG*[DS] corporis *Tαγ*[Γ].

Stabilitate, being missing from all three traditions, cannot have any authority as a transmitted reading. It must be a conjecture of some early editor at Tours (home of the β² edition, to which *PaTa* belong). For an example of the sort of conjecture of which β² is capable, see IV 376.5. There Δ(J) had an omission due to homoeoteleuton in a section where DS transmits correctly *beneficium non sperare*; Γ(ATαγσ) omitted *beneficium*, so β²(*PaTa*²) corrected the phrase by conjecture to read *non sperare auxilium*. Both *auxilium* in 376 and *stabilitate* in 331 are good conjectures in that they are based on the meaning called for by the context. But in the sequence in 331 (*ex oculorum aut corporis stabilitate aut mobilitate*) the conjecture *stabilitate* is neither paleographically probable nor stylistically attractive.

There are two ways apparent to construct the text. We may be satisfied with the reading of **T** and read the scholium as follows:

IMMOTA TENEBAT LVMINA physicum enim est ut qualitatem animi ex oculorum aut corporis mobilitate noscamus.

With this reading it would be supposed that *mobilitas* includes all degrees of mobility, including *stabilitas*.

The following stylistic parallel suggests a different approach:

XII 82 (582.3) solent enim ex equorum vel maestitia vel alacritate eventum futurum dimicaturi colligere.

This passage suggests that, with the simple change of a *c* to a *t*, **Δ**'s version may disclose the correct reading:

IMMOTA TENEBAT LVMINA physicum enim est ut qualitatem animi ex oculorum aut torpore aut mobilitate noscamus.

The theory that one can tell a person's character from his appearance was promulgated by the physiognomists. Several *testimonia* may be obtained from the *Scriptores Physiognomonici*, of which the following (*Scriptores Physiognomonici* II 151.29–152.4 Foerster) seems the most apt in support of the possibility of *torpore*:

cuius oculi velociter et acriter moventur, qui acuti vultus est, fallax, callidus, calumniator est. cuius oculorum motus tardus est, ac si fixus esset, multae cogitationis et dolositatis est.

Since the Servian scholium explains IMMOTA LVMINA, there is no need for a reference to *mobilitas* of the body. It was the eyes that were particularly thought of as indicators of the mind: cf. Servius in *Aen.* VIII 229:

TVRBATVMQVE OCVLIS ea parte turbatum, quae proditrix mentis est.

We may also compare Calcidius, in *Tim.* 266.11 Waszink:

Denique ex oculorum habitu mens atque animus indicatur irascentium maerentium laetantium; irascentium quidem, ut apud Homerum commotae mentis orator:

Stabat acerba tuens defixo lumine terrae.¹³

But *corporis* is not inappropriate: cf. Servius in *Aen.* VI 724 (100.13). Against reading *aut torpore aut mobilitate* is the use of *aut . . . aut* where we should expect *vel . . . vel* (even in **Γ**'s version I would have expected *vel* for *aut*). We could conjecture *vel . . . vel* (*vel* may be abbreviated *ū*, *aut* may be abbreviated *ā*), but the increased complexity would make the conjecture *torpore* less probable. **Γ**'s version remains the better attested.

IV 379.2

de his **ŷ**APaTa[Δ] (B)Pbσ[**Γ**] de diis F[DS] *om. M.*

Read *de dis*. It is normal, particularly in such a sequence (*Cicero in libris de deorum natura triplicem de dis dicit esse opinionem*), to repeat *deus* every time, rather than use the demonstrative: cf. Cicero, *Deor. Nat.* I 61 — *quaeritur primum in ea quaestione quae est de natura deorum, sintne di necne sint*. One may continue reading thereafter in Cicero and note how often some form of *deus* is used, but not the demonstrative.

IV 379.5

quietos F[DS]**ŷ**PaTaMσ [Δ] quietos s. APb[**Γ**] quietos sollicitat *Verg.*

It appears that we should read here *quietos s<ollicitat>*. The words of quotations tend to be abbreviated with only the initials used; in this case *s.* would easily have dropped out by haplography.

IV 402.7

quod micas ferat **ŷ**APaTaPb[Δ] quod ore micas ferat FG[DS] quod ferat micas BMσ[**Γ**] *recte* quod ferat micas farris *Isid., Orig.* XII 3.9.

Servius is explaining the etymology of *formica* as from *fero* and *mica*; the order of the etymological explanation should therefore be as found in **Γ**, since such is the order in *formica*. The reading of **Γ** is confirmed by Isidore, who has copied this explanation from Servius. *Farris* in Isidore

¹³ The line of Homer cited is *Il.* III 217. I am indebted to John Dillon, Associate in Classics, U.C. Berkeley, for calling my attention to this passage in Calcidius. I would suspect that the passage derives ultimately from a scholium to Homer, probably through a scholium to Plato.

also comes from Servius: it is the lemma of the following scholium! Isidore has slipped in construing the word with *ferat micas*. That in Servius FARRIS (402.27) immediately follows *micas* (402.7) is obscured in *Harv.* by the intervening DS comment.

IV 415.2

frustra FG σ [DS] om. γ APaTa[Δ] γ [Γ] recte.

The Servian lemma immediately preceding *frustra* was NE QVID INEXPERTVM FRVSTRA MORITVRA RELINQVAT (*sic*PbMW[Γ]). As it frequently does, Δ (JAPaTa) had a briefer version of the lemma: NE QVID INEXPERTVM FRVSTRA (which means only that Δ omitted the following M. R.). FG, as often, abbreviated the lemma by adding *et reliqua*: NE QVID INEXPERTVM *et reliqua*. Sometime after the DS text was so abbreviated, it probably became contaminated from a text reading as Δ ; but FRVSTRA was misconstrued, not as part of the lemma, but as modifying the following *rogabat* (which manifestly makes poor sense). This produced the DS reading NE QVID INEXPERTVM *et reliqua frustra*. From this text, then, σ must have been contaminated. At least this seems the most likely explanation of the insertion; it is also possible to explain it as simply an anticipation of *frustra rogaret* in line 4. That *frustra* before *rogabat* is spurious is indicated not by the ease with which it could have been wrongly inserted (for it would be even easier to explain it as genuine), but by the fact that *frustra* makes very poor sense.

DS in Aen. IV 477

CONSILIVM VVLTV TEGIT ut (I 209) *spem vultu simulat*.

The correct lemma for this scholium is SPEM FRONTE SERENAT, as we find by checking the cross reference to I 209: there Servius reads SPEM *laetitiam*, to which DS adds ut (IV 477) *spem fronte serenat* (presumably from a D comment with the same interpretation as Servius). For those not familiar with the procedure of scholiasts in cross references, I will explain: when, as in IV 477, we have a lemma explained simply by a parallel citation, with no other explanation given, it should not mean merely that the lemma has some sort of vague similarity to the cited line; rather it is usually a reference to the comment on the cited line and commonly means that the explanation of the lemma here is the same as or similar to the explanation given at the cited passage. So, by checking

I 209, we find that the meaning of the scholium in IV 477 is that *spem* is used for *laetitiam* by a figure known as *ab eo quod praecedit id quod sequitur*. So also if we consider the meaning of IV 11, we find by the citations that QVEM SESE ORE FERENS refers to Aeneas' *pulchritudo*. But note that the **DS** comment in IV 11 has misinterpreted the references and conflated them onto the wrong **D** scholium.

Which brings us to the next point: the compiler of **DS** was a person of some stupidity and capable of making errors. Therefore, though the lemma CONSILIVM VULTU TEGIT in IV 477 is clearly wrong for the **D** comment, the error may have been committed by the compiler himself (that is, the man who conflated Servius and the **D** comment). In fact, it is reasonable to infer that he was the author of the error. For it is believed by many that the **D** comment came down to the compiler not as a separate edition, but as marginal and interlinear scholia in a text of Virgil. It is common for interlinear scholia to lack a lemma of their own, but simply to be superscribed above the appropriate word (in this case, of Virgil). So here, if the scholium to IV 477 was superscribed above that line in Virgil, the compiler could easily have taken the wrong half of the line to be the lemma — an error which would have been made easier by the presence of the word *vultu* both in the scholium and in the Virgilian line. It is not unimportant, therefore, to know that the **DS** compilation can have wrong lemmas for the **D** comment.

It is for the editor of these scholia to make clear what he means his text of **DS** to represent: if he means it to represent the **DS** compilation including those errors inherited by or committed by the compiler, then he may decide to print the incorrect lemma at IV 477. But if he does, he should take care to point out the correct reading. Otherwise, I fear, the casual user of these scholia would be unlikely to perceive the meaning of the scholium.

IV 577.15

'formam' et 'vultum' et visa *FG[DS]jAPaTaW[Δ]* forma uisa et uultu *PbM* forma et uultu et uisa *N[Γ]* recte.

Forma and *vultu* are, like *visa monere est*, quotations from Virgil; they have been wrongly accommodated into the accusative case in **DSΔ**.

IV 592.3

ut ite *PaTa* ut stat *B* ut *Mσ om.* *FGP[DS]jA[Δ]Pb*.

The omission of *ut ite* seems correct. Servius is only briefly paraphrasing Dido's words.

IV 620.1

dixit *FGP*[DS]*APa* dicit $\text{f}[\Delta]$ *Tayσ*[T] *recte*.

Cf. VI 760 (107.18), IX 742 (376.27). See also my comments on III 284. Note that though *dicit* is easily corrupted to *dixit*, we do not similarly find *dixerunt* for *dicunt* (IV 620.8) nor *dicti sunt* for *dicuntur* (III 284.9), since such corruptions would be difficult.

IV 620.10

et eius nec $\text{f}APaTa[\Delta]\gamma\sigma$ [T] et est nec *FG*[DS].

The correct reading here is simply *nec eius*: cf. DS in *Aen.* XII 794 (641.18) *nec eius esset cadaver inuentum*. One might reasonably say of someone who has disappeared that not even his shield (or some other accoutrement) was found, but hardly that not even his body was found. Besides, it is the custom in Latin to put the negative with the connective. An error such as this would probably arise when some scribe had incorrectly written *et* instead of *nec* in the text (a common enough error); *nec* would then have been superscribed and could have been inserted in the wrong place.

I was anticipated in thinking of *nec eius* here by the corrector in Thilo's L (1), who no doubt also got the reading through conjecture.

IV 654.6

†supra spoliatus *ATayσ*[T] spoliatus *FGPaM²*[DS] *recte*; *loc. om.* $\text{f}[\Delta]$.

Supra is a simple dittography (*supra* is abbreviated \bar{s} in this tradition). The reference here is to Lucretius IV 366 *aera . . . privatum lumine*, in which there is no *supra*.

DS in *Aen.* V 30.15

†troia nomine silve aegesta *F*[DS].

Read here *Troia nomine sive Egesta*. What has happened here is that some scholiast, reading *Aen.* V 38 *Troia Criniso conceptum flumine mater / quem*

genuit, misinterpreted it as meaning that Acestes' mother was named Troia. This alternative version was therefore duly recorded by the author of the **D** scholium. For the generation of names out of lines of Virgil, compare my comment on IV 159.2.

V 42.3

nam si stellae a stando dictae sunt, non fugantur; semper enim fixae sunt praeter planetas.

With this passage compare Isid. *Orig.* III 71.3: *Stellae dictae a stando, quia fixae stant semper in caelo nec cadunt*. Compare also Servius in *G.* I 360: *quorum natura est ut stent semper, unde et stellae vocantur*. The passage in Isidore suggests that for *fixae sunt* in Servius possibly should be read *fixae stant*. This better agrees with the practice of scholiasts in giving etymologies: having explained *stellae* as coming from *sto*, the scholiast must show through use of the word how the etymology is apt. Here Servius' line of argument is based on the claim that stars must stand, not flee. *Stant* in this environment very easily corrupts to *sunt*, and, in fact, in Isidore too, some of the manuscripts (CK) give *sint*.

V 81.15ff

For this passage I suggest that we read for Servius:

unam intellectualem per quam et cogitare et iudicare possumus, alteram sensualem ut in mutis animalibus in quibus est sensus et timoris et gaudii, tertiam vitalem ut in vermibus, qui tantum moventur; esse etiam quartam infra omnes, quae *φυσική* vocatur, ut est *e.q.s.*

Harv. in this section follows for Servius the β^2 reading, which has the **F** version at the beginning, because Δ had an omission due to homoeoteleuton (*in quibus*, line 18 of **DS** . . . *vermibus*, line 20 of **DS**), but which then follows the Δ version for lines 21-25. The word *recte* in line 20 is a pure fabrication of β^2 (a poor one, at that). The citation *unde est . . . messes* (lines 26-27) is transmitted only by Δ , but is nevertheless correct, I believe, since this tradition elsewhere has correctly transmitted citations omitted by **DSF** (I 230.10-11, discussed in my dissertation, pp. 192-195).

The **F** tradition is noted for rearranging longer passages, mostly for the sake of condensation. **DS** and Δ agree in the general arrangement of

the scholium, and, since this order is more self-consistent (and since Δ is usually more reliable in such questions), it is probably right. Certain words in the **DS** rendition, however, are additions of that tradition: the explanation *naturalis* in line 22 is the sort of addition which we frequently find in **DS** and is justly absent from Δ **F**; *esse* in line 17 is also an addition of **DS**; for *esse etiam* in line 19 the testimony of Δ is lacking, but the words look suspicious since we have *esse etiam* in line 21: I suggest *tertiam* because it seems likely that *esse* had been added by **DS** just as in line 17, and that then *esse tertiam* was corrupted to *esse etiam* in **DS** through anticipation of the words in line 21.

V 81.33

ut si quis inter duas stet lucernas geminam umbram creat *PaTaγσ*[**F**]
om. FGC[**DS**]*γA*[Δ].

This line appears to be an interpolation of the **F** tradition. The following reference to Lucretius applies only to the words preceding this interpolated line.

V 114.2

coeperunt *A²PaTaγσ*[**F**] *om. FGC*[**DS**]*LγA*[Δ] *recte*.

Someone in the **F** tradition was not used to perfects in *-ere*, and so he supplied a verb to govern *instituere*.

V 114.5

plurimum *LγAPaTaMW*[Δ] *om. FGC*[**DS**]*BPbN*[**F**] *recte*.

Plurimum found its way into the tradition of Δ after *certamine* here because a scribe's eye strayed to *certamine plurimum* in line 3. Actually, Virgil alludes to only one thing, so *plurimum* is not wanted.

V 122.4

ratione *LγAPaTaM*[Δ] *om. FGC*[**DS**]*BPbσ*[**F**].

I suspect that *ratione* should be omitted. It looks as if some scribe found the grammar unclear and sought to clarify the meaning.

V 128.7

de muro F[DS] e muro CA²PaTayσ[Γ] muro LȳA[Δ].

Contrary to what the text printed for Servius would incline one to believe, the bird *mergus* is not characterized by continually throwing itself off a wall — it dives into the sea: cf. DS in *Aen.* IV 254.11 *in mare se praecipitavit*, where Aesacus is the subject. We must read *in mare* here, not *de muro*. *In* had dropped out before *m*, as it often does, and *mare* had corrupted into *muro*, an easy error in any minuscule script employing an open *a*. DS and Γ have separate conjectures (*de* and *e*). Aesacus, by the way, dived into the sea not *de muro* but *e scopulo* according to Ovid, *Met.* XI 783.

V 190.1

re uera PaTayσ[Γ] om. FGC[DS]LȳA[Δ] recte.

Of course Mnestheus' men were really once allies of Hector; the question to Servius is whether Mnestheus calls his crew *Hectorei socii* because they are *fortissimi*, or because they were *once* allies of Hector (for they are such no longer).

V 202.1

ut PaTayσ[Γ] ut o LȳAW²[Δ] C recte; loc. om. FG.

The line cited in Virgil (XII 19) begins *o praestans*; we should expect the citation to start with the beginning of the line.

DS in *Aen.* V 209.1

I see no reason to print *vel* for DS where Servius reads *alii*. The error *uel* (found in F, where CE have *alii*) arose from a confusion of the abbreviation *al* (*alii*) for *ul* (*uel*). Confusions of *a* and *u* are constant in this tradition. The error is likely to have occurred later than the time of the DS compilation, which is thought to have been made in an insular tradition (which would use *t* for *uel*). For the formula *alii . . . sed melius* see V 506.

V 231.3

spectantum opinione $\gamma W[\Gamma]$ ex opinione spectantium *vel sim.* FCA²[DS]
ex opinionem spectantum L[Δ] et opinionem spectantum JA *uarie rell.*

The reading *ex opinione spectantum* indicated by DSAΔ seems preferable here. It is the habit of the Γ tradition to try to find the most economical way of saying anything. So in III 57.13, where DSAΔ (FGJAPaTa) transmit correctly *ex infelicitatis similitudine*, Γ (PbMσ) has changed it to *simili infelicitate*. Whenever there is a question of deliberate tampering with the text, particularly word order, it seems that suspicion should fall first on the Γ tradition.

V 270.1

ARTE id est, virtute] quod Graece ἀρετή (arcte FG) dicitur *add.* FG Dan.
[DS] arete *add.* C arte *add.* Lγ[Δ].

Note that the other manuscripts $[\Gamma]$ (except A, which has an omission) read ATQUE (not found in DSAΔ) at the beginning of the lemma to the following scholium (271). *Arte* of Δ and ATQUE of Γ are therefore variants. *Arte* obviously is a corruption of ἀρετή (C's reading), which is an attractive reading here for Servius (or, probably, ἀρετῇ): cf. V 705 REDDIDIT ARTE uirtute ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς, Don. *in Ter. An.* 33 *artes, id est ἀρετὰς, quae uirtutes intelleguntur*, Don. *in An.* 608 *sine arte, id est sine ἀρετῇ (sine arte V, sine aueTH A)*; also Don. *in An.* 30 and *in Eun.* 478.

Both ἀΡΕΤΗ and ATQUE would have been written in uncials; since Greek words regularly become corrupted, it would have been easy for someone in the tradition, finding something incomprehensible in the text before the lemma, written in uncials like the lemma, to correct it to ATQUE, the word preceding the lemma in the *Aeneid*.

Unfortunately, we cannot establish the correct reading by determining whether Servius would have written ATQUE in the lemma: for we can find instances both where ATQUE is found starting the lemma (e.g., I 7), and where it could have been but is not (e.g., V 20, where ATQUE is not prefixed to IN NUBEM). But this is the first instance in Servius where *ars* is explained as equaling *uirtus*, and we normally expect the fullest explanation to be given at the first occurrence. Since we had the etymological explanation given in 705, we should expect it here too; it would not necessarily follow that we should expect it in subsequent comments.

V 334.1

amare $A^2PaTa\gamma N[\Gamma]$ amarem $L\check{\gamma}[\Delta]$ amorem A amore $FGW[DS]$ pro
'amoris' *Dan. vulg. recte.*

A reading of the passage in Virgil should convince one that *amare* cannot possibly be correct. What the scholium requires is a statement that the plural *amorum* has been used instead of the singular *amoris*. This need is supplied admirably by Daniel's *pro* 'amoris.' Daniel no doubt thought that *amoris* had been accommodated to *amore* after *pro*, and that later *pro* had dropped out as unnecessary. At first I suspected that we should read OBLITVS AMORVM <*amorum pro*> 'amoris.' This would explain the omission of *pro* and would avoid the difficulty that, though the lemma reads OBLITVS AMORVM, the scholium comments only on *amorum*. But I fear that the latter argument supposes a greater logic in Servius' construction of scholia than he can be shown to use. We frequently find him commenting on only one of two words quoted: e.g., IV 122.3 OMNE CIEBO *pro* 'totum'; IV 261.1 IASPIDE FVLVA *pro* 'uiridi.' And Irish scribes need no excuse to eliminate a word which they may consider superfluous.

V 467.2

et M ait Ta om. $FG[DS]L\check{\gamma}APa[\Delta]BPb\sigma[\Gamma]$ recte.

Terentianus is not saying something which is comparable with the line of Virgil, as *et* would imply.

V 517.6

nulla enim auis caret consecratione, quia singulae aues numinibus sunt consecratae $PaTa\gamma$ nulla enim auis caret consecratione $\sigma[\Gamma]$ quia singulae aues numinibus sunt consecratae $F[DS]L\check{\gamma}A[\Delta]$ recte.

Nulla . . . consecratione is simply a variant for *quia . . . consecratae*, and is an example of the sort of rewriting found in the Γ tradition. The two traditions (Δ and Γ) were conflated in the Tours edition (β^2), and the conflation passed thence to the γ manuscripts. Here σ alone preserves purely the (erroneous) Γ tradition.

In the following section, Δ is again missing.

V 626.3

nam te iam septima portat *APaTayσ* nam te iam septima portat et reliqua *FG[DS]* nam te iam septima portat o. e. t. et. f. aestas *Lb* nam te iam septima portat omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus aestas *Thilo ex Verg., recte, ut puto.*

Long quotations were frequently abbreviated, with only initial letters used (as in the lemma for this scholium). These initials were then easily dropped. *FG* let us know that the quotation has been shortened by adding *et reliqua*. The initials are found in *Lb*, which is the *siglum* I have given for the Caroline hands (dating from around 850) which corrected *L* and replaced with a β^2 text those gaps in *L* which were caused by δ 's loss of ten quaternions. It would be somewhat idle to speculate on how *Lb* happened to have the initials while all the other manuscripts, all heirs to a **T** tradition, omitted them, but it is clear that *aestas* is necessary to complete the sense of the Virgilian quotation, and hence that Servius probably had written the full quotation as *Thilo* prints it.

DS in *Aen.* V 681.1

ROBORE †vel *F* r.u. *Pa.*

Thilo is surely right in explaining *vel* in *F* as due to a corruption of *u.* (*vel* is abbreviated \bar{u} on the continent). This is confirmed by the reading of *Pa*, which is contaminated from **DS** and which often has a better version of that tradition than *FG*. *Pa*'s *u.* stands for *VIVIT* (the word following *robore* in Virgil) which, if anything, should be read for **DS** after *ROBORE*. *Harv.* supposes that there may have been a **D** scholium preceding, which has since dropped out, leaving only *vel* as evidence. We have here a question of method. Both here and elsewhere, I believe that we should conscientiously use Ockham's razor, and not, in dealing with **DS**, seek to explain as derived from a (conjectured) **D** comment what is readily explainable as a reading or corruption in the Servian tradition. This applies to the editor in constructing the text, and to the reader in interpreting it.

V 687.7

osus sum *APaTayσ*[**T**] osus *F[DS]* *Isid., Orig.* X 91 *recte.*

DS in Aen. V 721.3

non ut rorifera tenuaverat aera biga †abusus est] non ut ferat tenuauerat aera biga abusus est *F* nam rorifera gelidum (gelidum *om. M*) tenuauerat aera biga abusive est *Mmg.Pb* bigis melius plurali utimur quam singulari. ideo rorifera gelidum tenuauerat aera biga abusive dixit Statius *codex Dresdensis*.

Pb²M (along with Pa and W) often transmit a better text of the DS tradition than do FG. Here the easiest correction for the line is to read simply *nam rorifera gelidum tenuaverat aera biga abusive Statius*. There are occasional indications that proper names may have been abbreviated in the early tradition. So in IV 233.3, *Γ*'s error *dicunt* for *Demosthenes* suggests a confusion of abbreviations of these words. Here probably *statius* was abbreviated *st.*, which easily produced *est* after *abusive*. In this connection note that in 694.8, where the Servian manuscripts (a *Γ* tradition) read *est*, the DS tradition reads *Statius*.

V 728.1

hic denuo usus est sermonibus *APaTaMσ* isdem (hisdem *Pb*) usus est sermonibus *F[DS]BPb[Γ]* recte.

V 738.6

usus est *APaTayσ* usu est *H Thilonis, R Heinsii* in usu est *F[DS]Lb Isid., Orig.* V 30.3 recte.

For Servius using *in usu est ut dicamus* see I 73.18.

V 755.4

ritu Sabino *ATayN[Γ]* ritu gabino *FPaPb²[DS]*.

Surely *ritu Gabino* is right (as Thilo prints): cf. the description of *cinctus Gabinus* in Pauly-Wissowa,¹⁴ and particularly the references given there to Livy VII 9.5 and X 7.3. The error *Sabino* for *Gabino*, though easy in any tradition, would be easiest in an insular tradition, where *s* and *g* are easily confused; our text of Servius is thought to

¹⁴ A. Mau, "cinctus Gabinus," *RE* 3 (1894) 2558.

descend to us through an insular tradition. Servius mentions the *cinctus Gabinus* again at *Aen.* VII 612.

V 755.11

terriborium *APaTay*[**Γ**] terutorum *W* tritorium *FN*[**DS**] tauritorium *Isid.*

Terriborium can hardly be right. The explanation that follows, *tritum bubus et aratro*, shows that we need in our etymology of *territorium* at least the root of the verb *tero*. It is not immediately clear whether we should be satisfied with the **DS** reading *tritorium* or whether we should follow Isidore in adopting a reading which possesses also the root of *taurus* (presumably understood in *bubus*; a bull and a cow were yoked together to mark off the *territorium*). If the roots of both *tero* and *taurus* should be desirable, one might also conjecture *teritaurium*,¹⁵ which in vulgar Latin would be pronounced very similar to *territorium*. But if *taurus* is included in the etymology we might have expected the following explanation to mention the word explicitly, rather than both *bubus* and *aratro*. That the etymology is connected with *tero* alone is suggested by Varro, *L.L.* V 21: *ab eo colonis locus com<m>unis qui prope oppidum relinquitur teritorium, quod maxime teritur*. The passage in Varro indicates that our real choice lies between *tritorium* and *teritorium*. In favor of *tritorium* is the fact that Servius explains the word by *tritum* rather than *quod teritur*; but Servius could hardly do otherwise, since in his explanation of the origin of the name a past tense is required. In favor of *teritorium* is 1) the passage in Varro; 2) the fact that *teritorium* comes closest to *territorium*, and, in fact, would be identical with it as spelled in the earliest Latin, in which consonants were not written doubled (cf. Varro, *L.L.* V 21 for the effect that this would have on an etymologist); 3) the fact that all three readings (*tritorium*, *terriborium*, and *tauritorium*) may be easily explained as corruptions of *teritorium*, while it would be harder for the **DS** reading to produce the readings of **Γ** and Isidore. I therefore suggest that *teritorium* should be read. That *teritorium* might be the reading here was hesitantly suggested by Gerhard Vossius,¹⁶ who, while accepting *tritorium*, stated that it was doubtful whether Servius had written *teritorium*, or *tritorium*, or *teribovium* (the reading of Stephanus and Fabricius, which is hardly likely).

¹⁵ Both *teritaurium* and *tauriterium* are read by some, according to Gerh. Vossius, *Etym. Ling. Lat.* (London 1664) 517.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

DS in Aen. V 840.3

quem dormientem in undas cecidisse constat †missum GC quem dormientem in undas constat missum Steph. Dan.

The reading of Stephanus and Daniel apparently is not of their invention. Both used Pa to establish their texts. In collations made by students of E. K. Rand, it is reported that Pa had this scholium in the margin with *cecidisse* omitted, as Stephanus and Daniel read. While I have not been able to inspect Pa in this passage, I have seen a number of instances in which *Harv.* (vol. 3), contrary to their usual practice, have not reported corrections in PaPbM, all of which derive from the DS tradition by a source independent of FG. Whether the reading in Pa is by conjecture or represents tradition, it is clear that *cecidisse*, not *missum*, is the interpolated word here. Someone in the DS tradition apparently had difficulty seeing that *missum* was an infinitive, not a participle, and so added the infinitive he thought necessary. Somewhat similar in its pleonasm is the addition at I 550.18, which *Harv.* reads *et haec ad Siciliam †venerit delata*, where *venerit* is found only in the DS tradition (C). *Venerit* is clearly simply an addition of DS as shown by the parallel passages in V 30.3, *delata ad Siciliam*, and V 30.16, *delata in Siciliam est et* (where *est et* may also be a deliberate addition of DS).

If the above represent any advance in the understanding of the text of Servius, it is an advance built upon the work and progress previously accomplished by my predecessors, including the editors of *Harv.*, vol. 3. Indeed, I must acknowledge not merely the general debt that anyone owes to those who have worked before him in a scholarly field, but also, on a personal level, the gracious and friendly assistance which Professors A. H. Travis and A. F. Stocker have accorded me whenever I requested it in my investigations into the relations of the manuscripts.

I would in particular single out for commendation the exceptional accuracy of the apparatus of *Harv.*, vol. 3. There probably has never been an extensive critical apparatus, particularly one so complex as that for Servius, which has been produced without errors; there are indeed some minor slips in *Harv.* vol. 3, as well as some omissions and inaccuracies in reporting correcting hands, but, on the whole, whenever I have had occasion and opportunity to check it, the Harvard apparatus for vol. 3 shows itself outstandingly accurate — far beyond what experience had led me to expect. It seems many times more accurate than either Thilo

or *Harv.* vol. 2. Had the apparatus not been so reliable, most of this paper could not have been written.

I therefore would not have this paper construed in too critical a spirit. It is ever to be expected and hoped that there will be a continual advance in the understanding of the tradition and text of any author, especially one whose work has been so corrupted as that of Servius. I am not naive enough to suppose that mine will be the last word on the subject either.

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MAXIMIANUS A SATIRIST?

JOSEPH SZÖVÉRFY

I

THE *Poetae Latini Minores*¹ contain six elegies under the name of Maximianus. While studying the various stages of transition in Latin poetry from antiquity to the Middle Ages to be discussed in my forthcoming book,² I came upon these poems and my curiosity was awakened by their unusual character. While they are generally accepted as products of the sixth century and thus chronologically are quite close to the poetry of Venantius Fortunatus,³ they still vastly differ from the poems of Fortunatus. A more close study of the manuscript tradition of the Maximian poems has proven that they were eagerly copied in the Middle Ages and that relatively many manuscripts and even more numerous excerpts of them must have existed, of which many still survive. The *incipits* of these poems are:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Aemula quid cessas finem properare senectus | |
| | <i>PLM</i> V, pp. 316–329 146 distichs |
| 2. En dilecta mihi nimium formosa Lycoris | |
| | <i>PLM</i> V, pp. 329–332 37 distichs |
| 3. Nunc operae pretium est quaedam memorare iuventae | |
| | <i>PLM</i> V, pp. 332–336 47 distichs |
| 4. Restat adhuc alios, turpesque revolvere casus | |
| | <i>PLM</i> V, pp. 337–340 30 distichs |
| 5. Missus ad Eoas legati munere partes | |
| | <i>PLM</i> V, pp. 340–347 77 distichs |
| 6. Claude, precor, miseras, aetas verbosa, querelas | |
| | <i>PLM</i> V, p. 348 6 distichs |

¹ *Poetae Latini Minores*, rec. et emend. Aemilius Baehrens, V (Lipsiae 1883); cf. M. Schanz, Carl Hosius, and G. Krüger, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, IV, ii (Munich 1920) pp. 76ff; O. Crusius, *RE* V (1905) 2306–2307 s.v. Elegie.

² J. Szövérfy, *Weltliche Dichtungen des lateinischen Mittelalters I (Die lyrische Dichtung des Mittelalters III)*; Berlin 1967) sect. II, chap. 12 (in the press).

³ See the standard edition: *Venanti Honori Clementiani Fortunati presb. Italici opera poetica* rec. Fr. Leo (*MGH, Auct. Ant.* IV, i; Berlin 1881).

As we can see, the length of these poems is unequal, the longest being the first one, the shortest the last poem, which serves as a kind of an epilogue of the cycle. For these poems of Maximian form a loosely connected series, a cycle, in which the *τόπος* of complaints about old age⁴ occupies a prominent place. This subject is not new and we find it in both Greek and Roman poetry. Still, Maximian handles the subject in such a way that this cycle deserves a closer investigation into the real meaning of his elegies.

II

The manuscript tradition of this elegiac cycle hardly goes beyond the tenth/eleventh centuries⁵ and therefore suggestions have been made to attribute it to a post-Carolingian poet,⁶ but scattered references and fragments of some of these verses found already before the tenth century forbid such a late attribution. Among others, we come upon Maximian fragments in the MS Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 2832, a volume of miscellany from the time preceding 870; here some variations of the first lines of the first elegy by Maximian are recorded under the misleading title "Eugenii de sene."⁷ The direct manuscript tradition of Maximian is, however, not the only indication of his popularity in the Middle Ages. We also know that he was used in some periods of the Middle Ages as a school text, and Manitius collected many data relative to his influence on medieval writers and poems. Already in the *Ruodlieb*⁸ we find elements which recall the manner of presenting ideas about old age in the poems of Maximian. Anselm of Besate quotes both the second and the fifth elegies of our poet in his *Rhetorimachia* (c. 1046/1048).⁹ Aimeric's *Ars Lectoria* (1086) lists Maximian among the "communes auctores";¹⁰ in addition to these, Manitius mentions a considerable number of poets, and poems from the eleventh and twelfth centuries in which Maximian

⁴ George R. Coffmann, "Old Age from Horace to Chaucer," *Speculum* 9 (1934) 249-277.

⁵ Levy, *RE* XXVIII Halbbd. (1930) 2530 s.v. Maximianus (Dichter); Baehrens, *PLM* V, pp. 314ff.

⁶ Alexander Riese in *Literar. Centralbl.* (1890) col. 1711.

⁷ L. Traube, "Zur Überlieferung der Elegien des Maximianus," *Rh. Mus.* 48 (1893) 284-289; M. Manitius, "Zu Maximianus," *Rh. Mus.* 50 (1895) 642-645. Printed also in: *Fl. Merobaudis Reliquiae . . . Eugenii Toletani ep. Carmina et Epistulae*, ed. Fr. Vollmer (*MGH, Auct. Ant.* XIV; Berlin 1905) p. 281.

⁸ Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* II (Munich 1923) p. 551.

⁹ Manitius, *ibid.* II, pp. 710, 713; cf. Gunzo, *Epistola ad Augienses und Anselm von Besate, Rhetorimachia* (*MGH, Quellen zur Geistesgesch. des Mittelalters* II; Weimar 1958) pp. 125, 124, and 164.

¹⁰ Manitius, *Geschichte* III (1931) p. 181; cf. p. 12.

is either directly quoted or in some way referred to (Baudri de Bourgueil, Roger of Caen, Petrus Riga, Walter of Châtillon, Henry of Settimello, Hugh of St. Victor, Girald of Barri, Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Galterus Anglicus, Geoffrey of Breteuil, Alain de Lille, Alexander of Villa Dei, Nigellus Wireker, the poems *Leda*, *De pravitate saeculi*, the comedies *De nuntio sagaci*, *De tribus puellis*, *De Paulino et Polla*, etc.).¹¹

This popularity of Maximian's poems did not last to the end of the Middle Ages. He was, however, soon rediscovered by the Humanists, and, from the beginning of the sixteenth century, a strange double-pronged printed tradition of his works developed. While the Dutch *editio princeps* printed these poems still under Maximian's name, a young Italian, Pomponio Gaurico, published them as poems of Cornelius Gallus (1501).¹² This confusion can be explained from the circumstance that Maximian's second elegy is centered around Lycoris. Not a few editions follow Gaurico.¹³ It belongs to the history of curiosities that (after two medieval English paraphrases)¹⁴ an English translation of Maximianus appears in 1688 and 1689 under the titles "Elegies of Old Age — Made English from the Latin of Cn. Cornelius Gallus" and "The Impotent Lover — Accurately Described in Six Elegies upon Old Age" respectively, by Sir Hovenden Walker.¹⁵ Although these poems were occasionally still attributed to Cornelius Gallus at the beginning of the nineteenth century,¹⁶ subsequent philological research restored them to Maximian and investigated them, in order to gain biographical data about their author and chronological data concerning their age. The literature published on Maximian since the last third of the nineteenth century is considerable. One can distinguish three separate periods in the research. The last decades of the nineteenth century brought essential contributions to the Maximian studies¹⁷ and it also resulted in

¹¹ Manitius, *Geschichte* III, pp. 898, 851, 827, 934, 936-939, 118, 624, 753, 773, 779, 801, 758f, 812, 272, 1031, 1030, 1040.

¹² Levy (see above, n. 5) col. 2531. Schanz-Hosius-Krüger IV, ii (1920) p. 78.

¹³ Some older printed editions: *Nugarum libellus Maximiani immitis* (Paris 1497-1498), Pomponius Gauricus (Venice 1501), *C. Valerii Catulli lib. I . . . Cn. Corneli Galli Fragmenta* (Basileae 1530, Lugduni 1531, 1537, 1548, Venetiis 1549); Th. Pulmannus, *Erotici* (Antwerp 1569); P. Pithoeus, *Epigrammata et poemata vetera* (1590); also Amstelodami 1651 and Biponti 1794.

¹⁴ Cf. R. Ellis, "On the Elegies of Maximianus," *ASP* 5 (1884) 163.

¹⁵ Both are found in the Widener Library of Harvard University; sign.: LM 23.5* and LM 23.6*.

¹⁶ *Gallus trad. en vers français* par J. P. Ch. de Saint Amand (Bourges 1818); cf. J. Grenouille, *Gallus, Poésies trad. nouvelle* (Paris 1836) p. XXV.

¹⁷ F. Heege, *Der Elegiker Maximianus* (Progr. Blaubeuren 1893); Julius Broering, *Quaestiones Maximianeae* (diss. Münster 1893); V. Strazzula, *Massimiano etrusco elegiografo* (Catania 1893); P. Giardelli, *Studio sulle elegie di*

more definitive editions.¹⁸ Its direction, however, may have narrowed down the scope of further researches, and I believe that it may also have led to some misconceptions now to be corrected.

The second period of the Maximian investigations coincides with the time of the First World War and with the postwar years.¹⁹ A third epoch, beginning during the Second World War, brought about a certain deepening of the research²⁰ and also resulted in renewed efforts to find a way out of the present deadlock, since the interpretation of the Maximian *corpus* is far from being solved.

Massimiano (Savona 1899); R. Ellis (see above, n. 14); Fr. Vogel, "Maximianus der Lyriker," *Rh. Mus.* 41 (1886) 158-159; M. Manitius, "Über den Dichter Maximian," *Rh. Mus.* 44 (1889) 540-543; L. Traube (see above, n. 7); M. Manitius, "Zu Maximianus" (see above, n. 7); V. Lekusch, *Des Elegikers Maximianus Verhältnis zu den augusteischen Dichtern, bes. zu Ovid* (Progr. Josefstadt-Wien 1894); *id.*, "Zur Verstechnik des Elegikers Maximianus" (in *Serta Harteliana*, Vienna 1896) pp. 257-262; M. Petschenig, "Zu Maximian," *Philologus* 59 (1900) 153.

¹⁸ *Maximiani elegiae ad fidem cod. Etonensis* rec. M. Petschenig (*Berliner Studien* 11, 2; Berlin 1890); Baehrens, *PLM* (see above, n. 1); *The Elegies of Maximianus* ed. by R. Webster (Princeton UP 1900); some earlier editions: J. Christ. Wernsdorf, *Poetae Latini Minores* VI, 1 (Altenburg 1780-1784) pp. 269-382; reedited by N. E. Lemaire in *PLM* VII (Paris 1826); *Maximianus Etruscus, Elegiae sex ex rec. et cum notis Wernsdorfii* ed. J. A. Giles (London 1838); *Œuvres complètes d'Horace, de Juvenal . . .* publ. sous la dir. de M. Nisard (Paris 1845) VI, pp. 590ff.

¹⁹ Jos. Prada, *Quae inter metri dactylici disciplinam et sermonem Latinum in Maximiano poeta existunt quaestiones* (Ticini 1914); *id.*, *Sul valore e la parentela dei codici di Massimiano* (1918); *Maximiani Elegiae e codd. denuo collatis* ed. G. Prada (Abbiategrosso 1919); U. Moricca, "Di un nuovo codice delle *Elegie* di Massimiano," *Atheneum* 6 (1918) 135-142; *Lamenti e guai d'un vecchio, vers. metr. delle Elegie di Massimiano* da G. Prada (1920).

²⁰ L. Alfonsi, "Sulle elegie di Massimiano," *Atti dell' Istituto Veneto di Scienze . . .* (1941-1942), 333-349; *id.*, "De quibusdam locis quos ex antiquis poetis Boethius et Maximianus repetiisse videntur," *Aevum* (1942) 86-92; L. Alfonsi, "De Boethio elegiarum auctore," *Atti dell' Istituto Veneto . . .* (1942-1943) 723-727; R. Anastasi, "Boezio e Massimiano," *Miscell. di studi di lett. cristiana antica* 2 (Catania 1948) 1-20; E. Merone, "Per la biografia di Massimiano," *Giornale italiano di filologia* 1 (1948) 337-352; G. Boano, "Su Massimiano e le sue elegie," *Rivista di filologia classica* (1949) 198-216; E. Merone, "Maximiane," *Giornale italiano di filologia* 3 (1950) 322-336; R. Anastasi, "La III elegia di Massimiano," *Miscellanea di studi . . .* 3 (Catania 1951) 45-92; H. E. Wedeck, "An Analysis of the Techniques of Maximianus Etruscus," *Latomus* 11 (1952) 487-495; W. Schetter, "Neues zur Appendix der Elegien des Maximian," *Philologus* 104 (1960) 116-126 (on several poems which may have been written by Maximian); I had no access to A. Dapunt, *Der Elegiker Maximianus und sein Verhältnis zu seinen Vorgängern* (MS diss., Innsbruck 1949).

III

Since we have no external evidence and no records about Maximian (and all efforts to identify with a contemporary Maximian mentioned by Cassiodorus have failed²¹), scholars dealing with him turned to his poems hoping that they would yield biographical data and chronological evidence.²² Therefore, the knowledge of the contents of these poems is essential for understanding the results of their research and we must summarize some features in advance. They also can help us when attempting a somewhat unusual interpretation of the Maximian *corpus*.²³

The first poem serves as a kind of "biographical" introduction to the cycle and also as a kind of prologue. Here the poet first addresses himself to old age and presents his complaints:

Aemula quid cessas finem properare senectus?²⁴
 Cur et in hoc fesso corpore tarda venis?
 Solve, precor, miseram tali de carcere vitam:
 Mors est iam requies, vivere poena mihi.
 Non sum qui fueram, periit pars maxima nostri;
 Hoc quoque quod superest, languor et horror habet . . .

But then he turns to his past painted in bright colors. He once was an orator, a poet. ("Dum iuvenile decus, dum mens sensusque maneret, / Orator toto clarus in orbe fui / . . . Saepe poetarum mendacia dulcia finxi, / Et veros titulos res mihi ficta dabat . . ."). He also boasts of having been a sportsman; states that he enjoyed good health, satisfied himself with little food and rest. His drinking capacity won all the contests (41ff):

At si me subito vinosus repperit hospes,
 Aut fecit laetus sumere vina dies;
 Cessit et ipse pater Bacchus stupuitque bibentem,
 Et qui cuncta solet vincere, victus abit.

²¹ Schanz-Hosius-Krüger, IV, ii (1920) p. 78.

²² See esp. Merone, "Per la biografia di Massimiano" (see above, n. 20) 337-340; his proposed dates are: born 490/495; meeting with Boethius (third elegy) c. 510; journey to the Orient: c. 550; elegies published 550/560; died c. 570.

²³ Crusius (see above, n. 1) sees in the works of Maximianus a struggle between antiquity and the Middle Ages (cols. 2306f); cf. Levy, "Maximianus," col. 2530; Alfonsi suggests that they show a struggle between the classical form and "barbarian sensibility"; Alfonsi, "Sulle elegie di Massimiano" (see above, n. 20) 335ff.

²⁴ Quotations are given from *Poetae Latini Minores* (see above, n. 1) with corrections by Webster (see above, n. 18).

At this point his boasting goes beyond the expectations of his readers, and therefore he quotes as a parallel the examples of Socrates and Cato (45ff):

Haud facile est animum tantis inflectere rebus,
 Ut res oppositas mens ferat una duas:
 Hoc quoque virtutum quondam certamine magnum
 Socratem palmam promeruisse ferunt,
 Hinc etiam rigidum memorant valuisse Catonem . . .

We also hear about his virtue of "equanimity": he patiently suffered poverty and had no desire of possessing riches. This (over)idealized image of the poet is again and again interrupted and punctuated by complaints about his pressing old age. He reaches the climax of his boasting with the statement that once all mothers wished him to marry their daughters; but he, of course, as a sixth-century Roman Don Juan, spurned all these efforts. This boasting sounds rather dubious. Therefore one wonders whether our poet means this seriously, or only speaks with his tongue in his cheek. I have doubts whether he really expects us to take him seriously when presenting this panegyric of his life. What comes next, sounds like a mocking (71ff):

Sic cunctis formosus ego, gratusque videbar
 Omnibus: et sponsus sic generalis eram,
 Sed tantum sponsus; nam me natura pudicum
 Fecerat, et casto pectore durus eram.

He also gives a very amusing picture of his search for the ideal woman. This passage is too long to quote *in extenso* (77ff):

Omnis foeda mihi atque omnis mihi rustica visa est,
 Nullaque coniugio digna puella meo.
 Horrebam tenues, horrebam corpore pingues:
 Non mihi grata brevis, non mihi longa fuit . . .

Here he returns to complaints of old age and never sets his eyes any more on his glorious past. It has been suggested with special emphasis that Maximian borrowed much from Mimnermos, but Levy rejects this suggestion.²⁵

The mood of the second elegy²⁶ is somewhat different. The first elegy created a double image: "then" and "now." In the second elegy (where

²⁵ Crusius (see above, n. 1) col. 2307; Levy (see above, n. 5) 2530.

²⁶ Cf. Merone, "Maximiane" (see above, n. 20) 325f; *id.*, "Per la biografia," p. 541; Webster (see above, n. 18) pp. 90ff.

the complaints about old age are still numerous) we see Maximian from a different angle and in a different plight. It is devoted to the disgraceful behavior of Maximian's lifelong love, Lycoris, who was not mentioned in the first elegy. What this poem offers is a rather equivocal denigration of Lycoris, with the dirge of the complaints about old age still sounding in the background. Her personal character is not spared. We learn that she saw that Maximian's personal capabilities for physical love had ended and therefore she deserted him for other lovers. She now attaches herself to younger lovers and insults the old man. She has no memories at all; she expresses her disgust for him in obvious terms. What is left for Maximian is only complaint and despair. But he is still loyal to their long mutual past and he admires her youthful figure which does not change (29ff):

Et, fateor, primae retinet monimenta figurae,
Atque inter cineres condita flamma manet.
Ut video, pulchris etiam vos parcit, anni;
Nec veteris formae gratia tota perit.
Reliquiis veterum iuvenes pascuntur amorum,
Sed si quid nunc est, quod fuit ante, placet.

Maximian feels that the manner in which Lycoris acts is unknown even among the dumb beasts (43ff):

Ergo velut pecudum praesentia sola manebunt?
Nil de transactis, quod mernoretur, erit?
Cum fugiunt et bruta novos animalia campos
Ac repetunt celeres pascua nota greges,
Sub qua decubuit requiescere diligit umbram
Taurus, et amissum quaerit ovile pecus . . .
Tu tantum bene nota tibi, atque experta relinquis
Hospitia, et potius non manifesta petis.

He appeals to her loyalty which he deserves (I believe that the images used here are rather amusing, and this is perhaps what Maximian wanted); he asks her to call him father if she is ashamed to keep him as a lover (69f):

Dicere si fratrem, seu dedignaris amicum,
Dic patrem: affectum nomen utrumque tenet . . .

But in vain, she follows only her selfish instincts and despises her duties and past loyalties. Thus the second elegy ends again with the complaints of the old man.

The third elegy²⁷ delves deeper into the past. The poet appears here as a young man who falls into love with an equally young girl, Aquilina. Maximian presents himself as the inexperienced lover who really knew nothing about love. But the affair cannot develop since her parents place obstacles in their way. Maximian suffers like an ideal lover in Ovid: he is pale, sick, silent, without betraying his secret. He then meets Boethius, and this meeting gives him a glimmer of hope (47f):

Hic mihi magnarum scrutator maxime rerum,
Solus, Boëthi, fers miseratus opem . . .

He confesses his secret to Boethius but the answer received astonishes his innocence (63ff):

'Fare,' ait, 'et placitae potiaris munere formae';
Respondi: 'pietas talia velle fugit.'
Solvitur in risum, exclamans, 'proh, mira voluntas!
Custus amor Veneris, dicito, quando fuit?
Parcere dilectae iuvenis desiste puellae:
Impius hic fueris, si pius esse velis.'

Boethius then takes a hand in the case and bribes the parents of the girl to let her have an affair with Maximian. But this brings about a complete change (77ff):

Permissum fit vile nefas, fit languidus ardor:
Vicerunt morbum languida corda suum.
Illa nihil quaesita videns procedere, causam
Odit, et illaeso corpore tristis abit.

They part after exchanging rather cryptic messages (which probably greatly enhanced Maximian's medieval reputation) (83ff):

'Salve sancta,' inquam, 'semperque intacta maneto,
Virginitas: per me plena pudoris eris.'
Quae postquam perlata viro sunt omnia tanto
Meque videt fluctus exsuperasse meos:
'Macte,' inquit, 'iuvenis, proprii dominator amoris,
Et de contemptu sume trophaea tuo.
Arma tibi Veneris, cedantque Cupidinis arcus,
Cedat et armipotens ipsa Minerva tibi.'

The fourth elegy is short and is like a vision or dream of the poet. He falls in love with the dancing girl Candida.²⁸ This love experience of

²⁷ Anastasi, "La III elegia" (see above, n. 20); Merone, "Maximiana," p. 326; *id.*, "Per la biografia," pp. 340f.

²⁸ Merone, "Maximiana," pp. 327f. Webster, pp. 102ff.

Maximianus is closely related with the experience of music; she turns everything into music around him. But then, one night while sleeping, he gives away his secret by uttering some words, and her father, who happens to be near, hears them. He is perplexed and does not know how to judge them. But this experience deeply hurts Maximian's feelings and his love ends.

The difference between the fourth elegy and the subsequent one is greater than it was between the second and third elegies. The fifth elegy is much more obscene than any of the previous ones and its interpretation is not easy. No wonder that it has been long misunderstood.

In the fifth elegy²⁹ Maximian tells us about an embassy mission to the East (Constantinople) in which he participated. And while attempting to bring peace and understanding to the nations, he got embroiled "in a war." Here again, as in the Lycoris poem, Maximian portrays himself as a victim of a woman. She seduces him with *her* advances and he yields. Maximian offers in this poem a rather sensuous and Ovidian description of his love-making which ends, alas, in failure. His old age is an insurmountable obstacle. She then makes vivid reproaches to him in unmistakable terms. The whole elegy becomes at this point a continuous monologue of the Greek woman (*Graia*), and Maximian never utters a word any more. The end of the poem is abrupt and well planned. When the outburst of the *Graia* ends, Maximian winds up his poem by saying (153f):

Conticuit tandem longo satiata dolore
Me velut expletis deserit exsequiis.

I believe that this poem holds the key to the understanding of Maximian to a large extent and we shall have to return to it for an interpretation.

The sixth poem is only a brief epilogue where the motif of old age and death, a fitting image after the failure of the fifth elegy, dominates. Maximian feels he is a "living dead":

Infelix ceu iam defleto funere surgo
Hac me defunctum vivere parte puto.

IV

Although we possess several editions and translations, a new revised edition would be one of the *desiderata* of the research on Maximian.

²⁹ Merone, "Maximianeae," pp. 328-330; Webster, pp. 106ff; Crusius (see above, n. 1) col. 2307.

Now, we can briefly summarize the chief points of earlier research to help us locate some weak points and some debatable results. Scholars have paid particular attention to these questions: 1. Maximian's relationship to Boethius (third elegy);³⁰ 2. the meaning of the third elegy with reference to the role played by Boethius; 3. the probable date of the mission to the East;³¹ 4. the approximate age of Maximian at the time of his (pretended) meeting with Boethius; the date of his birth; the date of the publication of his elegies, his death;³² 5. Maximian's religion (Christian or pagan);³³ 6. the reliability of these elegies from the point of view of Maximian's biography; 7. his literary sources and his knowledge of Roman (and Greek) literature;³⁴ the influence of Boethius on certain passages of the elegies;³⁵ Maximian and Corippus;³⁶ the nature of their possible relationship and their relative chronology.

There is a general consensus among scholars that the reference to Boethius in the third elegy may have crucial significance, since it may indicate that the poet had been a young contemporary of Boethius. Some scholars assert that the whole narrative of the third elegy deserves credit and that Maximian is telling the truth when he reports about the role of Boethius.³⁷ Others, however, reject this assumption and believe that Maximian only invented the episode, and the conversation between Maximian and Boethius consists, at least in part, of some paraphrases of passages from the *Consolatio philosophiae*.³⁸ But one must admit that no

³⁰ A hotly debated issue: Fr. Wilhelm, "Maximianus und Boethius," *Rh. Mus.* 62 (1907) 601-614; M. Manitius, "Über den Dichter Maximian" (see above, n. 17) 541f; Webster, pp. 94f; Boano, "Su Massimiano" (see above, n. 20) 198f; Anastasi, "La III elegia" (see above, n. 20) passim, esp. pp. 50f, 54ff, 59ff; Merone, "Per la biografia" (above, n. 20) 343-345, etc.

³¹ Recently: Merone, "Per la biografia," p. 345. Baehrens, *PLM* V, p. 311; Schanz-Hosius-Krüger, IV, ii, p. 77; etc.

³² Merone, "Per la biografia," passim.

³³ Manitius, *Rh. Mus.* 44 (1889) 542ff; Webster, pp. 13ff.

³⁴ Boano, "Su Massimiano" (above, n. 20) 204ff; Levy, "Maximianus" (see above, n. 5) col. 2530; Merone, "Maximianea," pp. 335f; Manitius, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Ovidius im Mittelalter," *Philologus*, Suppl. Band 7 (1889) 729; Alfonsi, "De quibusdam locis" (see above, n. 20) 86ff. Cf. also D. R. S. Bailey, "Echoes of Propertius," *Mnemosyne* 4 ser. 5 (1952) 307-333 and R. B. C. Huygens, "Accessus ad Auctores," *Latomus* 12 (1953) 296-311, 460-484.

³⁵ Boano, "Su Massimiano," p. 200; Alfonsi, "De Boethio elegiarum auctore," pp. 726f; Merone, "Per la biografia," pp. 343-345; Anastasi, "La III elegia," passim, esp. pp. 49ff, 61f, 68ff, 77f.

³⁶ Boano, "Su Massimiano," p. 200ff; Merone, "Maximianea," pp. 331ff.

³⁷ Manitius, *Rh. Mus.* 44 (1889) 540; further discussion and literature: Anastasi, "La III elegia," pp. 50ff passim; Strazzula (see above, n. 17) p. 21; Wilhelm (see above, n. 30) p. 603.

³⁸ Webster, pp. 94f; Anastasi, "La III elegia," pp. 56ff, 59ff, 62, 66, etc.

definite proof exists in this respect, and the arguments advanced in favor of the Boethius episode are far from convincing.

A further pertinent question is whether the passage in question is designed to enhance the reputation of Boethius or is bound to denigrate him in the eyes of the readers. The problem is difficult, but it is necessary to take a stand on it. It is true that Boethius is called here "magnarum scrutator maxime rerum," which sounds flattering; but the role attributed to him is clearly dubious. What the elegy says is not less than the fact that Boethius has attempted to corrupt the morals of both the "innocent Maximian" and of Aquilina. His advice to Maximian (quoted above) cannot be mistaken and his actions are even worse. His words (. . . *proh mira voluntas, / Castus amor Veneris, dicito, quando fuit . . .*) have Ovidian overtones, the last thing we expect from the poet of the *Consolatio philosophiae*. Considering all these circumstances, I must agree with the final analysis of this elegy by Anastasi, who regards it as a satire and a carefully formulated attack on Boethius.³⁹ Since this passage contains elements (just as the fifth elegy does) which obviously point to the *Consolatio philosophiae*, it must have been written after Boethius' imprisonment and death, in a moment when his friends were not strong enough to defend his memory. Thus these poems must date from a time closely following his death (524/525) when interest was still alive in his person but before a reaction had set in in his image, which ultimately assumed the features of a martyr and of a Roman patriot. While Maximian never speaks of politics, his presentation of the Boethius image and the fact (if we can believe him) that he was sent with a mission to the Orient makes us assume that he may have belonged to a pro-Gothic faction at the time of Boethius' death and afterward. But let us not forget that Boethius himself, *nolens volens*, served Theodoric the Great. Maximian does not directly attack Boethius, and he even makes a (rather doubtful) gesture to indicate his greatness; but the role which he attributes to Boethius is derogatory and insulting. This elegy therefore cannot be regarded as a compliment paid to the author of the *Consolatio*. Its satirical contents can hardly be seriously doubted. At the same time, it serves to indicate the feelings of Maximian toward Boethius.

But what about the other elegies? Are they, too, of a satirical character? Or is there nothing in them which would assert similar tendencies? I propose that we should consider in this respect in the first place the second and fifth elegies. The first elegy, too, may offer some elements of minor interest as we have already seen.

³⁹ Anastasi, "La III elegia," pp. 63ff, 84, etc. *passim*.

In the second elegy we have seen Maximian contrasted with his former love Lycoris. Most scholars have failed to see that the contrasting image of the two lovers is more important in it than the rich overgrowth of complaints about old age.

What strikes us here is the rather overdrawn picture of a lecherous, libidinous, selfish woman who abandons loyalty and faith. The complaints serve only to show how defenseless and helpless Maximianus is, who is still devoted to her and who lives in an atmosphere of unhappy loyalty. Maximian portrays himself as a victim of this ruthless and selfish creature. Thus the result is a generic antifeminist satire, largely based on the motif of the *exclusus amator*.⁴⁰ While this satire is exemplified by the case of Lycoris, it seems to have a more general application, as the fifth elegy also shows.

The second elegy never unravels the origin of the relationship between Maximian and Lycoris; the fifth elegy places the blame squarely on the shoulders of the *Graia*. Maximian's innocence is characterized by a double allusion: he was an unsuspecting old man and a Roman (Etruscan) facing a cunning woman and a Greek (5f, 39f):

Hic me suscipiens Etruscae gentis alumnum
Involvit patriis Graia puella dolis . . .

One overhears here the Virgilian motto: "Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes." The *Graia* uses all the devices of her profession (9ff):

Pervigil ad nostras adstabat nocte fenestras,
Nescio quid Graeco murmure dulce canens.
Nunc aderant lacrimae, gemitus, suspiria, pallor,
Et quidquid nullum fingere posse putes . . .

The basic motif (his impotence) is taken by Maximian from Ovid (*Amores* 3.7) whom he follows in certain details quite closely.⁴¹ In other respects, however, he adds new elements or varies the borrowed ones. Maximian is very anxious to portray himself as an innocent victim; at the same time, by introducing a priamel-like enumeration of some mythological and epic characters (a rather rare feature in his poetry) he not only follows the elegiac tradition of the use of mythology but also creates a rather comic mood when he contrasts his little dirty affair with Ulyxes, Troia, Jupiter . . . (19f, 39ff, 45f):

⁴⁰ Frank O. Copley, *Exclusus Amator* (American Philol. Assoc. Monogr. vol. 17, 1956).

⁴¹ Cf. Alfonsi, "Sulle elegie di Massimiano," p. 338; Boano, "Su Massimiano," pp. 204f.

Illam Sirenis stupefactus cantibus aequans
 Efficior demens alter Ulyxes ego . . .
 Succubui, fateor, Graiae tum nescius artis:
 Succubui Tusca simplicitate senex.
 Qua defensa suo, superata est, Hectore Troia
 Unum non poterat fraus superare senem? . . .
 Nec memorare pudet tali me vulnere victum,
 Subditus his flammis Iuppiter ipse fuit.

Maximian is writing a satire and therefore does not excuse himself with the saying "si licet magnis componere parva"; in reality he needs the effect which emerges from the mixing of *magna* and *parva*. It is, no doubt, a mocking passage as are many others in Maximian's poetry. The detailed account of his attempted love-making is not less comic and is presented again in a series of mocking descriptions. It already starts after some sensuous passages:

Terrebar teneros adstringere fortiter artus [says Maximian],
 Visa per amplexus ossa sonare meos:
 'Grandia,' clamabat, 'tua nunc me brachia laedunt:
 Non tolerant pondus subdita membra tuum.'

With this, a turning point is reached in the love-making, and the events follow the course prescribed by the Ovidian model (*Amores* 3.7). But Maximian not only devotes much more space to obscenities than Ovid does but also accentuates the images with satirical elements. In Ovid, the girl's reproaches are brief; most of the complaints are uttered by the poet himself. Here the roles are reversed. When all fails, the *Graia* is filled with fury and she sets out to recite what amounts to a phallic hymn addressed to the "mentula."⁴² It is unique in the history of Roman literature, so far as I can see. As a high priestess of a phallic cult she pours out fervent praise of the "mentula" in unmistakable terms, shamelessly calling it a source of her pleasures and her consolation. We can spare further details and quote only a few lines from this phallic hymn which will clearly indicate the comic-satirical intent of the poet (87ff):

Mentula, festorum cultrix operosa dierum,
 Quondam deliciae divitiaeque meae.
 Quo te delectam lacrimarum gurgite plangam,
 Quae de tot meritis carmina digna feram?
 Tu mihi flagranti succurrere saepe solebas,
 Atque aestus animi ludificare mei.

⁴² Cf. Boano, "Su Massimiano," p. 204.

Tu mihi per totam custos gratissima noctem
 Consors laetitiae tristitiaeque meae,
 Conscia secreti semper fidissima nostri
 Adstans in nostris pervigil obsequiis . . .

We can break off here. *Sapienti sat*. Obviously, this elegy cannot be taken seriously and it is also not a simple imitation of the Ovidian poem. Its purposeful amplification of the comic and satirical elements renders it a full-fledged satire of high rank. The object of this satire is, however, not Maximian, who utterly fails in his manly functions, but the young *Graia*, whose sensuous nature is perfectly characterized by this phallic hymn. This turns the whole poem into a cleverly formulated invective against women, who are always bent on their own pleasure and who regard pleasure and sexual satisfaction as the center of not only their own life but also of the whole universe. She acts here as a Bacchante when she wildly reacts to Maximian's mollifying words (105ff):

Hanc ego cum lacrimis deducta voce canentem
 Irridens, dictis talibus increpui:
 'Dum defles nostri languorem, femina, membri,
 Ostendis morbo te graviore premi.'
 [Vade, inquam, felix semper felicibus apta,
 Et tibi cognatis utere Deliciis.]
 Illa furens: 'nescis, ut cerno, perfide, nescis:
 Non fleo privatum, sed generale chaos.
 Haec genus humanum, pecudum, volucrumque ferarum,
 Et quicquid toto spirat in orbe, creat.
 Hac sine diversi nulla est concordia sexus:
 Hac sine coniugii gratia summa perit.
 Haec geminas tanto constringit foedere mentes,
 Unius ut faciat corporis esse duos . . .'

These words express the "pan-sexuality" of women; but many scholars have taken them too seriously, although some of the lines clearly indicate the parody and some are a paraphrase of passages by Boethius. I think that it was a mistake to take these lines seriously. This is *not* a serious passage; this is a part of the satirical designs of Maximian's poem and therefore he assigns these lines to the female character whom he wants to satirize. This phallic hymn with its "cosmic imagery" is a pure mockery; it serves only to describe the twisted world of women in which sex prevails, just as it does in that of Lycoris who knows no loyalty and attachment but only the pleasures of the present.⁴³

⁴³ The "pan-sexuality" of the *Graia* corresponds very much to what Ovid says about women in *Ars amatoria* 1.275ff (Utque viro furtiva venus, sic grata

With these remarks, we have established the fact that there are satirical overtones in at least two of Maximian's poems, to which the Aquilina story with its allusion to Boethius can be added. Thus three of the four "main" elegies of the collection are classed with satires.

We also note a structural peculiarity in this cycle of Maximianus. We see here that the first and the last elegies serve as some kind of frame (=prologue and epilogue) for the cycle. It is particularly interesting to see how these six elegies are ordered; the outer frame of the cycle is formed (as already said) by elegies 1 and 6. Next to them, inside the collection, we find elegies 2 and 5 of satirical character, as invectives against women. The inner nucleus of the cycle is formed by two more elegies referring to Maximian's youthful experiences. Thus a certain symmetry reigns in the structure of the whole cycle. It can be demonstrated with the following arrangement:

"Frame" of the cycle: *Invective against women:* *Youthful experiences:*

Elegy 1: "Now and
then"

Elegy 2: Lycoris

Elegy 3: Aquilina

Elegy 4: Candida

Elegy 5: Graia

Elegy 6: Old Age and
Death

It is hard to believe that this arrangement is accidental, since the individual poems are not arranged according to any strict chronology; the only principle which could explain their arrangement is indicated above.

V

And now, we may say a few words about Maximian's medieval popularity. As already indicated, Maximian's poems were read in schools, although because of the obvious obscenity of their contents we

puellae; / Vir male dissimulat; tectius illa cupit. / . . . Parciore in nobis nec tam furiosa libido); cf. F. W. Lenz, "Ovidiana," *Wiener Studien* 80, n.s. 1 (1967) 190-201, esp. p. 190: "Ovid stellt I, 281f die These auf, dass bei 'uns' d.h. bei den Männern, die libido, das Verlangen nach geschlechtlicher Lust, weniger stark entwickelt sei als bei den Frauen und sich disziplinierter innerhalb gewisser Grenzen halte, ohne zur Raserei zu werden, die unentschuld bare Taten zur Folge habe." On obscenity in Roman literature and on its links with satire: H. Bardon, "Rome et l'impudeur," *Latomus* 24 (1965) 495-518.

would not judge them suitable for school texts. No wonder that Alexander de Villa-Dei raised his voice (around 1200) against Maximian; he begins his *Doctrinale* with an allusion to Maximian:

Scribere clericulis paro Doctrinale novellis,
pluraque doctorum sociabo scripta meorum.
Iamque legent pueri pro nugis Maximiani
quae veteres sociis nolebant pandere caris.⁴⁴

This condemnation of Maximianus was, however, not general and one manuscript even calls him St. Maximian after presenting his poems.⁴⁵ The question whether or not Maximian was a Christian (as Manitius asserts) plays no part in this respect. He may have been a nominal Christian,⁴⁶ but this does not make his writing suitable for the schools.

We find two probable reasons which may explain Maximian's popularity in the Middle Ages. One is the story of Aquilina which sounds like a praise of virginity (a subject often taken up in the Middle Ages), although we cannot really interpret Maximian's poem that way. The other, probably major, reason for his popularity was the antifeminist tendency of two of his satires (elegies 2 and 5) which was apparently easily recognized in the Middle Ages. We know that in the Middle Ages, especially from the eleventh century onward, an extensive antifeminist poetry sprang up.⁴⁷ It is strange to see that Maximian's manuscripts begin to appear just about the same time when, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, this antifeminist tendency too is strengthened in Latin poetry. Have these two phenomena something to do with one another? It is difficult to say, but there is a good likelihood that they have.

* * *

Summing up our concrete results we find that Maximian's elegies contain many satirical elements which are mainly directed against the sensuous character of women and obviously designed to express the poet's feelings toward the female sex. In addition, previous research

⁴⁴ *Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa Dei* ed. Dietrich Reichling (Berlin 1893) p. 7 (vv. 1-4); further "testimonia" *Corneli Maximiani . . . Elegiae* ed. Giles (1838) pp. 28-33.

⁴⁵ London. Reg. 15A VII (from the thirteenth century) says: Explicit IIII' liber ethicorum s. maximianus; see Levy (above, n. 5) col. 2531.

⁴⁶ This expression is applied to Ausonius, Apollinaris Sidonius, and Ennodius by H. O. Taylor, *The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages* (4th ed., New York 1957) p. 293.

⁴⁷ Some poems of this category in the Middle Ages are listed in *Initia carminum ac versuum Medii Aevi posterioris Latinorum* ed. Hans Walther (*Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina* I, Göttingen 1959) p. 1171 (index); "Misogynica."

established the fact that at least one episode in the third elegy may have been directed against Boethius. A number of literary echoes (from Boethius and from older literary sources, from Ovid, etc.) have also been noted in Maximian's verses. It has, however, never been satisfactorily established that these elegies can supply us with reliable data about his life. In any case he seems to have been a contemporary of Boethius but it seems that he wrote and published his elegies much earlier than has been assumed hitherto. It is impossible to say anything definite about his mission to the East. We cannot deny or confirm the suggestion of the fifth elegy that he once participated in such a mission, but if he did, it was probably only in the capacity of a minor official. His Christianity is not an established fact, and the arguments forwarded by Manitius are not conclusive. This, however, does not speak against the possibility that Maximian was a "nominal Christian" but nothing more. His biography reconstructed by some scholars does not seem to be reliable; the autobiographical character of these elegies is, apart from a few minor details (his name, his Etruscan origin, his being a contemporary of Boethius) far from being assured. His popularity in the Middle Ages can be explained from two elements of his elegies (1. the Aquilina story and 2. the antifeminist tendency in elegies 2 and 5).

On the basis of this survey, I feel that Maximian's poems deserve a revaluation and a further thorough investigation which could not be attempted here.

STAMPED POTTERS' MARKS AND OTHER STAMPED POTTERY IN THE McDANIEL COLLECTION

NANCY L. HIRSCHLAND AND MASON HAMMOND

THE Department of the Classics possesses a collection of classical objects of which the core comprises the collection formed by Professor Walton Brooks McDaniel and given by him to the Department to illustrate Roman private life and religion. To this have been added the remnants of a former departmental collection, much of which has been dissipated over the years to destinations which there has not been time to trace. A card catalogue exists for this collection, begun by Dr. (later Dean) George H. Chase and continued by other hands; this is referred to hereafter as Chase Cat. Furthermore, objects have been purchased for the McDaniel collection from the income of a fund generously presented by him for its increase and from gifts from him for this purpose; also objects have been given by others to the collection. From time to time interested students have prepared descriptions of objects or classes of objects in the collection. This catalogue of stamped clay (terracotta) objects was stimulated by a gift from Mr. Horton O'Neil of stamped amphora handles from Carthage, catalogued first below under the classification ON. There follow six Roman brick-stamps in the collection, classified as BS, and ten miscellaneous objects, classified as Misc. Three of the objects, ON. 2 and Misc. 8 and 9, are of stone, but are included for convenience of cataloguing.

I. O'NEIL POTTERY STAMPS FROM CARTHAGE

A small collection of thirty-two pottery fragments, most bearing stamps, and one of marble was given to the McDaniel Collection by Mr. Horton O'Neil in December 1965. Mr. O'Neil was a volunteer member of a Franco-American staff for the excavation of Carthage during the spring seasons of 1924 and 1925. The group was organized by Professor F. M. Kelsey and Count Byron Khun de Prorak, and the 1925 season was reported by Francis W. Kelsey, "Excavations at Carthage, 1925; A Preliminary Report," *Supplement to the American Journal of Archaeology*, New York, Macmillan, 1926; in this Mr. O'Neil is mentioned on

p. 12. Mr. O'Neil, at the time attending school in France, says in a letter accompanying the fragments that he used to walk to the excavations from the village of Sidi Bou Said and picked the pieces up in the fields. He occasionally traded pieces with the French scholar M. François Icard, discoverer of the precinct of Tannit. Two of the pieces, nos. 22 and 25 below, in fact bear labels in French, and one, no. 19, a penciled note; these presumably represent such "trades." Mr. O'Neil provided three offprints on pottery marks, two by M. Icard and one by the Rev. Père H.-L. DeLattre, then abbot of the White Fathers, who occupy a monastery on the hill of Carthage and who have been primarily responsible for the excavations. The collection of fragments comprises five fragments (A-E) without marks which are not further discussed below.¹ Fourteen fragments (nos. 1-14) have Punic marks and two (nos. 15-16) undeciphered marks which may be Libyan or neo-Punic. The drawings in plate I reproduce the stamps of these sixteen fragments and are numbered as in the following discussion. One fragment (no. 17) has painted decoration. Eight (nos. 18-25) have Greek marks, and two (nos. 26 and 27) have Latin. There is finally a small piece of marble (no. 28) with two Latin letters.

Frank Moore Cross, Jr., Hancock Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages in Harvard University, generously identified and interpreted the Punic marks for Miss Hirschland, who studied all of the O'Neil group and made the drawings on plate 1 of the fourteen Punic and two unidentified marks.

In the descriptions of these fragments use has been made of the following publications, of which the first three are those given by Mr. O'Neil:

François Icard, "Marques céramiques carthaginoises, grecques, et romaines trouvées à Carthage," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 1917 (publ. 1918), pp. 1-12.

François Icard, "Marques céramiques de Carthage," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité etc.* 1923, pp. 1-6.

A.-L. DeLattre, "Marques céramiques grecques trouvées à Carthage" (nouvelle série), *La Revue tunisienne de l'Institut de Carthage* 1912, pp. 1-11.

A.-L. DeLattre, "Marques céramiques grecques et romaines trouvées à Carthage sur la Colline de Sainte-Monique de 1902-1904," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité etc.* 1904, pp. 482-498.

¹ In June 1967 Mr. O'Neil presented a larger collection of objects and fragments in various materials, which have not yet been carefully studied. One is another unmarked amphora handle, given the notation ON. F.

Paul Gauckler, "La Céramique punique de Carthage," *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques* XV, pp. 574-586, reprinted in his *Nécropoles puniques de Carthage*, 2me partie: *Études diverses*, Paris, A. Picard, 1915, as no. XX, pp. 581-594.

Martin P. Nilsson, *Exploration archéologique de Rhodes (Fondation Carlsberg) V: Timbres amphoriques de Lindos publiées avec un Étude sur les timbres amphoriques rhodiens*, in *Oversight over det kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs: Forhandlingene (Bulletin de l'Académie royale des Sciences et des Lettres de Danemark*, Copenhagen, 1909), nos. 1 and 4. Part I (no. 1), pp. 37-180 and one plate, is the general discussion and Part II (no. 4), pp. 349-539, is a catalogue alphabetically by proper names of stamps in the National Museum of Athens and, at the end, some additions and a table of contents.²

Punic (see plate I)

ON. 1. Fragment of a rim, of red-colored clay. The stamp is almost circular, c. 1.6 cm. in diam. In the center is a dolphin, probably to be set on his nose so that the letter at the left reads as a Carthaginian têt (t). This is the Phoenician symbol of royal sanction. The other symbol is probably meant to be lightning, representing a god riding on the back of the dolphin; however it might represent the Phoenician zayin (z), which stands for the number 20.

ON. 2. Fragment of a rim, similar to but not the same as ON. 1. Reddish clay with dark cream-colored slip. The stamp is the same as that on ON. 1, but this one was pressed upon the curve of the rim and consequently is not complete. It was also more deeply imprinted into the clay.

ON. 3. Fragment of a rim. Red-colored clay. The stamp is square, c. 1.6 cm. wide. In the center is a caduceus, cut deeper into the stamp than the three letters which stand at the side. At the right top is the letter lamed (l); it has a rare form, with the extra downward stroke at the top. Below it is a têt (t), the sign of royalty. On the left is a larger letter, taw (t).

ON. 4. Fragment of a wide handle. Reddish clay with a cream-colored slip. The oval stamp is deeply impressed into the top of the handle. About 1.4 cm. long. A stylized palm (?), representing the tree of

² It may be noted that no light is cast on the subjects discussed in this article by the important study of M. H. Callender, *Roman Amphorae, with Index of Stamps* (University of Durham Publications), London, Oxford University Press, 1965; this naturally includes neither Punic and Greek amphora-stamps nor Latin brick-stamps.

life, occupies most of the space. At the right, squeezed in, is a modified anḥ (*crux ansata*). Compare Icard, *Bull. arch.* 1917, p. 6 no. 10 (sketch on p. 5), which shows a somewhat different palm tree. Icard calls his a reproduction of a Punic coin.

ON. 5. Small fragment of a handle in reddish clay. Squarish stamp is c. 1.4 cm. wide. The two letters are Phoenician zayin (z) and têt (t). Again the zayin may stand for the number 20; compare ON. 1. The numbers 24 and 26 are, however, more common measures.

ON. 6. Fragment of a handle. Reddish clay with traces of lighter slip. Rhomboid-shaped stamp, c. 1.6 cm. wide. Two Phoenician archaizing kaphs. They look like the mainland script, from Sidon and Tyre, not the Punic script. Compare Icard, *Bull. arch.* 1917, p. 5 no. 4 (sketch on p. 5).

ON. 7. Fragment of a handle. Red clay with lighter pink slip. The rectangular stamp is c. 1.7 × 1.2 cm. In the center is an amphora with high thin neck, two half-moon shaped handles and a bulbous body receding to a narrow point at the bottom. Below it, in the corners, are: at the right, a mêm (m); at the left, a nûn (n).

ON. 8. Fragment of a handle in red clay. Circular stamp is c. 1.9 cm. in diameter. The two letters are bêt (b) and rêsh (r), reading right to left. The stamp is badly worn. For the bêt, compare Icard, *Bull. arch.* 1917, p. 5 no. 8 (sketch on p. 5).

ON. 9. Fragment of a handle of grayish clay. Oval stamp has a particularly sharp execution; it is c. 1.9 cm. × 1.5 cm. The two letters are qôf (q) and zayin (z). The zayin comes out backward on the stamp. Again this letter may indicate the number 20; compare ON. 1 and 5.

ON. 10. Small fragment of a handle in red clay. Circular stamp is c. 1.7 cm. in diameter, and badly worn. The so-called "emblem of the goddess Tannîṭ (or Tinnîṭ)" is represented. There may be traces of a letter at the left. For the emblem of Tannîṭ compare Icard, *Bull. arch.* 1917, p. 3 no. 1 and p. 6 no. 14 (sketches on p. 5).

ON. 11. Fragment of a rim with a distinctive sharp profile. Grayish clay with light pink slip. Circular stamp is 1.6 cm. in diam. The letters are particularly sharp in execution except for a blob of clay at the left of the ʔalef. The two letters are kaph (k) and ʔalef (ʔ), in a late form.

ON. 12. Handle entire. Red clay with cream-colored slip. The stamp is c. 1.9 cm. long, of an irregular shape. The letters are samek (s) and qôf (q). The thickened arms are characteristic of the later period, c. 300-146 B.C.

ON. 13. Handle entire. Reddish clay with cream-colored slip. The oval stamp is c. 1.8 × 1.5 cm. In the center is a long-necked jug with one

handle and a pouring lip, and with a horizontal line beneath it. At the right is a hêt (h), at the left a taw (t). Compare Gauckler, *Études* XX, p. 588 no. 752.

ON. 14. Fragment of a handle. Reddish clay with pink slip. The circular stamp is deeply impressed in the clay. Diam. is c. 1.5 cm. At the left is a bêt (b), at the right a gimel (g). Both are backwards, i.e. the stamp itself was the positive.

Uncertain (see plate I)

ON. 15. Long piece of a handle. Pink-colored clay. Rectangular stamp, c. 4.5 cm. \times 1 cm. Reading uncertain.

ON. 16. Fragment of a handle, nearly complete. Reddish clay with buff-colored slip. Rectangular stamp c. 3.6 cm. \times 1 cm. There are 3 letters (?) of uncertain reading. Also a crescent moon and sun, which are common on Carthaginian tombs.

These two may be some form of Punic, Libyan, or other native alphabet.

ON. 17. Base of a pot. Buff-colored clay with lighter cream-colored slip. A design is painted on in dark brown. Only a triangle with an attached horizontal line running to the left from the apex survives.

Greek

ON. 18. Fragment of a handle in red clay. Rectangular stamp is c. 3.6 cm. \times .8 cm. The upper right corner was not imprinted into the clay because of the curvature of the handle. The letters are Greek: EYPY.

ON. 19. Handle complete, of a squarish squat shape. Fine clay, in buff color. The rectangular stamp is c. 3.6 \times 1.4 cm. The inscription reads on one line and the beginning of a second: APICTOΓEIT / OY, with the last two letters (on the second line) stoichedon. The name is written on the piece in pencil (by Icard?).

ON. 20. Fragment of a handle in pinkish clay. The rectangular stamp which is c. 5.5 cm. \times 1 cm., was pressed carefully to show completely despite the curve of the handle. The Greek letters are: ΣΑΙΜΙΣ; clearly the stamp was the positive, and the legend should read: ΣΙΜΙΑΣ.

ON. 21. Fragment of a double handle with groove down the center. Pinkish clay. Rectangular stamp c. 2.7 cm. long, but only one long side firmly impressed. Greek letters read: ΝΙ[. . .]

ON. 22. Fragment of a handle. Pinkish-colored clay. Rectangular stamp is c. 3.4 cm. \times 1.6 cm., and so heavily worn as to be almost illegible. An attached label (presumably by Icard) says that it reads: ΝΙΚ[ΑΤΙΔ]-

ΟΣ. Compare Delattre, *Bull. arch.* 1904, p. 487 no. 29, which shows the same name and refers to Dumont, *Inscriptions céramiques de Grèce*, p. 102 nos. 193-195 (briefly cited also on the label). Nilsson, *Timbres amph. de Lindos*, pp. 459-460 under no. 325 refers to sixteen examples of ΝΙΚΑΤΙΔΟΣ from Rhodian stamps in the Athens Museum.

ON. 23. Fragment of very small handle, almost complete. Reddish clay. A circular stamp is incomplete for about 1/3 of the circle, due to the curve of the handle. Diam. c. 2.4 cm. A raised lump has been left in the middle, perhaps a Rhodian flower. Around this, in neat but now illegible letters, is an inscription.

ON. 24. Handle complete. Brown-colored clay. Rectangular stamp is c. 4.4 cm. × 1.5 cm. Most of the inscription is illegible. There were originally two lines, the right ends of which are preserved: ...]ΟΔ / ...]ΟΥ.

ON. 25. Fragment of a handle in pinkish clay. Rectangular stamp c. 3.9 × 1.4 cm. Very heavily worn, but reads: ΑΝΤΙΜ[ΑΧΟΥ]. A label (by Icard?) gives the full name and refers to Delattre, *Bull. arch.* 1904, p. 484 no. 5; see also Icard, *Bull. arch.* 1923, p. 1 no. 1; *CIL* VIII Suppl. III (1904) under no. 22638 no. 25 (on p. 2191). All of these show ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ with a caduceus either above or below; on this example despite the wear, traces of the head of a caduceus may remain beneath the ΑΝ. This stamp is said in *CIL* to be found frequently in Sicily and at Pergamum.

Latin

ON. 26. Fragment of a brick tile. Brownish clay with incrustation on the front. The large stamp is 10 cm. long with a straight edge at what appears to have been the top; the bulk is broken away from the bottom. Vertically at the right edge of the stamp, with their bottoms facing outward to the right, are the letters GLIN, probably the end of FIGLIN. To the left of them and upright, parallel to the top, are the three letters INI; to their left there appears no trace of other letters but the surface is roughened and perhaps something has been lost. The stamp may originally have been semicircular, with the diameter up and the curve down; compare *CIL* VIII suppl. III under no. 22632 no. 30 (on p. 2175) from Utica, which reads: TONNEI DE FIGLIN; however *CIL* gives no example similar to this.

ON. 27. Oblong block of coarse gray clay, c. 6 cm. × 3 cm. on the top and c. 3 cm. thick so far as preserved. An inscription fills nearly the entire top surface, in deeply sunk block Latin letters, whose irregular alignment suggests that they may have been impressed individually; they read on two lines: VICTOR / ΙΑΝΥΣ. Compare *CIL* VIII

Suppl. V 1 under no. 22632, where *tegula* no. 86c has the same inscription similarly divided in what are denominated *litteris cavis*, presumably the same sort of "sunk letters."

ON. 28. A triangular marble fragment, broken along all three edges, c. 2 cm. thick and c. 5.5 cm. in its longest dimension. Two letters are partly preserved: I T; the I has long crossing finials and the T has a flattened triangular finial at the end of the left top arm (the right is broken off). The staves are thin and cut in grooves which form almost right angles.

II. MCDANIEL BRICK-STAMPS

The Collection contains six brick-stamps, all on broken pieces of brick. One (BS. 2) came from the collection of the Department of the Classics. The other five were given in 1959. They range in time from the Flavians to the Severi. Three (BS. 2, 3, and 4) come from the brickyards of the Domitiae and of Marcus Annii Verus, which passed into the possession of Marcus Aurelius, and hence into the imperial patrimony, by inheritance respectively from his mother, Domitia Lucilla the Younger (d. c. 155), and his father, Annii Verus (d. after 129). All save one (BS. 3) have the common crescent three-quarter (or more) moon shape and writing in curved lines below an inserted partial circle, with the bottoms of letters toward the outside; where there is more than one line, they read from the bottom to the second and to the third if any.

The following descriptions are based on the examples given by Dressel in the first part of the fifteenth volume of the *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* supplemented from Herbert Bloch, *I Bolli Laterizi etc.*, which was published in three parts in the *Bulletino della Commissione archeologica comunale del Governatorato di Roma* LXIV-LXVI (1936-1938) and in separate off-prints in 1938, with an index as an "aggiunta" to the *Bulletino etc.* LXXI (1943/1945) published in 1947. These are referred to as *CIL* XV and Bloch. Mention may also be made of Professor Bloch's two articles in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*: "The Roman Brick-stamps not Published in Volume XV 1 of the 'Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum'" in vol. LVI/LVII (1947) pp. 1-128 and "Indices to Roman Brick-stamps" in vol. LVIII/LIX (1948) pp. 1-104.

BS. 1. Dun-colored clay; found at Ostia in 1939; gift. The stamp is broken away at the lower right. The inserted flat circle at the top is only slightly more than a semicircle and overlaps on the upper third of a second blank circle, which forms the center of the stamp and which is only slightly depressed, though apparently meant to be at the same depression as the letters of the stamp. The stamp is c. 8 cm. in diameter

and each circle c. 1.4 cm. in diameter. The text runs in a single curve around the outside, enclosing the central blank circle. It reads, without points or separation between words: L [...]I PROCVLI. This is presumably the L. Lurius Proculus of *CIL* XV 1253, which gives six different texts, in all of which, however, the name is followed on another line by FEC. Five (a–e) have the name in the nominative but the sixth (f) in the genitive, though still followed by FEC. No. 1254 reads: DECEMBER L LVRI PROCVLI / FECIT. All these come from localities within or around Rome; see also Bloch pp. 35, 77–78, who dates Proculus' stamps from the Palatine as under Domitian. Dressel, *CIL* XV pp. 343–344, dates his examples from the end of the first century to the age of Hadrian. This stamp, without FEC, seems to be unrecorded for Proculus, and it is presumably the earliest of the six.

BS. 2. Slightly pink clay; Class. Dept. Coll. Chase Cat. no. 3035; no provenance. The ends of the crescent are broken off, with the loss of a final D in the lower curve. The stamp seems to have been somewhat oval, with a horizontal diameter of c. 9.3 cm. and a vertical of c. 7 cm. The very large inset circle has a diameter of c. 6 cm. and must have been only slightly more than a semicircle. In the lower curve: T.GREI·IANUARI·EX·F.C D.[D], and in the upper curve: V.Q·F. The points are triangular, apex up or down and placed in the line as space served; that after C is inside of it; compare BS. 5. The text may be expanded from *CIL* XV 118b: *T. Grei Ianuari ex figlinis Caninianis Domitiorum duorum; valeat qui fecit*. Bloch does not list no. 118b but gives no. 118a on p. 71 nos. 86a, b from the House of the Vestals in Rome.

Dressel, *CIL* XV pp. 37–40, says that the site of the Caninian brick-yards is not known but that they were closely connected with other yards owned by the Domitii. He dates the activity of Januarius as yard-master between 60 and 93/94; see also Bloch p. 27 on Domitian's *Domus Augustana* on the Palatine. The two Domitii were the adopted sons of Domitius Afer (d. 59). Their yards passed to the daughter of one, Domitia Lucilla the Elder, and from her to her daughter Domitia Lucilla the Younger, who married Annii Verus and gave birth to Marcus Aurelius. Marcus inherited the complex of yards on her death c. 155; see Dressel in *CIL* XV pp. 265–275. This is the earliest of the three stamps coming from this complex. The Chase catalogue indicates that this stamp came, with another example of the same stamp (no. 2424, apparently not as complete), from the Haynes Bequest in 1912. The catalogue shows that the old departmental collection contained a number of other pieces of stamped terracotta, such as brick-stamps and amphora handles.



1.



2.



3.



4.



5.



6.



7.



8.



9.



10.



11.



12.



13.



14.



15.



16.

PLATE I. The McDaniel Collection.

Fourteen Punic and two unidentified stamps in the O'Neil group, numbered as in the text.

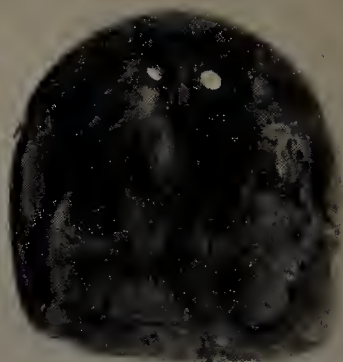


PLATE II. Miscellaneous Objects from the McDaniel Collection.

Above: Misc. 7, Circular impressed disk.

Misc. 6, Weight with two busts.

Below: Misc. 4, Weight with HHQA.

Misc. 8, Stone mould for tesserae.

BS. 3. Dun-colored clay; from Hadrian's villa at Tivoli; gift. This piece was found in 1951 in the hypocaust to the right of the stairs leading down from the so-called peristyle of the fishpond to the cryptoporticus beneath it. It is the left half, broken diagonally from the lower left corner to the upper right, of a square tile, presumably used in one of the piers of the hypocaust floor. The surviving left edge measures c. 20 cm. and the top c. 21.5 cm. The stamp runs just below the middle in three straight rows of letters not sunk in any frame, and the preserved letters fill a space c. 4 cm. high and at the top (the longest preserved row) 8 cm. long. On the top line: APRON ET PA[ET COS], on the middle line: PPB S[ALAR.], and on the bottom line: EX FIGL [ANNI VERI] (in no. 479b: ANN VER). The words run continuously, without points. The text is completed from *CIL* XV 479a, b; see also Bloch p. 125 nos. 70, 78-80 from the ninfeo of the villa of Hadrian, and index p. 150 for other examples.

Apronianus and Paetus were consuls in 123. Dressel suggests in his n. on 478 that PPB are the initials of an unknown yard-master. SALAR stands for (*Opus*) *Salar(ese)* and brickyards of several owners bear this designation presumably because they were along the Via Salaria; see Dressel, *CIL* XV p. 8 right col. and p. 139. The owner of the yard, Marcus Annus Verus, was the grandfather of Marcus Aurelius and appears as consul III in 126 in the next stamp (BS. 4). His son Annus Verus married Domitia Lucilla the Younger and their combined brickyards passed to Marcus on her death c. 155.

BS. 4. Slightly pink clay, discolored with white on the surface; from Hadrian's villa at Tivoli; gift. This was found in 1952 in a hypocaust room in the southwest corner of a large peristyle above the large baths. The stamp is c. 9 cm. in diameter and the almost complete inset circle at the top c. 3.5 cm. in diameter. On the lower curve: Q OPPI IUSTI FORTUNAT SER FEC, on the middle curve: VERO III ET AMB, and on the top circle: COS. The top circle, making a center to the stamp, is depressed to the level of the rest of the stamp and only slightly overlapped at the top by the blank inset circle. There are no points and the words run continuously. COS runs straight across the center of the top circle. The text may be expanded from *CIL* XV 1343 as: *Q. Oppi Iusti Fortunatus servus fecit Vero III et Ambibulo consulibus*; see also Bloch 137 no. 296 from the large baths at Hadrian's villa; 166 par. 3 where the example is called a "bipedale," which this may also have been; and 323 no. 6 under *De Licinianis*.

Verus III and Ambibulus were consuls in 126; Verus is the Marcus Annus Verus of the preceding stamp (BS. 3). Fortunatus, who made the

brick, was slave of a yard-master Quintus Oppius Justus who, according to Dressel, *CIL* XV p. 371, originally worked for Domitia Lucilla the Elder; Dressel thinks that she had died before 123, the earliest date for stamps of Oppius, so he was presumably working for Domitia Lucilla the Younger in 126. Thus this is the third stamp from a yard which passed to Marcus Aurelius on her death c. 155.

BS. 5. Pale dun clay, flecked internally with dark brown small flakes; purportedly from Ostia; gift. The stamp is c. 9.5 cm. in diameter and the roughly three-quarters complete inset circle at the top about 4.5 cm. The lower left margin of the stamps is slightly broken away but not so as to damage the letters. On the bottom curve: C RVFELLI. VERECVNDI, on the second curve: FIG MED.Q.A.M, and on the top circle, which is depressed to the depth of the rest of the stamp and overlaid by nearly a half by the inset smooth circle at the top: two palm branches sloped together (and tied?) at the bottom; the right one is largely obscured by a defect in the stamp or stamping. The V of VERECVNDI in the bottom curve is hardly legible and the ER are rough and raised (but legible) from some defect in the stamp or stamping. The points are triangular, placed high or low in the line and with apices up or down according to the space. That with C is in its curve; compare BS. 2. There does not appear to be one after FIG. The tail of the Q turns up sharply and the point is right above it. The crossbar of A runs downward from the center of its left stave, without meeting the right stave. ND are written with a ligature in which the right stave of N serves as the upright of D. For examples see *CIL* XV 330; Bloch pp. 148 from Rome, 177 from Tibur.

Dressel, *CIL* XV p. 99, says that the *figlinae Med.*, whose full name and location are uncertain, belonged to Quintus Asinius Marcellus (Q.A.M.), suffect consul in 96; those of his stamps which bear consular dates fall in the years 123–134 but some undated ones (including this?) may be earlier.

BS. 6. Pinkish clay; found at Ostia in 1939; gift. The stamp is broken off at either end and the piece itself broken across and glued. The whole stamp was perhaps 10 cm. in diameter with the top circle half gone and the inset circle wholly missing. On the lower curve: [O]P. DOL·EX·PR·A[VGG·NN·FIG·SV], and on the middle curve: [PE]RIOR·LA[NI·RVFINI]. The top circle is largely missing; it is depressed to the level of the rest of the stamp and presumably was broken into by the raised inset circle at the top; traces of a design appear in the preserved lower arc. The points are small triangles, apices down and mostly in the middle of the lines except the one after OP which,

though barely visible, seems to be at the bottom under the bow of the P. The text is completed from *CIL* XV 602, where it is expanded as: *Opus doliare ex praediis duorum Augustorum, figlinis Superioribus, Lani Rufim.* Examples come from within and round Rome; see also Bloch p. 106 no. 44 from the Septimian repairs to the Pantheon, and in the table on p. 302 from the baths of Caracalla.

Dressel, *CIL* XV p. 179, does not locate the *figlinae Superiores*; on p. 52 n. on no. 159, he says that Lanius Fortunatus was one of several Lanii who managed various imperial brickyards from the time of Faustina the Elder to that of Septimius and Caracalla (198-211). This stamp came from yards which were part of the property (*ex praediis*) of Septimius and Caracalla as joint *Augusti*. Dressel, p. 179, describes the design, here lost, as a Mercury facing left, with a caduceus in his left hand and a purse in his right. This is the latest of the six stamps.

III. MCDANIEL MISCELLANEOUS

Misc. 1. Ribbed amphora handle of pale pink clay; found on the site of Erythrae on the coast of Asia Minor in 1966; gift. This bears no stamp and is not further described.

Misc. 2. Amphora handle; pale pink clay; found at Pompeii in 1938; gift in 1959. The handle has a flat top and an abrupt angle. An oblong stamp is impressed on the top, deeply at the inner end and perhaps running off at the outer, where there is no defined margin; it is c. 2.1 cm. wide and as preserved c. 5 cm. long. A roughly oval boss in the middle has two ribbon-like protuberances either side of its upper end. To the left two lines in Greek read: ME and on the right: NE.

TPA

TO

This is clearly the stamp given by M. P. Nilsson, *Exc. arch. de Lindos* V: "Timbres amphoriques de Lindos" II: Appendice (in *Bull. de l'Acad. roy. des Sciences et des lettres de Danemark*, Copenhagen, 1909) p. 455 no. 308.2, 3, in which an "attribut effacé" is said to be similarly flanked by: ME / τρά and νεσ / του. Nilsson, I p. 153, defines the attribute as "attribut peu clair; peut-être un raisin?" i.e., presumably a bunch of grapes hanging from a branch; cf. also p. 158. Menestratos also appears in no. 308.1, and on a whole amphora found in Picenum, with a dolphin as attribute, for which see *IG* XIV 2393.4. The Rhodian amphorae were normally stamped on both handles, on one with the name of an eponymous magistrate and usually a month, and on the other with a maker's name as here; see Nilsson I p. 70 and the whole amphora from Picenum.

The letters are generously square and the A has the central crossbar broken downwards. Nilsson does not date his examples, but Professor Sterling Dow of Harvard University kindly gave as his opinion that the letter forms might date from any time in the Hellenistic period. It is interesting that Pompeii should afford this evidence of trade with Rhodes, presumably during the period before Sulla made the Campanian city a colony.

Misc. 3. Pear-shaped piece of pink clay; hole below point; Department of Classics Coll. Chase Cat. no. 269, whose card states that it formed part of the Pfeiffer-Hartwell collection and was bought in Athens. The height is c. 9 cm. and the maximum thickness, at the bulge above the base, c. 5 cm. On one side, above the bulge, is an oval stamp c. 1.2 cm. high and 0.9 cm. wide, showing an amphora. Below it, under the curve of the bulge, is an incompletely impressed oblong stamp which as it survives is c. 1.5 cm. high and c. 3 cm. long. This shows the three Greek letters: ΓΛΥ, possibly followed by a fourth and the right margin of the stamp. The letters are sprawling but neatly made. This was presumably a weight for a loom or a net; compare Misc. 10 below.

Misc. 4 (plate II). Circular disk of dun-colored clay with two holes at the top; from the McDaniel Coll. with a label F 2; no provenance. The diameter is c. 7 cm. and the thickness c. 1.6 cm. Just above the center is an oblong stamp c. 3.2 cm. long and 0.9 cm. high, with square raised Greek letters: ΗΗΨΑ. The use of the half eta for a rough breathing and the reversed rho are interesting; the eta and the alpha have straight crossbars about their middle. Hera might be an appropriate goddess for weaving, or connected with the manufacture or place of use of what is presumably a weight for a loom or net.

Misc. 5. The collection contains a similar circular weight without inscription, in diameter c. 6.3 cm. and in thickness c. 1.6 cm., of a light gray clay and with two holes at the top.

Misc. 6 (plate II). Flat piece of pinkish clay, straight on bottom and sides but with a curved top with two holes near its arch; McDaniel Coll. with label F 1; no provenance. The maximum height is c. 7 cm., the width of the square portion c. 6.6 cm., and the maximum thickness c. 2.3 cm. The front has a low rim in which are two facing busts in high relief and carried down below the breasts. That on the left is probably female, with a raised cap or scarf on the head and a flowing piece (continuance of a scarf?) down from the back of the head and over the right shoulder (i.e. on the left for the observer). The bust has a tunic cut reasonably low around the neck. The figure on the right is more damaged but is presumably male and perhaps bearded. There is a

pointed piece above the forehead which may have been some ornament or hairdo, or may simply be a surviving piece from which the rest of the top of the head has been broken away. Hair is indicated by shallow waving grooves on the back of the head (observer's right). The torso seems to be bare with a garment draped over the right shoulder (observer's left). This is presumably a weight for a loom or net. The figures might be deities, e.g. Hera and Zeus.

Misc. 7 (plate II). Circular disk with a tang at the top, of gray clay; McDaniel Coll., said to have come from Tarentum and to date c. 300 B.C. The diameter is c. 11.5 cm., but the shape is somewhat irregular; the tang at the top is c. 3 cm. wide and 1.5 cm. high with a hole in the center; the thickness is c. 1.2 cm. The front has a flat depressed rim roughly 0.8 cm. wide. The main surface is raised and heavily indented with moulds for a variety of small objects, varying in shape and often with decorated tops (bottoms of the moulds). Professor W. B. McDaniel generously provided an offprint of his article on this object entitled "The Holiness of the Dischi Sacri," *AJA* XXVIII.1 (1924) 24-46. He compares this disc to other similar "negative moulds" and to a few "positives" to be found in various collections and of which several come from Tarentum. These had previously been identified as bearing religious symbols and probably therefore as having served some magical or apotropaic purpose. Professor McDaniel points out that many secular objects are represented on them along with religious ones and he therefore concludes that these discs probably served some commercial purpose, as did other clay seals or castings. They were presumably attached by the pierced tangs to bales or other containers and the variety of objects represented served to advertise Tarentine religious and secular interests. Perhaps each different type was the private "tag" of some merchantman, at the period of the height of Tarentum's commercial importance toward the close of the fourth century B.C. (p. 43). The surface of the whole piece is so uneven that it could hardly have been matched to another mould or flat surface for casting; at best it could be used for impressing into it soft clay for a positive, in which case the pierced tang would serve simply for hanging up. Also the individual items represented on it are so small and so closely crowded that it would seem impossible to have broken up any clay positive to produce individual souvenirs, like the plaster fruit or other objects used in modern Italy as accessories for presepio scenes. If this object was, as Professor McDaniel persuasively argues, either itself a commercial label or the mould for one, then it might be that the so-called loom-weights just discussed, particularly the ones with an inscription or moulded heads, may have served the same purpose of being

attached as labels to objects of commerce. It would seem unnecessary thus to elaborate on simple loom or net weights, unless to identify them against theft.

The following two objects, though of stone, not of clay, are included here for convenience.

Misc. 8 (plate II). Small block or slab of whitish limestone; McDaniel Coll., called Roman. The top surface is smoothed and almost rectangular (slightly trapezoidal), c. 11.5 cm. long by 7.5 cm. wide. The lower surface is rough, rising in the middle to a maximum thickness for the slab of c. 3 cm. The sides are smooth, with straight corners along the top surface but irregular edges along the bottom. In the upper right and lower left corners are the remains of iron pins, c. 2 cm. in diameter, going entirely through. The top surface is apparently one half of a mould for making small tesserae, presumably of lead. A groove runs from the bottom to terminate in a slightly sunk circle just below the upper end. From the groove branch off on each side three further grooves, each terminating in a similar slightly sunk disk, so that each set of three disks runs parallel to the sides. The main groove (markedly) and the branching grooves (somewhat) are larger at the entering end, presumably to permit the pouring of metal into the mould. Each of the seven circles is c. 1.4 cm. in diameter and each has a small hole in its center, such as might be made by the point of a bit. Each further has a depressed groove from top to bottom crossing the small hole and there are perhaps traces of other design. The small groove might have served for casting into the lead a string by which to tie the tesserae as labels. The upper half of the mould would presumably have been a duplicate and could be centered by the two iron rods at the corners, for which it would have had corresponding holes. The accompanying label reads: "stone half-mould for casting lead counters; two such moulds were joined together and metal poured through the channels. Roman."

Misc. 9. Unmarked quoin of rough gray tufa; Class. Dept. Chase Cat. no. 2029 (the Cat. card reads 2038) said to come from the Haynes Bequest in 1912. The height is c. 11 cm. and the base c. 5 cm. square. This was presumably a facing quoin for *opus reticulatum* of the late Republic or early Empire.

Misc. 10. Pear-shaped piece of light tan clay flecked with spots. Height 10 cm. and maximum thickness, at the bulge above the base, 7 cm.; not inscribed. This is a weight for a loom or net, like Misc. 3 above. An accompanying note cites for a parallel *Hesperia* XVIII.4 (1949) pl. 101 no. 126 of the late fifth century B.C.

AN ETRUSCAN HELMET IN THE McDANIEL COLLECTION

SIDNEY M. GOLDSTEIN

THE Alice Corinne McDaniel Collection of Classical Antiquities was presented to the Department of the Classics, Harvard University, by Professor Walton Brooks McDaniel in memory of his wife, with a fund for the further acquisition of objects. In 1962, the department acquired a bronze helmet which, when examined, proved to be inscribed with letters of the Etruscan alphabet. In 1966 Professor David Mitten suggested that I study the helmet; I am indebted to him for placing his previous work at my disposal.

The McDaniel helmet¹ (plate I) is intact except for two gaps in its outer rim; a crack which had opened along its crest was repaired by Mr. William J. Young, Head of the Research Laboratory at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Mr. Young also made a physical and x-ray spectrographic analysis of the metal.² The surface of the helmet was covered with an incrustation ranging in color from bright green to azurite blue. A chip of this decomposed surface from the underside of the rim was sent to Mr. Rutherford J. Gettens, Head of the Technical Laboratory at the Freer Gallery.³ The surface was almost completely

¹ Fogg Museum TL. 14346, L: 0.256 m., W: 0.23 m., H: 0.20 m. Illustrated in *Hesperia Art Bulletin* 20, no. 241. "From the collection of the late Lord Hawkins, whose father acquired it in Italy in 1887, and who left a note that it had been found with a lip cup in the manner of the Elbows Out Painter."

² Mr. Young, personal communication to Dr. D. G. Mitten in December 1962, "The helmet was examined with the aid of a binocular microscope. It was observed that the metal had almost completely mineralized. The following analysis can only be semi-quantitative as one would expect enrichments in the oxide from the metal, and it is unquestionably of ancient origin.

82.5% Copper
9.0% Tin
3.0% Lead
1.0% Iron
0.05% Zinc"

Cf. William J. Young, "Technical Examination of Greek Helmets," in *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* 48 (Dec. 1950) no. 274, pp. 83ff.

³ Mr. R. J. Gettens, communication with Professor Mitten in October 1963, "I presume that the side which is colored bright green is the surface that was in

mineralized; occasional blister-like protuberances were visible on the inside of the helmet and along the crest. The helmet seems to be constructed from a single piece of bronze beaten into an egg-shaped bowl which is somewhat flattened, forming two surfaces that meet in a gentle crest.⁴ The bowl (0.15 m. in height) rests on a concave band (0.035 m. in height) which flares out horizontally (0.02 m. wide) to form a small brim that ends in a belt-like vertical band (0.016 m. in height). This band is bent slightly inward to support a strip of bronze (0.02 m. wide) on the underside of the brim. The inner edge of this strip, which encircles the entire bowl, is flared downward and perforated for the addition of a leather lining.⁵ There is no trace of hinges, either soldered or riveted, to indicate that this helmet ever had cheekpieces. When the lining strip was cleaned,⁶ two inscriptions were discovered (figs. 1 and 2; plate II, 1 and 2).⁷

The type of the McDaniel helmet is most popular in Etruria; similar helmets, however, are found in other parts of Italy with variations diffused widely into southeastern Europe. The type of helmet to which the McDaniel helmet belongs was manufactured during the sixth century B.C., through the fifth, and into the fourth century B.C. This shape is seldom found in Greece where the more contoured Attic and Corinthian helmet offered greater protection to the areas of the neck, cheeks, and nose.⁸

contact with the metal. The dull white material on the outside is a limy accretion chiefly calcium carbonate; it is soluble and is probably a siliceous compound. The green stain which appears to be copper carbonate dissolves in acid but leaves the siliceous residue unchanged."

⁴ A visual examination revealed no seams in the concave band and rim area. With the repair in the crest area and the extreme mineralization of the surface, one cannot be sure of the construction without examination by x-ray. Visual examination supports the single sheet construction but cannot confirm it.

⁵ A helpful drawing of this type of construction can be seen in the cross section of a rim: helmet no. 107 in F. Magi, *La Raccolta Benedetto Guglielmi nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco* (vol. 3, Vatican City 1941) fig. 106, pp. 220-221.

⁶ Miss Elizabeth Jones, Chief Conservator at the Laboratory of the Fogg Museum, undertook the manual cleaning of the inscribed portions of the rim. Mrs. Patricia Getz Preziosi made the line drawings of the inscription, and Mr. James Ufford of the Museum Photographic Department photographed the inscriptions under raking light.

⁷ The preliminary reading and transliteration was made by Professor G. M. A. Hanfmann.

⁸ There are two examples of Corinthian helmets in the Fogg Museum: 1916.362 and 1956.18. See E. Kunze, "Korinthische Helme" in *Bericht über die Ausgraben in Olympia* (vol. 7, Berlin 1961) p. 81, no. 24, pl. 39:1. Also cf. Fogg Museum Catalogue, *Ancient Art in American Private Collections* (Cambridge



PLATE I. Etruscan Helmet in McDaniel Collection.



PLATE II, 1. Inscription on underside of rim, end of helmet.



PLATE II, 2. Inscription on underside of rim, side of helmet.

In addition to the Corinthian shape, we find another quite similar to the McDaniel type known as the *pilos* helmet.⁹ Although this was not so popular as the Corinthian helmet, there are representations of the *pilos* helmet painted on stelai,¹⁰ sculptured in relief,¹¹ engraved on situlae and mirrors,¹² cast in bronze¹³ or struck on coins,¹⁴ and moulded in terracotta.¹⁵ It lacks the flaring brim and base constriction so characteristic on the McDaniel helmet. The simple shape of the *pilos* helmet is often divided by a single ridge encircling the form in the lower third, forming a sort of brim. This ridge may indicate the juncture where a flat piece of metal was once attached to the bowl, or it may imitate the leather thong sewn into its felt prototype for adjustment. The theory that this shape of

1954) p. 31, no. 204. For comprehensive studies of the Corinthian helmet see E. Kukahn, *Der griechische Helm* (Marburg 1936) and A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons* (Edinburgh 1964).

⁹ See B. Schröder, "Die Freiherrlich von Lipperheidesche Helmsammlung in den Königl. Museen zu Berlin," in *Arch. Anz.* (vol. 20, 1905) p. 21, fig. 7. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (vol. 40, Stuttgart 1950), see "pilleus" and "πίλος," cols. 1328-1333. Ch. Daremberg and Edm. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* (vol. 2, pt. 2, Paris 1896), see "galea," p. 1444, sec. 27ff. Good examples of the *pilos* helmet are in the Metropolitan Museum and the British Museum; see G. M. A. Richter, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* (New York 1915), nos. 1540-1541, pp. 412-415, also H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Bronzes, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan* (London, British Museum, 1899) nos. 2717-2720, pp. 341-342.

¹⁰ These are the two Theban stelai of Mnason and Rhynchon. See E. Pfuhr, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (vol. 3, Munich 1923) pls. 259-260.

¹¹ K. Friis-Johansen, *The Attic Grave Reliefs* (Copenhagen 1951) fig. 17, p. 34, stele of Sosias and Kephisodorus of the late 5th-early 4th century B.C. depicts two hoplites; both wear *pilos* helmets. Cf. also G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum* (New York 1954). This is a Tarentine relief of a sacrifice scene, mid-4th century B.C. Note that the youth wears a somewhat fancier helmet than the *pilos* helmet which hangs on the wall, no. 119, pl. 92a, p. 118.

¹² Note the two figures on the famous Ficoroni Cista who are casually engaged in discussion. The one leaning on his propped-up leg wears a *pilos* helmet with a ring through the top; see G. Giglioli, *L'Arte Etrusca* (Milan 1935) pls. 287 and 289 or the line drawing in G. Mansuelli, *Etruria and Early Rome* (London 1966) fig. 54. On a mirror with erotes battling a lion, in the Barberini Collection of the Villa Giulia, one of the combatants wears a *pilos* helmet; see Giglioli, pl. 304 no. 5.

¹³ In the British Museum, a youth wearing boots and a *pilos* helmet reclines on a bronze incense shovel. See S. Haynes, *Etruscan Bronze Utensils* (London 1965), Payne Knight Collection, Bronze 1227, pl. 14, p. 26.

¹⁴ B. Head, *Historia Numorum* (1911) fig. 280, p. 530.

¹⁵ In T. B. Thompson, *Miniature Sculpture From the Athenian Agora* (Conn. 1962), fig. 1 illustrates an ancient mould and a modern cast of Hermes wearing a *pilos*.

metal helmet derives from a felt hat seems rather inadequate considering the complex development of the European helmet.¹⁶

The ultimate origin of the type to which the McDaniel helmet belongs probably lies in the early centuries of the first millennium, perhaps with the well-known Villanovan crested helmet.¹⁷ The seventh and sixth centuries B.C. provide a profusion of different styles if we may use situla art for a popular catalogue of helmets.¹⁸ The refined form of the McDaniel helmet seems to develop from these bulbous shapes of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. This element survives in a famous Etruscan helmet of the fifth century B.C., now in the British Museum; according to the inscription, it was dedicated by Hieron of Syracuse at Olympia as part of the spoils from his naval victory over the Etruscans at Cumae in 474 B.C.¹⁹ This variation and many others in European and American collections illustrate the diversity of form in Etruscan helmets of the fifth century B.C. The closest parallels for the McDaniel helmet occur in examples from the Villa Giulia Museum: a very elaborate helmet from a warrior's tomb at Vulci²⁰ and an unpublished helmet from the "Tomb of the Warrior" (no. 47) also from Vulci (Necropoli dell' Osteria).²¹

¹⁶ There are figurines from Arcadia with *pilos* hats that may illustrate the felt prototype in Greece, but there are a number of conical helmets which may also have influenced the bronze *pilos* helmet. See the figurine of a shepherd in E. Loeffler, "The Museum's Classical Collection," *Bulletin of the Rhode Island School of Design: Museum Notes* (May 1965) fig. 3, pp. 4-5. Note the conical helmet from Oppeano in the Naturhistorischen Museum in Vienna, *Situlenkunst zwischen Po und Donau* (Vienna 1964) no. 20, pl. 13, p. 104. The European bell helmet might be considered; see Schröder (above, n. 9) p. 24, fig. 15, no. L.68. Possibly the armor of the East may have exercised some influence. See E. Kunze, "Ein Bronzehelm aus der Perserbeute," in *Bericht über die Ausgraben in Olympia* (vol. 7, Berlin 1961) pp. 129ff.

¹⁷ Richter, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, no. 1546, p. 414, or E. Richardson, *The Etruscans, Their Art and Civilization* (Chicago 1964), a bronze helmet from Tarquinia, pl. 3.

¹⁸ For a good collection of examples as well as photographs of details see J. Kastelic, *Situla Art* (New York 1965).

¹⁹ Walters (above, n. 9) no. 250, p. 27, or Richardson (above, n. 17) pl. 31, p. 77.

²⁰ This helmet is richly decorated along the brim edge as well as having appliqué figures on the front, rear, and crest. The piece was found with greaves and elaborate cheek-pieces which are indicated by dotted line in the original publication by U. Ferraguti, "Bronzi di Vulci," in *Studi Etruschi* XI (1937) figs. 8-10, pl. 13, p. 116. This helmet was considered to be of a burial in the fifth century B.C. A recent reexamination of this material suggests an earlier date, in the sixth century B.C.; see O. H. Frey in *Germania* 35 (1957) p. 240.

²¹ Professor Pallottino informed us that black figure pottery associated with this tomb established a date of c. 520 B.C. for the tomb contents. See M. Moretti, *Il Museo di Villa Giulia* (Rome 1962) pp. 36ff.

Two more examples are in the Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe,²² and the Museo Gregoriano.²³

The fate of the McDaniel type in the fourth century B.C. is very interesting. A variation in the Badisches Landesmuseum may give some indication of the new "jockey-cap" helmet which eventually replaced the old McDaniel helmet in Etruria.²⁴ Cheek-pieces and a small brim, actually a neck guard, characterize this helmet which is popular in the fourth and third centuries B.C. There are fine examples of the type in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Los Angeles County Museum of Fine Arts.²⁵ In the southeastern Alpine area, a helmet known as the "Negova" type is associated with late Halstatt burials. This shape is very close to that of the McDaniel helmet. The problems of European helmet development cannot be covered in this short note, but it would appear that the Etruscan helmet of the McDaniel type was the inspiration for the southeastern Alpine variation of the "Negova" helmet.²⁶ Since the "Negova" helmet was believed to be contemporary with the McDaniel type, a considerable discussion has developed arising from the fact that helmets of the "Negova" type were found in burials of late La Tene warriors of the second and first centuries B.C. In a recent article, Dr. Stane Gabrovec has studied this problem in the light of new evidence as well as of the ancient technology.²⁷ Whereas the later helmets of the "Negova" type are made from two halves soldered along the crest, the "classic" forms of the "Negova" helmet are beaten out of a single sheet of bronze.²⁸ Grave stratification and associated objects of

²² K. Schumacher, *Sammlung Antiker Bronzen* (Karlsruhe 1890) no. 699, p. 134, pl. 13: nos. 7, 7a.

²³ Magi (above, n. 5) no. 107, pl. 60, pp. 220-221. For an extremely useful list of Etruscan helmets of this type see Stane Gabrovec, "Čelad Negovskega Tipa," in *Situla* 8 (1965) p. 185. Note the distribution map for this helmet type in Italy, p. 182, fig. 2.

²⁴ Schumacher (above, n. 22) no. 702, pl. 13: nos. 10, 10a. The brim of this helmet forms a neck guard by flaring out and down before meeting the vertical edge of the brim.

²⁵ Richter, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, no. 1549, pp. 416-417. The Los Angeles helmet (unpublished) is part of the William Randolph Hearst Collection. For illustration see D. Mitten and S. Doeringer *Master Bronzes from the Classical World* (Mainz 1967) no. 227.

²⁶ I am greatly indebted to Professor Hugh O'Neill Hencken of the Peabody Museum for his invaluable suggestions and for pointing out the intricacies of European helmet development.

²⁷ Gabrovec (above, n. 23) p. 184, "... late Halstatt helmets were made from a single, possibly roughly cast piece ... the latter type is made by soldering two halves along the longitudinal crest."

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 182-183, "In their further development the Etrusco-Italian

Gabrovec's helmet found in grave 104 at Stična suggest a date of 500 B.C. The technology used in manufacturing the helmet points to origins in Etruria; Etruscan helmets of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. are also formed out of a single sheet of bronze.²⁹ The McDaniel helmet, in light of this new evidence, would seem to date in the last decades of the sixth century or the early decades of the fifth century B.C.

The first inscription (fig. 1; plate II, 1) consists of a group of eight letters written retrograde. The letters are located on the lining strip of



FIG. 1

the brim, engraved with a delicate pointed tool. The inscription is meant to be read looking toward the inner edge of the rim. After a preliminary transliteration by Prof. G. M. A. Hanfmann, photographs of the inscription were sent to Professor Massimo Pallottino, Director of the Istituto di Etruscologia e Antichità Italiche. Professor Pallottino graciously examined these photographs; I quote from his observations which he suggests are provisional as he has not had an opportunity of examining the original.³⁰ He is uncertain about the third letter from the

helmet and the Southeastern Alpine variant differ in some points: the former keeps the widened edge of the brim yet lacks the special plate for fastening the lining, which develops in the latter [the McDaniel helmet does have this lining strip]. The latter usually lacks the widened edge of the brim but the brim itself is broader."

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 181, "Both helmets [he is referring to the two examples I cite in the text which are from Vulci: nn. 20-21] are placed in the beginning of the 'Negova' series which in this earliest form came into the Southeastern Alpine territory and became there the originator of a longlasting type. The helmet from grave 104 at Stična [see Gabrovec, fig. 1, p. 179] is good proof thereof... stratigraphic and the relatively chronological observations prove unquestionably that the dating of grave 104 to the period of around 500 B.C. is correct. This helmet is given a real key position; on the one hand it points to a common origin of the whole Negova series in Etruria, on the other hand it is in front of the Southeastern Alpine variant which thus acquired an absolute chronological backbone."

³⁰ The comments of Professor Pallottino are extracted from his correspondence to Dr. D. G. Mitten in 1964. We are greatly indebted to him for his help and owe him special thanks for his kindness.

right which may be ∇ *e*, ∇ *v*, or less likely ∇ *p*. The fourth letter from the right may be ∇ *e*, or ∇ *n*.³¹ There are several possibilities for the resulting formation: *kaelnaś*, *kavelnaś*, *kaenlnaś*, *kavlnaś*, or *kaplnaś*.

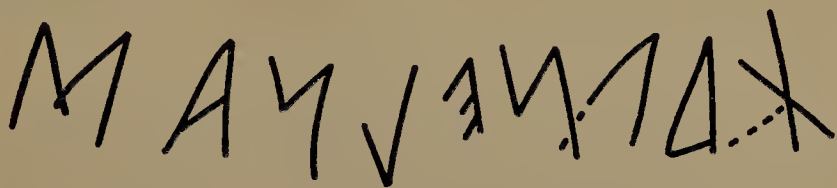


FIG. 2

The second inscription (fig. 2; plate II, 2) also has two uncertain letters. The first letter on the right may be \times *x* or more likely ∇ *k*,³² the third letter ∇ *p* or ∇ *v*.³³ This would yield the word (k?)apnelnas or (k?)avnelnas. Professor Pallottino believes that these two inscriptions are variations of the same word, a proper name, possibly that of the owner of the helmet.³⁴ His name would be something like *kavelnas* or *kapelnas*.³⁵

Professor Pallottino feels that the form of the letters, especially the presence of the letter *k*, suggests a date in the last decades of the sixth century. The final *s* of the name is common in inscriptions of northern Etruria, north of Vulci.³⁶

³¹ "La terza lettera può essere *e*, *v*, e meno probabilmente *p*. La quarta lettera può essere *e*, oppure *n*."

³² "La prima ha l'apparenza di due aste incrociate, cioè di un segno che non è chiaramente identificabile... forse esiste un altro piccolo tratto incrociato obliquamente che potrebbe dar luogo alla lettera *k*."

³³ "La terza lettera, piuttosto irregolare, che si allunga a toccare la quarta, potrebbe essere *p* ovvero *v*."

³⁴ "Ho l'impressione (personale) che i due gruppi di lettere, cioè le due iscrizioni, formino la stessa parola, sia pure data con leggere varianti; e naturalmente non potrà trattarsi che di un nome proprio, cioè del nome del possessore dell'elmo."

³⁵ "Questo nome potrebbe essere *kavelnaś*, *kavlnaś*, *kavnelnaś* (le incertezze e varianti di scrittura non fanno meraviglia nelle iscrizioni graffite etrusche specialmente arcaiche) o meno probabilmente *kapelnaś*, *kaplnaś*, *kapnelnaś*. Per il primo tipo onomastico si può citare il confronto di diversi nomi arcaici (*kavi*, *kaviiesi*, *kaviates* ecc.) e inoltre *kavini*, *cavinei* ecc. La terminazione in -elnaś trova confronti nei nomi gentilizi arcaici. Anche per il secondo tipo esistono numerosissime analogie nell'onomastica etrusca."

³⁶ "Infatti i caratteri delle lettere, oltre che la presenza della lettera *k*, ci riportano ad un'epoca arcaica, o meglio ad una fase arcaica avanzata che

Thus on the basis of the stylistic and technological aspects, combined with the invaluable observations of Professor Pallottino, we should arrive at a date within 510-490 B.C. for the manufacture of the McDaniel Helmet.

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potrebbe essere indicata con una delimitazione che va dagli ultimi decenni del VI ai primi decenni del V secolo a.C. In sostranza io daterei le iscrizioni e l'elmo intorno al 500 a.C.

"La finale *ś* del nome (con la sibilante a quattro tratti o *sade*) è usata generalmente nelle iscrizioni etrusche della zona settentrionale, cioè a nord di Vulci, sin dall'epoca arcaica. Questo può essere un indizio per supporre che l'elmo sia stato fabbricato piuttosto a Vetulonia o a Populonia, che non a Vulci o a Tarquinia."

SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE OF
PH.D. (1967)

CORA BELLE ANGIER — *Traditional Themes and the Homeric Hymns*

THE principal aim of this paper is to demonstrate the existence in the *Homeric Hymns* of type-scenes, themes, and clusters of themes of the kind known to us from ancient Greek and other oral poetry. The discovery of such themes adds one more piece of evidence for the theory that the *Hymns* were orally composed and for assigning them an early date. The themes are identified by a comparison of motifs found in the *Hymns*, chiefly those to Demeter and Aphrodite, with the same motifs as found elsewhere in the *Hymns* and in the rest of the Homeric-Hesiodic corpus, with occasional aid from Oriental, Yugoslav, and other cultures and mythologies. The achievement of length and complexity in the *Hymns* to Demeter and Aphrodite through combinations and contaminations of these themes is also studied and an attempt is made to show why one theme rather than another became attached to a particular character or story.

The first theme studied is the Marriage of the Fertility Goddess, which is the common basis for the *Hymns* to Demeter and Aphrodite. Both represent mutations of a myth in which the Mother Goddess brings her gift of fertility to mortals, a myth which is represented in its earliest form in sexual terms, but the sexual aspect of the story has been suppressed in the story of Demeter and the functions of an original consort of Demeter have been divided among a number of other roles, especially Persephone, Demophoon, and Triptolemos.

The second theme studied is that of Seduction, which form the theme of the Marriage of the Fertility Goddess has taken in the *H. Ven.* This theme is also found in the song of Demodokos in *Odyssey* 8 and in Hera's seduction of Zeus in *Iliad* 14.

The third theme is the Withdrawal of the Hero, a theme from heroic saga with which the Marriage theme has become contaminated in the *H. Cer.* and which it shares with the story of Achilles in the *Iliad*.

The fourth theme is that of Rape. The story of Persephone, who to some extent is a double of Demeter, takes the form of another fertility

myth, in which fertility depends on the restoration of a god or goddess who is killed or descends to the underworld and must be brought back.

A fifth cluster of themes is the Epiphany of the God and the Institution of Rites in His Honor. The Epiphany theme appears in all the complete long *Hymns* and in the *Hymn VII* to Dionysos. A special case of this theme is the Nausikaa episode in the *Odyssey*, in which divine attributes are transferred to Odysseus and he takes the place of a divinity in an epiphany story. This episode shows close correspondences with the episode in the *H. Cer.* in which Demeter is welcomed by the daughters of Keleus.

The second aim of this paper is to show how the different poets adapted these themes to their different purposes and how the elements of a theme were made integral parts of the individual poems in which they are found. A second section is devoted to a more careful study of separate elements of the theme clusters from this point of view. An important part of this is the study of how key words and repetitions which are important for the particular poem or poet were incorporated into the thematic elements, thus stamping these elements as part of that poem and no other.

There are three appendices. Appendix I lists the elements of the major theme clusters identified in the *H. Cer.* and *H. Ven.* Appendix II is a thematic analysis of the *H. Cer.*, assigning each verse in the poem to a particular theme. Appendix III is a list, with commentary, of the key words and significant repetitions in the *H. Cer.*

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Degree in Classical Philology 1967

ROBIN TOLMACH LAKOFF — *Studies in the Transformational Grammar of Latin: The Complement System*

This dissertation is devoted to an analysis of complement constructions in Latin. It also deals with the relationship between obvious complement constructions containing subjunctive and infinitival complementizers and other constructions containing seemingly independent uses of infinitives and subjunctives. The first chapter introduces the problems that are faced by the transformational grammarian in embarking on the study of a dead language and briefly discusses the difference in emphasis, attitude, methods, and goals between the present analysis and analyses by traditionally oriented Latinists.

The second chapter consists mostly of background material and discusses the results of transformational treatments of complementation

in English. In particular, Rosenbaum's work on English complementation and a critique of this treatment by Lakoff and Ross are discussed in detail, as a starting point for an analysis of similar constructions in Latin.

The third chapter examines Latin complement types to see whether the rules found to be necessary for English apply to Latin. We find that, for most of the rules, there are well-motivated reasons within Latin for postulating the same deep-structures and the same transformational rules. This in itself is a rather startling conclusion from the point of view of traditional and structural linguistic studies of the relationship between Latin and English: formerly, it had been assumed that Latin and English differed greatly in their complement systems on the basis of their evident superficial dissimilarities. We have shown in this chapter that these dissimilarities are, in fact, no more than superficial, created by later transformational rules, or by differences in redundancy rules relating to specific classes of lexical items; the deep-structures hypothesized for Latin are shown to be identical to those of English, on internal grounds, and most of the same rules apply to the same deep-structures.

Chapter four deals with a number of phenomena involving negation. Negations found with negative-meaning verbs (the alternation between *quin* and *for-to*), and the results of negation in embedded sentences on the main sentence (*some-any* change, *neg-transportation*, etc.) are discussed. With a few exceptions, negatives behave in Latin in very much the same way as they have been found to behave in English. A discussion of the way in which negation is introduced in the deep-structure in all languages, and the way in which single negation in Latin is related to double negation in the Romance languages, is included in this chapter. It is found that there is no deep-structure difference between the type of negation found in Latin and that found in Spanish. Rules are given to account for these changes and for the phenomena found in synchronic Latin. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the alternation between *ne* and *non* with subjunctive sentences. The choice of *non* or *ne* is syntactically predictable. *Ne* occurs in underlying object complements, *non* in underlying subject complements. Apparent exceptions can be accounted for on the basis of independently motivated analyses.

In the fifth chapter, the analyses presented in earlier chapters are applied to structures that are more abstract than the ones previously dealt with. Traditional Latin grammars speak of "independent" subjunctives — subjunctives which, in all previous work on the subject, had been assumed to be basic and to have meaning of their own. It has

always been thought that the subjunctive and the imperative moods were of equal stature with the indicative, that all occurred in sentences by themselves, and that all had inherent meaning, expressed in the special subjunctive or imperative suffixes which were opposed to the indicative, which was suffixless. Dependent subjunctives were viewed as derived from embeddings of independent subjunctives into larger sentences. In this chapter we present evidence that this view is self-contradictory and does not explain many of the most important facts about both independent and dependent subjunctives and infinitives. We suggest that, in fact, all moods except the indicative are derived, and that the indicative alone can occur in independent sentences in deep-structure. The theory of the abstract verb, or "pro-verb," is used to account for the various uses of independent subjunctives and infinitives. Both the meaning of each type of subjunctive, and its syntactic properties — constraints on its subject, the tenses it may occur in, whether it is negated by *non* or by *ne* — are all predictable on the basis of facts established for complements based on real verbs, discussed in the foregoing chapters. Except for abstract verb deletion rules, no new mechanism is needed to account for all the facts we find true about independent constructions. All our rules except abstract verb deletion are independently motivated and necessary elsewhere in the grammar. Thus, we are able both to account syntactically and semantically for the properties of independent subjunctives and infinitives and to achieve considerable generalization in our transformational rules.

The sixth chapter deals with syntactic change in governed rules, in particular, the ones that have been discussed in the previous chapters. Evidence is presented that, in the cases under discussion at least, change between Latin and Spanish in the superficial structure of sentences to which governed rules have applied is not traceable to any change at all in the deep-structure or in the transformational rules of the grammar. These, for the cases discussed, are unchanged in Spanish from their form in Latin. What has changed are the redundancy rules dictating which transformational rules apply to which classes of verbs. If this is generally true, it suggests that the transformational component of a language may change in time much less than was previously thought. Examples are given of two types of redundancy-rule change between Latin and Spanish. The first involves Hellenism, or the borrowing of the area of application of the redundancy rule from Greek into Latin. A transformational rule which occurred in the grammars of both Latin and Greek, but which applied to different classes of verbs in the two languages is made to apply in Latin where it applied in Greek. What is

borrowed is not the transformational rule; that was in Latin already. Rather, the range of verb classes to which the rule applies is increased or decreased in Latin in accordance with Greek usage. The other type of change is spontaneous within Latin itself, sometimes for no apparent reason, and sometimes as part of a regularization of the grammar. Finally, there is a discussion of the changes in the properties of abstract verbs between Latin and Spanish. It is shown that, unless one accepts the existence of the abstract verb, certain syntactic changes between the two languages are impossible to describe generally or to relate to other changes, to which these changes intuitively appear to be related.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Degree in Linguistics 1967

ARTHUR MORDECAI MACK — *Mulieres Comicae: Female Characters in Plautus and His Predecessors*

The female characters in Plautus have often been condemned as either uniform, ineffectual, or generally unsympathetic. This study examines these charges in light of the evidence from Plautus' plays. In addition, the female roles in Plautus are compared with those in Greek comedy — especially Aristophanes and Menander — to show significant differences and similarities in characterization and dramatic function.

The evidence from Greek Old Comedy is discussed first. The fragments suggest much but answer little. Although female characters do not yet appear often (only 25 of some 350 plays in this period include them) they ordinarily play an important part in the action. The fragments exhibit a broad spectrum of types and social classes, from courtesans to housewives to mythological figures. Aristophanes' female characters far outshine any of those in the fragments of Old Comedy. He puts his two main heroines, Lysistrata and Praxagora, to exactly the same dramatic use as his male protagonists. Each carries out the dominant idea in the play and sets the tone throughout by her character. Since Aristophanes' interest lay in problems affecting the whole *polis*, his female characters, although they represent ordinary middle-class women, are identified with public issues rather than with their families or private lives.

Although the major female characters in Menander are "sufferers" rather than "doers" like Lysistrata and Praxagora, they bring about an intellectual awakening and a spiritual regeneration in the men with whom they are ultimately reunited. The women are all victims of some ill-founded suspicion on the part of these men, which must be removed

before the resolution can take place. The character of the women plays a more important part than does chance in determining the outcome. Menander's heroines are outstanding because they are noble, not because they are funny.

Among the female characters in Plautus the young girls form the smallest category. The *virgines* all engage the sympathy of the audience because they have suffered some undeserved misfortune. Nevertheless, Plautus has characterized each individually and has tailored them for a variety of dramatic purposes. Dramatic as well as social considerations may explain why there are so few of these characters in Plautus. The young, inexperienced *virgines* are not well suited to his plots of farce and intrigue.

No female character in Plautus is usually considered so standardized as the *matrona*, nor is any other so widely despised. Many of the Plautine *matronae*, however, differ sharply from the generally held stereotype of the shrewish *uxor dotata*. Cleareta in the *Casina*, Panegyris and Pamphila in the *Stichus*, Eunomia in the *Aulularia*, and above all Alcumena in the *Amphitruo*, far from being suspicious shrews, are presented by Plautus as dignified, sympathetic women, who rank among his finest dramatic creations.

Scholars have generally divided the courtesans in Plautus into two main groups: those who are old, experienced, and mercenary, and those who are young, naive, and faithful. This view obscures the many shades of "personality" within this type. Moreover, scholars have failed to notice that the more "devoted" courtesans in Plautus outnumber the more "mercenary" two to one. Although devoted courtesans might be expected in "quiet" plays, only one in the five of Plautus in which they appear is quiet, the *Cistellaria*. This may show Plautus' stamp in injecting lively elements into his Greek models.

The incidental female characters in Plautus are the most numerous and the least important dramatically. The myriad maids, attendants, and nurses generally play only mechanical roles, adding little of their own personalities. In a few cases, however, they are portrayed in greater depth when they act as foils for the central figures or provide farcical humor.

A comparison of the female characters in Plautus with those in Aristophanes and Menander leads to the following observations. Plautus uses a higher ratio of female to male characters (one to three) than Aristophanes (one to five). Plautus has thirty-two major female characters; Aristophanes has five. Two mainstays in Plautus, the *virgo* and the *meretrice*, are almost entirely absent in Aristophanes. Differences in

choice of characters and method of characterization spring from different dramatic concerns: Aristophanes' with public issues, Plautus' with private affairs. Although only Cleareta in Plautus' *Casina* controls the intrigue to the extent that Aristophanes' Lysistrata and Praxagora do, Plautine women create humor in a wider variety of ways than those in Aristophanes.

Menander's female characters bring about a spiritual regeneration in their husbands or lovers, which Plautine women do not — with the exception of Cleareta's reform of Lysidamus in the *Casina*. On the other hand, the women in Menander cannot compare with the Plautine female characters in adding to the comic effect. Here again the differences in characterization and dramatic function spring from different dramatic concerns.

Plautine women can thus be said to hold a middle position in dramatic function between those in Aristophanes and Menander. A careful reading of Plautus shows that the charges often raised against his female characters do not square with the evidence from the plays. Plautus' skill in handling women's roles clearly shows how fine a dramatist he was.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Degree in Classical Philology 1967

DAVID WOODLEY PACKARD — *A Study of the Minoan Linear A Tablets*

The decipherment of Linear B in 1952 raised the hope that it would provide a key to the other Bronze Age scripts, especially Linear A. Since about half of the signs of the two linear scripts are identical or nearly identical in shape, the first step was to transliterate as much as possible of the Linear A texts to determine whether they were written in a known language. The indications were not favorable, and most scholars have chosen to await the discovery of more tablets before making any final commitments on the identity of the language. Pending the appearance of more texts, however, it has seemed worthwhile to attempt a classification of the available tablets and to pursue the analysis of the linear A syllabary further than has been done in the past.

Part I of the thesis is a preliminary contribution to a classification of the Linear A tablets along the lines of Bennett's classification of the Linear B texts. The nature and number of the surviving Linear A texts preclude a classification as complete and detailed as Bennett's, and no attempt is here made to force every tablet into a rigid scheme of classes. About 60 of the tablets, however, are given preliminary classification.

When more Linear A becomes available for study, it should be possible to extend and improve the classification here begun.

Part II is an extended investigation into the reliability of transferring to Linear A the phonetic values of the Linear B signs. Three types of evidence are considered: (1) apparent alternations within Linear A such as KI.RE.TA₂/KI.RI.TA₂; (2) frequency distribution of the Linear A signs; (3) parallels with Linear B names known from Knossos. Complete statistics are presented relating to the evidence which could be cited to support the validity of each individual phonetic value. For some of the signs new phonetic values are tentatively proposed.

The value AI is suggested for the Linear A sign L83. This value results in several alternations within Linear A (AI.TI.KA.A/A.TI.-KA.A, AI.TU/A.TU) as well as several suggestive parallels with personal names known at Knossos (AI.TU/ai-to, AI.KI.TA₂/ai-ki-ta, AI.TI.KA.A/a-ti-ka). This sign seems to represent the head of a goat. If so, a comparison with Greek *aix* becomes inevitable. Since this word is apparently not Indo-European, there is no objection to making it the basis of a Linear A sign on the acrophonic principle.

The sign L57 has in the past been given the phonetic value NE. It is shown that the value SI results in more convincing internal alternations within Linear A as well as several good parallels with non-Greek personal names attested in the Knossos Linear B tablets.

The analysis of the tablets and especially of the syllabary requires the material to be organized in such a way as to bring out repeated or significant patterns. It is especially appropriate, therefore, in a study of this scope to make use of the computer in this organization and analysis. The use of the computer, in particular, has permitted a much more exacting methodology in Part II than would have been possible otherwise. Isolated comparisons have been made in the past between Linear A and Linear B sign-groups, but there has been no exhaustive study of these parallels and their significance. In this thesis not only have all similar or identical sign-groups been collected (in Appendix C), but it has been possible to go even further and to test the statistical significance of these parallels by constructing nine deliberately erroneous "decipherments" to determine how much "evidence" could be collected to support them.

A series of appendices present the results of the computer analysis directly without interpretation. Appendix A is a complete index of Linear A sign-groups listed by initial, medial, and final signs. In Appendix B the groups of words are collected which are involved in inflection-like alternations. Appendix C presents an exhaustive list of all sign-groups in Linear A which have exact or close parallels in Linear B.

The most ambitious list is that of Appendix D, which systematically gives all the parallels with Linear B sign-groups which would result from every possible phonetic value for each Linear A sign. With this appendix it is possible to answer the question "If the sign normally transcribed KU had the value KA, what Linear B parallels would result?" Appendix E is a tabulation of Linear A sign-frequency. For purposes of comparison, the Linear B sign-frequency is presented in Appendix F. The Linear B words are divided into several classes (place names, personal names, etc.), and separate tables of frequency are compiled for signs in words of different classes and at different geographical locations. The distribution of these sign-frequencies can be more clearly understood in the graphs presented in Appendix G. These bar graphs show the relative frequency of each sign in each of seven classes of words — Pylos place names, Pylos personal names, Pylos total, Linear B total, Knossos total, Knossos personal names, Knossos place names. The graphs show, in particular, that the vowels *e* and (to a lesser extent) *o* are less frequent in the Knossos place names and personal names than in Linear B as a whole. This fact may be connected with the apparent weakness of these vowels in the Linear A syllabary.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Degree in Classical Philology 1967

PETER W. ROSE — *Pindar and Phya*

I begin by examining various approaches to understanding Pindar's poetry — usually considered the least accessible of the first-class poetry left by antiquity. My own approach is to focus on a particular aspect of Pindar's poetry, the praise of inherited excellence, the centrality of which has long been recognized. But rather than discuss the role of this view in all of Pindar's poetry, I confine myself primarily to discussing the Pindaric contexts of the word *phya* and the related form *physis*. My general assumption is that a particular aspect of a true poet is relevant to understanding his poetry only as it relates to and interacts with all other aspects. This view is particularly true of Pindar's poetry where a primary concern of the poet is to reveal correspondences between particular facets of the victor's present situation, the mythic past of his family and/or community, and the role of the poet himself. Thus my aim is to see the motif of inherited excellence as it interacts and blends with all the poetic themes of the individual odes in which the word *phya* occurs. My reasons for focusing on that word are twofold. Most obviously, it is the word inevitably singled out in discussions of Pindar's view of inherited excellence because Pindar himself uses it so emphatically.

Secondly, the word, primarily in the form *physis*, has a role of such significance in the intellectual history of the fifth and fourth centuries that a full examination of its use by one of the earliest poets to give it prominence should be worthwhile.

Previous discussions of Pindar's view of inherited excellence present him as essentially the spokesman of the aristocratic class and see the presence of this motif as a virtual necessity of his genre. The influence of his stress upon "natural" gifts is noted particularly in the sphere of educational theory and in the debate still conducted with vigor between *ars* and *ingenium*. Finally, he is assigned a vague role in the later debate over *physis* and *nomos*, even though it is stressed that he himself lacked any notion of "Nature" as an overriding principle determining all the processes of the universe. For the most part, previous discussions have offered only minimal analysis of the immediate contexts of *phya*, and little or no discussion of related vocabulary for inborn qualities, for the process of begetting, birth, and transmission, for familial relationships, and for the relation between citizen and community.

After a brief analysis of instances of *phya* and *physis* in a purely physical sense, I offer extended analyses of the five odes in which *phya* occurs in an emphatic dictum (*O.* 2, *O.* 9, *N.* 7, *N.* 1, and *P.* 8).

O. 2, to Theron of Acragas, is an extreme example of Pindar's conception of *phya* at its most exclusively aristocratic. Pindar examines the implications of Theron's victory by tracing the play of fortune through the history of his family from Cadmus, his daughters, Oedipus, Polyneices, and Eteocles to Thersander, whom Theron's clan of the Emnenidae claimed as their ancestor. The specific declaration about *phya* proclaims the knowledge which the poet has by virtue of birth. But poet and victor are imaginistically associated in the special favor from Zeus which they enjoy and in the cacophony of their envious detractors. Pindar's own family, the Aegiadae, was related to the Emnenidae, and there is a clear note of aristocratic closeness and exclusiveness in the declaration about *phya*. Throughout the ode there is a consistent imagistic focus on familial relationships which enforces the centrality of the *phya* motif.

O. 9 exemplifies the other polarity, too often neglected, of Pindar's conception of inherited excellence. For in *O.* 9 the victor's immediate family line plays no role at all; rather the family line, as it were, of the community of Opus is traced from Deucalion and Pyrrha to the eponymous hero Opus, with an even greater focus on the language of bloodline transmission than in *O.* 2. The dictum about *phya*, here specifically related to what is the victor's by virtue of birth, is at least as

haughty in tone as that in *O. 2*, and again there is a close imagistic association of poet and victor. This communal sense of *phya*, for all the haughtiness with which it is enunciated, presents the excellences of the victor as potentially inhering in any member of the community. The passage about Heracles, in which he seems to be offered as the type of the hero of *phya*, only to be rejected, is treated at some length and is seen as closely related to the peculiar role of the lesser Ajax in the mythic history of the community.

N. 7, for all its difficulties, is in many ways most typical of Pindar's handling of the motif of inherited excellence; that is, he fuses praise of the specific family of the victor with praise of his communal heritage and sees in the present victory the validation of all the potentialities of the victor's heritage. The difficulty of the ode derives in large measure from Pindar's extreme self-consciousness in the face of some hostility in his audience. His denigration of Neoptolemus in the paean for the Delphians might well have seemed a betrayal of the values of *phya* by the poet whose primary function had been the celebration of that which the victor has by virtue of his heritage. Pindar responds with a troubled examination of the possible vagaries of poetic celebration, a ringing re-affirmation of the essential bond of great deeds and great poetry, and finally, a retelling of the offending myth in such a way as to demonstrate the beneficial relevance of the hero's death for the present. The crown of gold, ivory, and coral as a symbol for his conception of poetic celebration of great deeds is examined at length. The specific dictum on *phya*, examined in close conjunction with the opening of the ode, emerges as the statement of the role of birth in human life.

N. 1, written for a man who was neither a native son of the community in which he lived nor the scion of a family with a great mythic past of its own, presents *phya* as a principle of a good beginning in which a whole subsequent career is implicit. The myth of the birth of Heracles is examined first as the clearest demonstration of this general view; then the first half of the ode is examined for the correspondences to the myth which reinforce this sense of an auspicious beginning in the origin of Sicily in Zeus's nod. A brief appendix examines some possible correspondences between *N. 1* and the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*.

P. 8, as Pindar's last attested ode, invites a brief discussion of the chronology of all the odes examined. As perhaps a final statement of his conception of the value of inherited excellence, it is a striking instance of the poet's ability to suggest through myth the precise nuance of his feeling for a complex situation. On the one hand, the myth of the Epi-*goni* is clearly a great success story, and the specific dictum on *phya*

seems Pindar's most direct affirmation of aristocratic inherited excellence. Yet his focus on the personal tragedy of Adrastus in losing his son suggests a broader, more ominous sense of the family as the victim of fortune's whims. This ambiguity seems inevitably related to the political situation of Aegina. The examination of human success as exemplified by the victor again suggests the ambiguity of Pindar's reaction to the present situation, but his final lines reassert that whatever there is of value in life is deeply related to the communal heritage.

In the conclusion, I offer a summary of the polarities between the aristocratic and communal, suggesting very briefly how Pindar's view may throw light on the view of inborn excellence in such divergent works as Plato's *Republic* and Sophocles' *Ajax*. A rather extensive discussion of the educational implications of Pindar's view includes analyses of several passages from other odes. Finally, the relation of Pindar's conception of *phya* as process is examined in the light of his imagery of natural growth. The suggestion is offered that however much his conception may, in general outlines, resemble traditional views as old as Homer, his expression of his view by an emphatic extension of the word *phya* represents an advance in intellectual history.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Degree in Classical Philology 1967

JOANN CLAIRE SILVERBERG — *A Commentary to the Roman History of Velleius Paterculus (Book II, 1-28)*

This dissertation is approximately one fifth of a projected commentary to the two-book compendium of Roman history of Velleius Paterculus.

The approach has been primarily historical and historiographical rather than linguistic or textual, although an effort has been made to elucidate particular difficulties in the author's style and expression. The commentary has concentrated upon a line-by-line explication and an exploration of Velleius' place in the Roman historiographical tradition, including comment on his biases, preconceptions, omissions, and criteria for the selection of historical data. By considerations of chronology, geography, and biography, an attempt has been made to clarify the author's methods of organizing his material.

Where possible, connections have been drawn between Velleius' work and his family background, career, and position under the principate of Tiberius. Commonly held opinions concerning the worth of his history have been evaluated (e.g. his presumed flattery of Tiberius and Sejanus, his rhetoric and defects of style, and his supposed lack of discrimination in forming judgments).

In addition, his unique contributions to our knowledge have been emphasized — both in terms of data preserved only in Velleius, and in the understanding we gain through the eyes of this representative of the municipal equestrian class just rising to prominence under the early principate of what reasonably educated Romans in the early first century after Christ thought about Rome's past.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Degree in Classical Philology 1967

JOHN STEWART TRAILL — *Representation in the Athenian Council: An Epigraphical, Prosopographical, and Statistical Study of Three New Bouleutic Lists from the Athenian Agora*

This dissertation consists of two closely related studies: the preparation for publication of three large bouleutic lists (i.e. catalogues of the Athenian councillors honored in a particular year) discovered in the course of excavations in the Athenian Agora; and a much needed study of representation in the Athenian Boule on the basis of the assigned quotas of councillors of the individual demes, trittyes, and phylai.

The three inscriptions, designated according to the Agora Excavations cataloguing system I 249, I 4720, and I 5105, and composed each of twenty to thirty fragments, all belong to the time of the twelve phylai (i.e. 307/306 to ca. 224/223) and have been dated to the years 304/303, 303/302, and 281/280 respectively. Together, they provide the largest known body of information concerning representation in the Boule during the Macedonian period. But even for the previous period their contributions have not been inconsiderable. The three new inscriptions, supplemented by a reexamination of the previously published material, have made known to us for the first time the representational quotas of more than eighty demes (i.e. over half of those in existence) in the period of the twelve phylai and more than a dozen from the time prior to 307/306. All told, the picture is now virtually complete for the time when representative government existed in Athens, inasmuch as the quota of every deme, both before and after the creation of Antigonis and Demetrias, is at present either known with certainty or can be estimated fairly accurately.

Each of the three new texts is presented in an individual chapter (I-III). These chapters are of a similar format and treat the respective inscriptions under the following headings: a physical description of the fragments, the places and circumstances of finding, the original position of the monument, the assignment and rejection of the fragments,

technical data, the relations of the fragments and the design of the whole, the inscription as a monument, dating, the text, and finally, an epigraphical and prosopographical commentary. The treatment of each inscription is aided by tables of physical data and of dates and circumstances of finding of the various fragments, photographs of the individual and joining fragments, and a diagram showing the relative position of every assigned piece.

Chapter IV is devoted wholly to a study of the two Macedonian phylai, Antigonis and Demetrias (a subject in which our knowledge has been greatly increased). The demes which either certainly or probably belong to each are presented along with their bouleutic quotas (over half of them given here for the first time). Then the principles of formation of these two phylai, the first to be created since the time of Kleisthenes, are elucidated. Each was composed of sixteen demes. No demes were created or divided in 307/306; all the demes belonging to Antigonis and Demetrias were transferred from the original ten phylai. Of all original split-demes one half, and only one half, was transferred to the Macedonian phylai. Antigonis was composed of demes taken primarily from the first four original phylai; Demetrias of demes primarily from the last six (Aiantis being excepted). Most of the original phylai gave three demes, although several gave four, one gave five, and Aiantis gave none. The sum of the representational quotas of the demes donated by each phyle was a unit of approximately zero, five, ten, or fifteen Bouleutai. The largest phylai (Pandionis and Kekropis) made the largest contribution, the smallest (Aiantis), no contribution at all, and those in between, contributions in proportion to their size. The ephebic lists of this period and Gomine's figures (*Population of Athens*, pp. 56-65) give us two independent checks for the relative sizes of the phylai. The readjustments of 307/306, therefore, appear to have made the phylai more equal in size. The discussion in this chapter is aided on many occasions by tables of the pertinent data.

Chapter V treats of the original ten phylai. All problems concerning the demes belonging to each and their quotas in both periods are discussed. All cases of variation in quota within either period are dealt with individually (about a dozen occurrences), and the explanation is advanced that these variations (by only one Bouleutes, with perhaps one exception) are due to the failure of some small demes to provide their assigned quotas in certain years. The conservatism of the system as a whole is exemplified by the fact that there does not appear to have been a reapportionment in bouleutic quotas between the time of Kleisthenes and 307/306 or in the period of the twelve phylai. Quotas assigned in

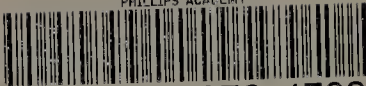
508/507 and in 307/306 were preserved, evidently, without change, the first for two hundred years, the second for almost a hundred.

Chapter V deals specially with the changes in quotas in 307/306 as they affected the trittyes and demes of the original ten phylai. That the trittyes no longer had any political significance relative to the Boule is pointed out from the fact that two of the phylai, Pandionis and Kekropis, transferred their entire city trittyes to Antigonis and Demetrias. The changes of 307/306, when a hundred Bouleutai were added to the council, are also shown greatly to have favored the inland and coastal areas at the expense of the city. Finally, the new quotas of the Macedonian period are dealt with in terms of the size of the old quotas, and in terms of the size of the increase (or decrease) in representation. A greater proportion of the large demes increased their quotas than of the small demes. The increases, however, were as a rule small ones — about half were by one Bouleutes only — so that a large number of demes (more than a third) were affected. Again tables play a large part in the presentation of the data in this chapter. As an added feature, new texts of three prytany lists (one given here for the first time), which are essential for the study of the quotas of Leontis, Akamantis, and Aiantis, are presented.

Chapter VI attempts to estimate the relationship between representation and population in both periods and to evaluate precisely how the changes of 307/306 affected this relationship. The figures of representation are based most naturally on the bouleutic quotas; those of relative population are revised figures taken from Gomme's totals of the number of known citizens in each deme. Tables of the ratio of representation to apparent relative population are given for the demes, trittyes, and phylai in both periods. The discrepancies are noted and many of them explained. Finally, it is concluded that the government of these two periods was representative according to population, but far from ideally so. The changes of 307/306 are shown to have been carried out not solely in the interest of alleviating abuses in the ratio of representation to population, although they did alleviate many. Other considerations had to be met, including a policy of not reducing the quotas of demes, of not altering the quotas of transferred demes, of increasing the quotas of large demes in preference to the small ones, and of favoring the coast and inland areas over the city.

In general, the reapportionment of bouleutic quotas in 307/306, like the system of government it directly affected, was a large-scale and complicated program, carried out, not on a modern statistical basis, but in a practical, intricate, and occasionally irrational manner.

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